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June 20, 1903

My dear Duke,

I have sent to Montagu House for Your Grace a copy of my book which was published yesterday; not that I think it can interest you in the least; I merely wish to give you the best I have to offer at present as a small acknowledgment of your great goodness to me. The book

722

23

To His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch  
with the author's duty.

June 20, 1903.







**A TEXT-BOOK  
OF NORTH-SEMITIC  
INSCRIPTIONS**

**HENRY FROWDE, M.A.**  
**PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD**  
**LONDON, EDINBURGH**  
**NEW YORK**

**A TEXT-BOOK  
OF  
NORTH-SEMITIC  
INSCRIPTIONS**

**Moabite, Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic  
Nabataean, Palmyrene, Jewish**

**BY THE**

**REV. G. A. COOKE, M.A.**

**LATE FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD**

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**D.D.**

**G. A. C.**

Ἄλλ' ὅμως ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τὴν τῶν πλανηθέντων σωτηρίαν ἠνέσχετο διὰ  
τούτων θεραπευθῆναι, δι' ἃν οἱ ἐξωθεν δαίμονες ἐθεράπευον, μικρὸν  
παραλλάξας αὐτά· ἵνα αὐτοὺς κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς συνηθείας ἀποσπᾶσας ἐπὶ  
τὴν ὑψηλὴν ἀγάγῃ φιλοσοφίαν.

S. CHRYSOSTOM in *Matth. Hom.* vi. 3.

## P R E F A C E

THE present work took shape some years ago as an attempt to provide a text-book for students who offer the subject of Semitic Epigraphy in the Honour School of Oriental Studies at Oxford. The difficulty of obtaining access to inscriptions published in foreign journals, the costliness of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* and other works, made it desirable to prepare a collection which might bring the inscriptions conveniently within the reach of students; the texts set for the Schools were chosen to start with, and a good many more were added. The claims of other work, however, compelled me to lay aside my task for several years. Meanwhile, there appeared in 1898 Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, which for the first time has dealt with the whole subject in a systematic manner. I wish to acknowledge here, with emphasis and gratitude, my obligations to the *Handbuch*; the extent of them will appear in the following pages. Lidzbarski's work has done much to supply the want which first induced me to prepare this volume; it has not, however, led me to alter my original design. I have published the texts with translations and notes; Lidzbarski, along with much valuable introductory matter, gives the texts, a glossary, and an atlas of facsimiles. This last it has not been possible to attach to my collection; within the limits laid down by the



Delegates of the Press, I have only been able to give a set of representative facsimiles and tables of alphabets, which, while not attempting to meet all requirements, will at least be sufficient to familiarize the student with the characteristic features of the different scripts.

Though English scholars have not neglected the study of Semitic Epigraphy either in their academic teaching or in their published writings—the names of the late Professors William Wright and Robertson Smith will occur to the reader in this connexion, while to many students of the younger generation Dr. Driver's pages in *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* served as their first and stimulating introduction to the subject—yet the bulk of scientific work within recent years has been done by the scholars of France and Germany. The enterprise of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, and the enlightened policy of the French Government, have secured the majority of the inscriptions for the Louvre ; hence it is that from Paris, in a manner possible nowhere else, the great Corpus is being issued, a work with which the eminent names of Renan, de Vogüé, Derenbourg, Halévy, Berger, Clermont-Ganneau, will always be associated. To Paris belongs the unique distinction of having recognized the study of oriental archaeology and epigraphy by the foundation of a professorship in the Collège de France, now held by M. Clermont-Ganneau, to whose original and keen researches the present work is indebted from beginning to end. For years past French scholars have been excavating and classifying the remains of Punic antiquity in the French colonies of N. Africa ; in the Holy Land much excellent

work is being done by the Dominican convent of St. Étienne at Jerusalem, an 'école pratique d'études bibliques,' under the accomplished direction of Père Lagrange.

In Germany the efforts of scholars have been devoted rather to the critical and grammatical examination of the documents than to the discovery of fresh material. For the Phoenician language the treatises of Schröder and Stade, though somewhat out of date, contain much that is of permanent value; on the Nabataean, Palmyrene, and other Aramaic dialects Nöldeke has written with unimpeachable authority; on points of grammar and exegesis the names of G. Hoffmann, Landau, D. H. Müller, Sachau, the two Mordtmanns, Reckendorf, Winckler (always interesting, if seldom convincing) will be of frequent occurrence in the following pages. But German scholars have also been engaged in the discovery of new material, especially in N. Arabia and N. Syria. Thanks to the courage and skill of the veteran epigraphist Julius Euting, we now possess satisfactory copies of the Nabataean inscriptions in the Ḥejaz and the Sinaitic peninsula; the Orient-Comité of Berlin has unearthed the Old Aramaic inscriptions of Zenjirli, the most important discovery since the finding of the Moabite Stone; quite recently Littmann has published the results of his exploration of the Şafâ inscriptions, NE. of Jebel ed-Drûz<sup>1</sup>.

In the present work many of the inscriptions are, of necessity, the classical and familiar ones; many also are new; most of them now appear in English for the

<sup>1</sup> These inscriptions have also been investigated lately by Dussand and Maeler, and published in their volume *Voyage archéol. au Şafâ etc.*, 1901.

first time. I have tried to bring the collection up to date as far as possible, and in one way or another to print the most important inscriptions which have been discovered in the last five or ten years.

My aim throughout has been not to propose novel interpretations or reconstructions of my own, but rather to give, after careful study of the various authorities on the subject, what seemed to be the most probable verdict on the issues raised, and also to bring together the chief matters of importance bearing on the texts. The frequency with which the words 'probably' and 'possibly' appear may, perhaps, be somewhat of a disappointment to the reader, as indicating an attitude of caution rather than of courage; but it is well to be reminded how seldom we can speak with positiveness on questions of grammar and interpretation where the material is so limited and where there is no contemporary literature to shed light upon the monuments. At the same time our study ought to result in doing something to reduce the limits of the possible, and discover, as precisely as we can, the extent of the probable.

To those who have helped me in the production of my book I have some special acknowledgements to make. From the Delegates of the Press I have received most generous treatment in the matter of printing. To the courtesy of the Marquis de Vogüé, President of the Commission of the C. I. S., I owe permission to reproduce Plates i and iii from the Corpus, and Plate viii from his own *La Syrie Centrale*. I am indebted to Dr. Euting for Plates iv and vii, the latter from his *Nabatäische Inschriften*; to M. Heuzey

of the Louvre, for squeezes of the Nêrab inscriptions, Plates v and vi ; to Dr. Budge of the British Museum, for facilities of access to the stones and seals under his charge ; to Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. for the use of the blocks from Madden's *Coins of the Jews*. Mr. G. F. Hill of the British Museum has taken much trouble to help me with the coins, and has procured for me, by the courtesy of M. Babelon, casts of specimens in the Bibliothèque Nationale. M. Clermont-Ganneau, to whose published writings my book owes so much, has more than once given me the benefit of his opinion and advice. My former colleague, Mr. P. V. M. Benecke, Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College, has verified and enriched several of my references to Greek and Latin authors. Above all, my grateful thanks are due to Dr. Driver for his constant encouragement. He is always ready to place his stores of knowledge at the service of his friends ; and in this case he has made time, in the midst of his own work, to read my book in proof, and to offer criticisms and suggestions which have done much to improve it.

G. A. COOKE.

THE PARSONAGE, DALKEITH, N. B.,  
*Eastertide*, 1903.



# CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE . . . . .	vii
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	xvii
LIST OF PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .	xxiii
<b>MOABITE</b>	
INSCR. NO.	
1. The Moabite Stone . . . . .	I
<b>HEBREW</b>	
2. Siloam . . . . .	15
<b>PHOENICIAN</b>	
<i>Phœnicia</i>	
3. Byblus . . . . .	18
Additional note i. The fem. sing. ending in Phœnician . . . . .	25
Additional note ii. The forms of the de- monstr. pron. . . . .	26
4. Sidon: Tabnith . . . . .	26
5. Sidon: Eshmun-'azar . . . . .	30
Additional note. The suffix of 3 plur. in Phœnician . . . . .	39
6. Sidon . . . . .	40
7. Sidon . . . . .	42
8. Tyre . . . . .	43
9. Umm-el-'Awâmid . . . . .	44
10. Ma'sûb . . . . .	48
<i>Cyprus</i>	
11. Ba'al Lebanon . . . . .	52
12-22. Kition . . . . .	55
23-27. Idalion . . . . .	73
28. Larnax Lapêthos . . . . .	80
29. Larnax Lapêthos 2 or Narnaka . . . . .	82
30. Tamassos . . . . .	88
<i>Egypt</i>	
31. Abydos . . . . .	90
<i>Attica</i>	
32-35. Athens, Piræus . . . . .	93

## PHOENICIAN: PUNIC

INSCR. NO.	<i>Malla</i>	PAGE
36, 37. Malta . . . . .		102
38. Malta (Gaulus) . . . . .		105
	<i>Sardinia</i>	
39. Caralis (Cagliari) . . . . .		108
40. Pauli Gerrei (Santuiaci) . . . . .		109
41. Nora (Pula) . . . . .		110
	<i>Gaul</i>	
42. Marseilles . . . . .		112
	<i>North Africa</i>	
43-50. Carthage . . . . .		123
51. Cirta (Constantine) . . . . .		137
52. Thugga . . . . .		138

## PHOENICIAN: NĒO-PUNIC

	<i>Tunis</i>	
53, 54. Tunis . . . . .		141
	<i>Algiers</i>	
55. Altiburus (Medéina) . . . . .		144
56. Jol (Shershel 1) . . . . .		147
57. Jol (Shershel 2) . . . . .		148
58. Gelma . . . . .		150
59. Maktar . . . . .		150
	<i>Sardinia</i>	
60. Sulci . . . . .		158
	ARAMAIC	
	<i>North Syria</i>	
61. Zenjirli: Hadad . . . . .		159
62. Zenjirli: Panammu . . . . .		171
63. Zenjirli: Bar-rekub . . . . .		180
Additional note on the dialect of the Zenjirli inscriptions . . . . .		184
64. Nêrab 1 . . . . .		186
65. Nêrab 2 . . . . .		189
	<i>Babylonia</i>	
66. Nineveh . . . . .		192

# Contents

XV

<i>Asia Minor</i>	
INSCR. NO.	PAGE
67. Abydos . . . . .	193
68. Cilicia . . . . .	194
<i>Arabia</i>	
69, 70. Têma . . . . .	195
<i>Egypt</i>	
71, 72. Memphis . . . . .	200
73, 74. Elephantina . . . . .	202
75. The Carpentras Stele . . . . .	205
76. Saqqara : Papyri Blacassiani . . . . .	206
77. Papyrus Luparensis . . . . .	210
NABATAEAN	
<i>North Arabia</i>	
78. El-'Öla . . . . .	214
79-93. El-Hejra . . . . .	217
94. Petra 1 . . . . .	241
95. Petra 2. El-Mer . . . . .	244
<i>Moab</i>	
96. Medeba . . . . .	247
<i>Damascus</i>	
97. Dumêr . . . . .	249
<i>Hauran</i>	
98. Hebran . . . . .	252
99. Şalhad . . . . .	252
100. Bostra . . . . .	253
101. Imtân . . . . .	254
<i>Italy</i>	
102. Puteoli . . . . .	256
NABATAEAN: SINAITIC	
103-109. . . . .	259
PALMYRENE	
110-132. Honorary Inscriptions . . . . .	265
133-140. Votive Inscriptions . . . . .	295
141-146. Sepulchral Inscriptions . . . . .	306
147. Tariff . . . . .	313



JEWISH		PAGE
INSCR. NO.		
148 A.	Bené Hēzr . . . . .	341
B.	Kefr Bir'im . . . . .	342
COINS		
149 A.	Aramaic . . . . .	343
B.	Phoenician . . . . .	347
C.	Jewish . . . . .	352
SEALS AND GEMS		
150.	. . . . .	360
INDEX I:	North-Semitic . . . . .	363
INDEX II:	Arabic . . . . .	378
INDEX III:	Syriac . . . . .	380
INDEX IV:	Greek . . . . .	382
INDEX V:	Biblical References . . . . .	385
INDEX VI:	General . . . . .	392
APPENDIX I	. . . . .	401
" II	. . . . .	404
ADDENDA	. . . . .	407

## LIST OF PLATES

I	Phoenician; no. 5	} <i>At end</i>
II	Phoenician; no. 21	
III	Phoenician: Punic; no. 43	
IV	Phoenician: Neo-Punic; no. 56	
V	Aramaic; no. 64	
VI	Aramaic; no. 65	
VII	Nabataean; no. 86	
VIII	Palmyrene; no. 121	
IX	Cilician and Phoenician Coins; no. 149 A, B	
X	Jewish Coins; no. 149 C	
XI	Seals and Gems; no. 150	
XII-XIV	Tables of Alphabets	

## INTRODUCTION

THE inscriptions which make up the present collection are grouped under the common title of North-Semitic to distinguish them from the South-Semitic, or Sabaeen and Himyaritic, on the one hand, and from the Babylonian and Assyrian on the other. Geographically the area of this North-Semitic group extends from N. Syria to N. Arabia; on the East it is bounded by the Syrian desert; on the West it reaches into Asia Minor, Egypt, N. Africa, and the chief cities on the shores and islands of the Mediterranean. The languages in which the inscriptions are written belong to what may be called for convenience the Central, as distinguished from the Northern and Southern, division of the Semitic tongues<sup>1</sup>. This Central division is sub-divided into two main classes: i the Canaanite, which includes the Moabite, Hebrew, and Phoenician inscriptions, 9th cent. B.C.—3rd cent. A.D. and later; ii the Aramaic, represented by (a) the Old Aramaic inscriptions from Assyria, Babylonia, Asia Minor, and N. Syria, 8th—4th cent. B.C., (b) the Egyptian Aramaic, 5th—3rd cent. B.C., (c) the Nabataean and Palmyrene Aramaic, 1st cent. B.C.—3rd cent. A.D., a section to which we may assign the inscriptions from Têma as the earliest specimens (5th cent. B.C.) and the Sinaitic as the latest (1st—5th cent. A.D.). Some of these dialects are marked by peculiarities which, owing to local conditions, indicate a certain amount of overlapping from one class or division into another: thus the Old Aramaic spoken in the N. Syrian kingdoms of Ya'di and

<sup>1</sup> The Semitic languages are grouped in various ways; thus Wright, *Comp. Gr.* 12 ff., divides them into Northern i.e. Assyrian, Central i.e. Aramaic, Western i.e. Canaanite, Southern i.e. Arabic and Ethiopic. Zimmern, *Vergl. Gr.* 4 f., proposes a broader scheme, East-Semitic, i.e. Babylonian, Assyrian, and West-Semitic, i.e. Aramaic, Canaanite, Arabic, Ethiopic. The latter is preferred by König, *Hebräisch u. Semitisch* 123 f., on historical grounds, as suggesting the advance and separation of the Semitic tribes from their original home in E. Babylonia. The divisions given above are clearer for the present purpose.

Sam'al betrays several points of affinity to the Canaanite class; the Nabataean dialect, again, used for purposes of writing and commerce by the inhabitants of N. Arabia who were Arabs by race and spoke Arabic, was naturally much influenced by the language used in common speech, as appears especially in the forms of proper names; to a less degree the dialect of Palmyra, where the population was largely Arab, came under the same influence.

The chief interest of these inscriptions lies, of course, in the fact that they have preserved specimens of the North-Semitic dialects which we should otherwise know only from scattered allusions or by a process of inference very imperfect at the best. With the exception of the Hebrew and Aramaic writings of the Old Testament, there is no contemporary literature written in any of these languages. No fragments of the mythologies and histories said to have been composed in Phoenician by native writers have come down to us in the original; a few third- or fourth-hand extracts are preserved in Greek; but for the most part these Phoenician authors are names and nothing more<sup>1</sup>. The inscriptions, therefore, possess

<sup>1</sup> A cosmogony of Sidonian origin is preserved by Damascius *de Primis Principiis* 125, who borrowed it from the Greek of Eudemus, a pupil of Aristotle, and gave it a neo-Platonic interpretation. This was probably the work (τὸ περὶ τῶν ἀτόμων δόγμα) which is ascribed by Strabo (p. 645 ed. Müll.) to a Sidonian philosopher Mochus, who lived πρὸ τῶν Τρανσῶν χρόνων; his works, together with those of Theodotus and Hypsicrates, are said to have been translated into Greek by a certain Laetus (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 437). Mochus, along with Hestaeus and the Egyptian Hieronymus, οἱ τὰ Φοινικῶν συναρτάμενοι, is mentioned by Jos. *Ant.* i 89. Another cosmogony is described by Philo of Byblus (temp. Hadrian), who claims to have derived his traditions from an ancient sage Sanchuniathon (see pp. 100, 104 n. 2 ref.). Philo probably drew his material from various sources, and dignified it with an ancient name; see Baudissin *Stud. z. semit. Religionsgesch.* i 1-46. Native histories written by Phoenicians are cited by Josephus: (a) the chronicles of Tyre transl. by Menander of Ephesus (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 445 ff.) δ μεταφράσας ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινικῆς διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν φωνὴν *Ant.* viii 5 3. ix 14 2, c. *Ap.* i 18; (b) a list of kings from Nebuchadnezzar to Cyrus, for which he quotes τὰς τῶν Φοινικῶν ἀναγραφὰς c. *Ap.* i 21; (c) for the siege of Tyre by Nebuch. he gives as his authority Philostratos ἐν ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ Φοινικαῖς *Isotopias Ant.* x 11 1, c. *Ap.* i 20; (d) for the history of Hiram i he refers to the Phoen. narrative of Dios (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 397 ff.) ἐν ταῖς περὶ Φοινικῶν *Isotopias* c. *Ap.* i 17, *Ant.* viii 5 3. The sources (b) and (d) are doubtless dependent upon Menander; it is probable that Jos. derived all these extracts from the work of Alexander Polyhistor (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 206 ff.). See further Meyer *Ency. Bibl.* 3751 ff.

all the greater value; and when they are brought into relation with the languages of the Old Testament their interest is increased. Thus comparing Phoenician with Hebrew we notice at once that the resemblance is exceedingly close, both in grammatical forms and in vocabulary; in some respects Phoenician has preserved older features (e.g. the fem. in *n*, the absence of vowel-letters), others are later (e.g. *יח* = *יח*, *לח* *God*), others again are peculiar to this dialect (e.g. the 3 mas. suff. in *'*, *ח*, *נ*, the accus. sign *חח*, the rel. *חח*, the Hif. in *'*), many words poetic or rare in Hebrew are common in Phoenician (see p. 23); these phenomena point to the conclusion that Phoenician and Hebrew are independent offshoots of a common ancestor, which can be none other than the ancient Canaanite, of which a few words have survived in the Canaanite glosses (15th cent. B.C.) to the Tell-el-Amarna letters<sup>1</sup>. It must be remembered, however, that the material is insufficient for a complete comparison<sup>2</sup>; and further, with the exception of 11, almost all the Phoenician inscriptions are subsequent to the 6th cent. B.C., the majority belong to the 4th cent. and later, by which time the language had probably undergone a certain amount of decay. The evidence of the Aramaic inscriptions is specially valuable because it proves the wide extent to which Aramaic was used in the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian empires (cf. Is. 36 11), and because it exhibits the language at an earlier stage than the literary dialects. In the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions we find a dialect which is nearly related to the Western or Palestinian Aramaic of the Old Testament and of the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan. The dates of the Old Testament Aramaic cannot in all cases be determined; parts of Ezra are probably as early as the 4th cent. B.C., Daniel was written in the 2nd cent. B.C.; the inscriptions prove that this particular type of Aramaic was used in the countries bordering upon Palestine down to the 3rd cent. A.D.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The words are given in the vocabulary of Winckler's edition; see also *KAT*<sup>3</sup> 652 f.

<sup>2</sup> The fullest comparison is still that of Stade, *Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phöniciſchen u. Hebräiſchen bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades in Morg. Forsch.* (1876) 169-232.

<sup>3</sup> Driver *Introduction*<sup>8</sup> 502 ff.

All the inscriptions here collected are written in varieties of the same alphabet, commonly called the Phoenician, the archetype of Greek and ultimately of all Western writing<sup>1</sup>. At the earliest stage known to us the characters are very much alike, both in the Canaanite and in the Aramaic groups; in the subsequent stages each followed a process of modification on diverging lines. Thus Phoenician, after leaving the mother-country, is seen to be acquiring a more cursive and flowing style on the stones from Cyprus and Attica; the tendency becomes more strongly marked at the Punic stage; until in Neo-Punic the writing, and the language too, reached their most degenerate form and went no further, as though the possibilities of both were exhausted. The modifications of the old Hebrew writing down to the 5th or 4th cents. B.C. cannot, for lack of material, be traced in much detail; so far as we know there seems to have been little change of any marked kind. The only Hebrew inscription of considerable length earlier than the Exile is the one found at Siloam (2); besides this, specimens of the old Hebrew writing are furnished only by the few words engraved upon seals (150 6-8) and stamped upon fragments of pottery<sup>2</sup>. Generations after the old Hebrew writing had fallen out of use it was revived, for political reasons, in characters which closely resemble those of the Siloam inscription and the legends on seals and pottery, upon the Jewish coins (149 C). The ancient writing was retained by the Samaritans when the Jews in general had taken to the Aramaic letters, and in an elaborated form the Samaritans use it still. The process by which the archaic Hebrew arrived at the modern square character is to be

<sup>1</sup> The various speculations on the origin of the Phoen. alphabet are summarized by Thatcher, art. Phoenicia *DB* iii.

<sup>2</sup> The recent excavations at Tell Zakariyâ and Tell eš-Šâfi, SW. of Jerusalem, conducted by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister, have produced some interesting jar-handles stamped with *לסלך שוכה*, *לסלך יזבן*; between the words is the figure of a winged scarab. These were factory-marks; *לסלך* *belonging to the king* probably signifies that the vessel came from the royal potteries, or perhaps that it came up to the official standard of capacity; *יזבן* &c. that it was made at Hebron, Sokoh &c. The other potsherds are marked with what are probably private seals, e.g. *לער יזי*, *סלך . . צמח*; a seal is engraved *יזבן יזבן*; the names are all written in two lines. See *PEFQS* 1899 and 1900; *CL-Gan. Rec.* iv § 1; *Lidzb. Eph.* i 54 ff. 178 ff.

traced in the development, not of the Hebrew, but of the Aramaic alphabet; and the reason is that the latter was adopted by the Jews after the Exile along with the use of the Aramaic language. The stages in this development may be followed in the Tables of the Aramaic Alphabets, Plates xiii and xiv; the most significant will be found in the Egyptian Aramaic and the Palmyrene. From this last it is but a few steps further to the square characters which appear in the Jewish inscriptions (e. g. 148 A and B), and in which the MSS. of the Old Testament are written <sup>1</sup>.

Besides their value as specimens of language and writing, the North-Semitic inscriptions possess considerable importance for the historian. With the exception of the Moabite Stone, the Zenjirli inscriptions, and two or three others, their importance is rather incidental than primary; a few of them are dedicated to or by historical personages, a great many are dated by the reigns of kings or the eras of cities, and thus enable us to piece history together. The inscriptions cover a long period, more than a thousand years, from the 9th cent. B.C. to the 3rd cent. A.D.; and in the course of it the history which they record is not, as a rule, the history of great events or of striking figures in the drama, but the history of every-day life, its business, its honours, its religion, its commemoration of the dead. These monuments of ancient civilization have a very human interest which gives to the study of them an unexpected and refreshing zest. But when we turn to them for information on such subjects as the institutions or organizations of public life we are apt to be disappointed. For example, the little that can be gathered from the inscriptions as to the constitution of Carthage is put together on pp. 115 f., but it adds practically nothing to what we learn from Greek and Latin writers. The North-Semitic races possessed none of that genius for civic order, or for administration on a large scale, which made the Athenians so careful to inscribe their public documents 'on a pillar of stone,' and the Romans to plant the memorials of their government in every part of the empire. It is only when these races

<sup>1</sup> For details see Index vi under Letters, Driver *Samuel* ix-xxix, Lidzbaraki *Eph.* i 109 ff. and *Jewish Encycl.*, art. Alphabet.

come under the influence of Greek and Roman institutions that we are able to glean a little about their public life. The inscriptions reveal the fact that Palmyra was organized on the model of a Greek municipality; the great Tariff was dictated by Roman common-sense and love of order; to some extent Hellenic ideas of administration had penetrated into the Nabataean kingdom, for we hear of strategoi, eparchs, and chiliarchs; the Neo-Punic colonies in N. Africa had borrowed, as it seems, some institutions of municipal life from their Roman over-lords.

Lastly, the inscriptions have much to tell us about the religious customs and ideas of the people who wrote them. Some of these ideas are the common property of Semitic religion; a good many of them, especially those connected with the relation of the god to his worshippers, and with burial and the condition of the dead, illustrate in an interesting way the ideas of the Old Testament. But again it must not be forgotten that most of the monuments belong to a period not of religious freshness and simplicity but of religious decline. The less attractive features of North-Semitic religion may be gathered from Greek and Latin authors; the inscriptions tell us little of them; but a broad comparison between this and the religion of the Old Testament shows clearly enough the depths and heights which it was possible for different peoples to reach who were bound closely together by race, by neighbourhood, and by a considerable stock of common ideas. It is the difference which polytheism and monotheism work out in their results. Nevertheless in the later periods we can trace, however faintly, something like a reaction from the prevailing polytheism in the worship of Ba'al of Heaven among the Phoenicians, and of the unnamed god 'whose name is blessed for ever' among the Aramaeans of Palmyra (pp. 45, 296 ff.); and out of the common stock of religious ideas there were some which did not altogether lie outside of the scheme of Divine revelation, and were capable of being adopted into the higher faith.

## LIST OF PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Allor. Forsch.</i>	= Winckler <i>Allorientalische Forschungen</i> .
BAram.	= Biblical Aramaic.
CIA	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum</i> .
CIG	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> .
CIL	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> .
CIS	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i> .
Cl.-Gan. <i>Ét.</i>	= Clermont-Ganneau <i>Études d'archéologie orientale</i> .
Cl.-Gan. <i>Rec.</i>	= Clermont-Ganneau <i>Recueil d'archéologie orientale</i> .
<i>COT</i>	= Schrader <i>Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O.T.</i>
Dalman <i>Gr.</i>	= Dalman <i>Gram. des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch</i> .
<i>DB</i>	= Hastings' <i>Dictionary of the Bible</i> .
<i>Del. Assy. HWB</i>	= Delitzsch <i>Assyrisches Handwörterbuch</i> .
<i>Ency. Bibl.</i>	= <i>Encyclopaedia Biblica</i> .
<i>Eut.</i>	= Euting <i>Nabaldäische Inschriften</i> .
<i>Eut. Carth.</i>	= Euting <i>Sammlung der carthagischen Inschriften</i> .
<i>Eut. Sin.</i>	= Euting <i>Sinaitische Inschriften</i> .
<i>Fr. Hist. Gr.</i>	= Müller <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> .
Gesenius, or Ges.-Kautzsch }	= Gesenius-Kautzsch <i>Hebrew Grammar</i> , transl. by A. E. Cowley.
<i>JA</i>	= <i>Journal Asiatique</i> .
<i>KAT<sup>3</sup></i>	= <i>Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament<sup>3</sup></i> .
<i>KB</i>	= <i>Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek</i> .
König <i>Lehrgeb.</i>	= König <i>Lehrgebäude der Hebr. Sprache</i> .
König <i>Syntax</i>	= König <i>Syntax der Hebr. Sprache</i> .
Lidzb.	= Lidzbarski <i>Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik</i> .
Lidzb. <i>Eph. i</i>	= Lidzbarski <i>Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik i.</i>
M. or Michel	= Michel <i>Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques</i> .
<i>Morg. Forsch.</i>	= <i>Morgenländische Forschungen</i> .
<i>NHWB</i>	= Levy <i>Neuhebräisches u. Chaldäisches Wörterbuch</i> .
NPun.	= Neo-Punic.
<i>PA. or Pers. Ach.</i>	= Babelon <i>Les Perses Achéménides</i> .
<i>PEFQS</i>	= <i>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement</i> .



<i>RB</i>	= <i>Revue Biblique.</i>
<i>Rép.</i>	= <i>Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique.</i>
<i>RS</i>	= <i>Babelon Rois de Syrie.</i>
<i>SBBA</i>	= <i>Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie.</i>
<i>Schröder</i>	= <i>Schröder Die Phönizische Sprache.</i>
<i>Spic. Syr.</i>	= <i>Cureton Spicilegium Syriacum.</i>
<i>Vog.</i>	= <i>de Vogüé La Syrie Centrale.</i>
<i>Wadd.</i>	= <i>Waddington Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie.</i>
<i>ZA</i>	= <i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.</i>
<i>ZATW</i>	= <i>Zeitschrift für die alt-test. Wissenschaft.</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	= <i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</i>
<i>ZDPV</i>	= <i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.</i>

On the analogy of the familiar abbreviations ' and 'נ, the stroke ' is used to mark shortened forms; thus 'נ denotes a word beginning with נ; נ' a word ending in נ.

# NORTH SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS

## MOABITE

1. The Moabite Stone. Circ. 850 B.C. Louvre.

אנך.משע.בן.כמש..מלך.מאב.הד	1
יבני   אבי.מלך.על.מאב.שלשן.שת.ואנך.מלך	2
תי.אחר.אבי   ואעש.הבמת.זאת.לכמש.בקרחה   בנ..[י]	3
שע.כי.השעני.מכל.ה.לכן.וכי.הראני.בכל.שנאי   עמר	4
י.מלך.ישראל.ויענו.את.מאב.מן.רבן.כי.יאנף.כמש.באר	5
צה   ויחלפה.בנה.ויאמר.גם.הא.אענו.את.מאב   בימי.אמר....	6
וארא.בה.ובבתה   וישראל.אבד.אבד.עלם.ורש.עמרי.את.[אר]	7
ץ.מהדבא   וישב.בה.ימה.והצי.ימי.בנה.ארבען.שת.ויש	8
בה.כמש.בימי   ואבן.את.בעלמען.ואעש.בה.האשוח.ואבן[ן]	9
את.קריתן   ואש.גד.ישב.בארץ.עמרת.מעלם.ובן.לה.מלך.י	10
שראל.את.עמרת   ואלתחם.בקר.ואחזה   ואהרג.את.כל.העם..	11
הקר.רית.לכמש.ולמאב   ואשב.משם.את.אראל.דודה.וא[ם]	12
חבה.לפני.כמש.בקרית   ואשב.בה.את.אש.שרן.ואת.א[ש]	13
מחרת   ויאמר.לי.כמש.לך.אחז.את.נבה.על.ישראל   וא	14
הלך.בללה.ואלתחם.בה.מבקע.השחרת.עד.הצהרם   ואח	15
זה.ואהרג.כל..שבעת.אלפ.ג[ב]ן.ו.ו..ן   וגברת.ו..	16
ת.ודחמת   כי.לעשתי.כמש.החרמתה   ואקח.משם.א..	17
לי.יהוה.ואסחב.הם.לפני.כמש   ומלך.ישראל.בנה.את	18
יהן.וישב.בה.בהלתחמה.בי   ויגרשה.כמש.מפני [ו]	19

- 20 אֶקֶח מִמֶּאֱבִי מֵאֶתֶן אֶשׁ כָּל־רִשָּׁה | וְאִשָּׁה בִּיהִן וְאֶחָה.  
 21 לִסְפַּת־עַל־דִּיבָן | אֲנִי בְנִתִי קָרַחַה חֲמַת־הַיַּעֲרָן וְחַמַּת  
 22 הָעֶפֶל | וְאֲנִי בְנִתִי שַׁעְרִיהָ וְאֲנִי בְנִתִי מִגְדַּלְתָּה | וְאִ  
 23 נִי בְנִתִי בֵּת־מֶלֶךְ וְאֲנִי עָשִׂיתִי כְּלָאִי הָאִשּׁוֹן [חֶלֶם] בְּקֶרֶת [ב]  
 24 הָקֶר | וּבְרִי אֲנִי בְּקֶרֶב־הָקֶר בְּקָרַחַה וְאִמִּי לְכָל־הָעָם עָשׂוּ־לִי  
 25 כֶּסֶם אֶשׁ־בְּרִי בְּבֵיתָהּ | וְאֲנִי כִרְתִּי הַמִּכְרַת־תִּי לְקָרַחַה בְּאִמִּי  
 26 יִשְׂרָאֵל | אֲנִי בְנִתִי עֲדָעָר וְאֲנִי עָשִׂיתִי הַמִּסְלָת־בְּאֶרְנָן  
 27 אֲנִי בְנִתִי בֵּת־בִּמְת־כִּי־הָדָם הָאֵל | אֲנִי בְנִתִי בְּצֹר־כִּי־עֵין  
 28 . . . שׁ־דִּיבָן חֲמִשָּׁן כִּי־כָל־דִּיבָן מִשְׁמַעַת | וְאֲנִי מֶלֶךְ  
 29 תִּי . . . מֵאֶת־בְּקֶרֶן אֶשֶׁר־יִסְפַּתִּי עַל־הָאָרֶץ | וְאֲנִי בְנִתִי  
 30 יִי . . . [מִהֶרֶד] בָּאֵל וּבֵת־דִּבְלָתָן | וּבֵת־בַּעַל־מִעֵן וְאִשָּׁה שָׁם אֶת־נִי . .  
 31 . . . צֶאֱן־הָאָרֶץ | וְחֹרֶנֶן יֵשֶׁב־בָּהּ . . וְקִי . . אֶשׁ . .  
 32 . . . אִמִּי לִי כִמְש־רֹד־הַלְתָּחִם בְּחֹרֶנֶן | וְאִדִּי . . .  
 33 . . . בָּהּ כִּמְש־בִּימִי וְעַל־דָּה־מִשְׁמִי עָשִׂיתִי . . .  
 34 . . . שֵׁת־שָׂרָק | וְאִנִּי . . .

I am Mesha<sup>1</sup>, son of Kemosh- . . king of Moab, the Daibonite.  
 My father was king over Moab thirty years, and I became  
 king after my father. And I made this high-place for  
 Kemosh in QRHH, with . . . [sal]<sup>4</sup>vation, because he saved  
 me from all the . . . and because he made me see my  
 desire upon all them that hated me.

<sup>5</sup>'Omri, king of Israel, he afflicted Moab many days, because  
 Kemosh was angry with his land. And his son succeeded  
 him; and he too said, I will afflict Moab. In my days  
 he said . . . ' and I saw my desire upon him and upon  
 his house, and Israel perished utterly for ever. . .

And <sup>6</sup>'Omri took possession of the [lan]<sup>8</sup>d of Mehēdeba; and he  
 dwelt in it, his days and half his sons' days, forty years;  
 but Kemosh restored it in my days.

And I built Ba'al-me'on, and I made therein the reservoir (?);  
and I buil[t]<sup>10</sup> Qiryathān.

And the men of Gad had dwelt in the land of 'Aṭāroth from  
of old; and the king of Israel built 'Aṭāroth for himself.  
And I fought against the city and took it. And I slew  
all the people. <sup>12</sup>the city, a gazingstock unto Kemosh  
and unto Moab. And I brought thence the altar-hearth  
of Daudoh (?), and I dr[ag]<sup>13</sup>ged it before Kemosh in  
Qeriyioth. And I caused the men of ŠRN to dwell  
therein, and the m[en]<sup>14</sup> of MĤRTH.

And Kemosh said to me, Go take Nebo against Israel. And  
I <sup>15</sup>went by night and fought against it from the break of  
dawn till the noontide, and I <sup>16</sup>took it and slew all . seven  
thousand m[en] and . . and women and . . <sup>17</sup>. and damsels,  
for I had devoted it to 'Ashtar-kemosh. And I took thence  
the . . <sup>18</sup>. of Yahweh, and I dragged them before Kemosh.

And the king of Israel had built <sup>19</sup>Yahaš, and dwelt therein  
while he fought against me. But Kemosh drove him out  
before me. <sup>20</sup>I took of Moab two hundred men, all the  
chiefs thereof; and I led them against Yahaš, and took  
it, <sup>21</sup>to add it to Daibon.

I built QRĤH, the wall of Ye'arim, and the wall <sup>22</sup>of the  
Mound; and I built the gates thereof, and I built the  
towers thereof; and I <sup>23</sup>built the king's house; and I  
made the sluices (?) of the reserv[o]ir (?) for wa]ter in the  
mid[st]<sup>24</sup> of the city. And there was no cistern in the  
midst of the city, in QRĤH; and I said to all the people,  
Make you <sup>25</sup>each a cistern in his house. And I cut the  
cutting for QRĤH with the help of prisoners <sup>26</sup>of Israel.

I built 'Aro'er, and I made the highway by the Arnon.  
<sup>27</sup>I built Beth-bamoth, for it was overthrown. I built  
Bešer, for it was in ruins . . . . <sup>28</sup>of Daibon were fifty, for  
all Daibon was obedient. And I became king <sup>29</sup>. . . .  
a hundred, in the cities which I added to the land. And  
I built <sup>30</sup>. . [Mehēde]ba and Beth-diblatān. And as

for (?) Beth-ba'al-me'on, I led there the .....<sup>31</sup>  
sheep of the land.

And as for Hauronān, there dwelt therein ... and .....<sup>32</sup>  
..... Kemosh said to me, Go down, fight against  
Hauronān; and I went down .....<sup>33</sup>  
Kemosh in my days, and ..... from there .....<sup>34</sup>  
..... and I ...

The stone was discovered at Dībān (ll. 1 f. and O.T. ריבן) in 1868. While the negotiations for its removal were going on, it was broken up by the Bedouin of the place, but not before a squeeze of the inscription had been secured while it was still intact. Two large fragments and eighteen small ones were recovered; the missing portions have been reconstructed from the original squeeze; so that the inscription can now be read in a tolerably complete text<sup>1</sup>.

It commemorates the successful efforts made by Mesha', king of Moab, to throw off the yoke of Israel. The Moabites had been reduced to subjection by David (2 S. 8 2), but how long they remained in that state is not told. Probably in the time of Jeroboam i, or soon after, they began to revolt; for the inscription implies that some measure of independence had been gained when it states that 'Omri oppressed Moab many days' (l. 5), which no doubt means that he found it necessary to put down a rebellion. He succeeded in capturing Mēdeba and its vicinity (l. 7 f.); 'the king of Israel' also fortified 'Aṭāroth, the ancient dwelling-place of the families of Gad (l. 10 f.); Nebo and Yahaš became Israelite strongholds (ll. 14. 18 f.). It is interesting to find that there was a sanctuary of Yahweh at Nebo (l. 17 f.), where the Israelites must have established themselves in some numbers. 'Omri's powerful arm, however, did not reach so far as the Arnon, for the more southern cities, Dibon, 'Aro'er, Qeriyyoṭh, remained in the possession of Moab; but how effectually the land was subdued may be judged from the heavy tribute which 'Omri's successor, Ahab, exacted from king Mesha' (2 K. 3 4). Then, in the latter years of Ahab's reign, perhaps at the moment when he was engaged in the war against Syria (1 K. 22), Mesha' revolted. According to 2 K. 1 1. 3 5 the revolt occurred after the death of Ahab; but the inscription, with the authority of a contemporary document, corrects

<sup>1</sup> A recent attempt to trace the missing fragments is vividly described by Gautier, *Autour de la Mer Morte*, Genève (1901) 93-98. The text given above is based upon that of Lidzbarski *Nordsem. Epigr.* 415 f., corrected by his later investigations in *Ephemeris Sem. Epigr.* i (1900) 1-10.

this detail of the history. The king of Moab recovered the cities occupied by Israel, and strengthened various weak spots in his territory. The towns mentioned in the inscription were situated, with the exception of Hauronān, in the debatable land N. of the Arnon, which was nominally assigned to Reuben and Gad (Num. 32 34-38. Josh. 13 15-28); but Mesha's revolt seems to have produced a durable settlement, and for the future these towns belonged to the kingdom of Moab (Am. 2 2. Is. 15 2 ff. Jer. 48 1 ff. Eze. 25 9). The inscription appears to be silent about the invasion of the allied kings recorded in 2 K. 3, unless there is an allusion to it in l. 4. Taking the inscription to be a comprehensive summary of Mesha's reign, as it was probably intended, we must suppose that the king of Moab ignores his reverses (2 K. 3 24-27), just as the Hebrew history omits to mention the losses of Israel (Bennett *DB* iii 411, art. Moab).

The language of Moab, as the inscription proves, was only a dialect of Hebrew (cf. Dt. 2 11). Such characteristic idioms as the impf. with waw conv., the inf. abs. with the fin. verb (used similarly, however, in Arabic and Syriac) אֲבַר אֲבַר l. 7, the use of אֲשֶׁר for the relative, רִאֵה ב', the words הוֹשִׁיעַ *save*, יָרֵשׁ *take in possession*, נִירֵשׁ *drive out*, הָרַג *slay*, הָחַרִים *ban*, וְאָעַשׂ (apoc. form), לַקִּיר, show that Moabite was more closely akin to Hebrew than to any other Semitic tongue. The forms of the proper names point in the same direction. The following differences may be noted: חֲמָתָא (Hebr. חֲמָת), the fem. sing. ending ת and the dual and plural ending ן (sometimes in the O.T.), שַׁת for שָׁנָה, the conj. חֲלַתְחֹם (Arab. conj. viii), אַחֲזָא *city*, אַחֲזָא (Hebr. לָכַד) *take a city*, the use in *prose* of חֲלָף *succeed* l. 6, בָּקַע *break* of dawn l. 15, נִבְרָן and נִבְרַת l. 16 for אֲנִישִׁים and נָשִׁים *damsels* l. 17. These differences are merely dialectical; some of them are related to Phoenician or Canaanite on the one side, and to Arabic<sup>1</sup>, the language of Moab's neighbours in Edom, on the other. The words אֲשֶׁר l. 9, רִית l. 12, מִכְרַת l. 25, do not occur in the O.T. The inscription is the classical example of the archaic form of Hebr. writing (cf. 2). The scriptio defectiva is the rule, e.g. חָא is used for the 3rd sing. mas. pronoun, though consonants are employed for final vowels, e.g. אֲבַי, לַפְנֵי, בֵּי, כֹּה, and in רִיבְנֵי, רִיבֵן; the suffix of the 3rd sing. mas. is ה' for ו'; the words are divided and separated by dots as in the ancient inscriptions 2. 61-63 (old Aram.), but also 13 and 16 (Phoen.). In general style the inscription is a real piece of literature, and indicates that Moab in the ninth cent. B.C. was not behind Israel

<sup>1</sup> See notes on מִלְחָמָה ll. 11. 19; מִאֲחָז l. 20; מִדְּבָרָא l. 8 (?); אַחֲזָא l. 11; חֲלָף l. 6.

in civilization. Finally, we have here clear evidence that not merely the language, but also the ideas, of the two nations had much in common. The religion of Kemosh was evidently very like the popular religion of Yahweh; and the manner in which the national god of Moab was regarded and spoken of finds remarkable parallels in expressions used of Yahweh in the O.T.

Among recent commentaries on the Moabite Stone the following are the most important: Bennett, art. Moab, *Hastings' Dict. of the Bible* (1900); Lidzbarski *Ephemeris* i (1900); Halévy *Rev. Sémi.* (1900), see Lidzb. *Eph.* i 145; Lagrange *Rev. Bibl.* x (1901); Driver, art. Mesha, *Ency. Bibl.* (1902).

Line 1. מִנְךְ Not pronounced מִנְךְ as in Hebr., for elsewhere in the inscr. י is written where the final vowel was sounded. In Phoen. the 1st pers. pron. is מִנְךְ 8 i n., in Canaanite *anuki* (Tell-el-Am. 180 66. 69), in Assyr. *andku*, in old Aram. מִנְךְ 61 i and מִנְךְ 62 19. In later Aram., Arab., Eth. the form is מִנְךְ, 'ana. מִנְךְ i.e. *deliverance*, from מִנְךְ, in 2 K. 3 4 מִנְךְ, LXX *Mōōd*; the latter form implies a derivative from the Hif. stem like מִנְךְ, הִנְךְ, Ps. 68 21. The pronunciation, therefore, may have been either *Mesha'* or *Mosha'*. There is room for only two letters after מִנְךְ, so מִנְךְ is not correct. Clermont-Ganneau reads מִנְךְ; Lidzbarski, after a fresh examination of the stone, suggests מִנְךְ, cf. מִנְךְ, *Eph.* i 3 f. See l. 3 n. מִנְךְ The name הִנְךְ ll. 21. 28 was probably pronounced *Daibon* rather than *Dibon* (O.T. הִנְךְ, LXX *Δαίβων*), for the latter would not be written with the vowel letter; cf. מִנְךְ l. 31 f. prob. *Ḥauronān*, l. 12 prob. *Daudoh*. Nöldeke, however, thinks that the vowel was *ē*, *Inscr. Kön. Mesa* (1870) 33; cf. מִנְךְ l. 25, which, as מִנְךְ l. 7 shows, could not have sounded *baitho*. But in מִנְךְ the י is invariably written, and this is rather in favour of the former view. *Dibon*, Is. 15 2. Jer. 48 18. 22 &c., now *Dibān* (دببان)<sup>1</sup>, lay a little to the N. of the Arnon; Buhl *Geogr. alt. Paläst.* 268.

L. 2. מִנְךְ שלש שנה Hebr. שלש שנה; שנה is therefore sing., see 8 i n., and cf. l. 8. The plur. ending ך in the O.T. (twenty-five or twenty-six times, fifteen times in Job) is mostly dialectical or late; in Aram. it is normal, e.g. 68 9. 13 מִנְךְ רִבְרִבִּן.

L. 3. מִנְךְ הִנְךְ Cf. Phoen. הִנְךְ 3 15. 4 6 &c., and see add. note ii p. 26. The fem. sing. ends in *ath*, as in Phoen. and occasionally in the O.T.; see add. note i p. 25. With the expression הִנְךְ וְאֵשׁ

<sup>1</sup> Modern forms from Kampffmeyer *ZDPV* xv-xvi (1892-3).

cf. 2 Ch. 21 11 *עֵשָׂה בְּמִצַּח*; a sanctuary or altar is prob. intended, rather than a literal 'high-place.' Illustrate from 1 K. 11 7. Is. 15 2. 16 12. Jer. 48 35. *לְכִמֹּשׁ* Kemosh was the national god of the Moabites (Num. 21 29. 1 K. 11 7. 33. Jer. 48 46 &c.), occupying among them much the same position as Yahweh among the Israelites. The name is found in compounds, e.g. l. 1 [ . . ] *לְכִמֹּשׁ*; *Kemosh-nadab*, king of Moab, KB ii 90 (= Schrader COT 288); *לְכִמֹּשׁ נָדָב* on Moab. seals, Lidzb. Eph. i 136 ff. The identification of Kemosh with Ares is based upon an error of Eusebius, *Onom.* 228 66 ff. ed. Lagarde. Other deities worshipped by the Moabites were *עֶשְׂתֵּר* l. 17; *בַּעַל מֶעַר* l. 30, Num. 25 1-3, local cults of Ba'al (? of Kemosh); and possibly *נֹבַח* l. 14 n. *לְכִמֹּשׁ בְּקִרְחָה* ll. 21. 24 f. The stone is expressly associated with the sanctuary at *קִרְחָה* ('this high-place to K. at *קִרְחָה*'), but it was found at Dibon, evidently *in situ*. We may suppose, therefore, that *קִרְחָה* was the name of a place in the district of Dibon (Nordlander), see l. 21 n. Among the Moabites Dibon may have had this extended sense, although in the O.T. it seems to be always the name of a town. *קִרְחָה* can hardly have been the acropolis of Dibon (Cl-Gan. &c.), for this is inconsistent with the terms of ll. 21 ff. Another explanation is suggested by Lagrange, *Rev. Bibl.* x 527 f. He takes *לְכִמֹּשׁ בְּקִרְחָה* closely together, *Kemosh-at-QRHH*, like *לְכַעֲשֶׂם בְּאַיְנֵם* 39 1. 24 2 n. This expression is used of the cult of a deity transplanted from one place to another, especially to a foreign land; it would be unnatural in Moab, where Kemosh was the chief god of the whole country<sup>1</sup>. According to Sayce *קִרְחָה* is the *Karhu* mentioned in the Karnak list of the conquests of Ramses ii, *Patr. Pal.* 237 cf. 21. The pronunciation of the word is not certain; it was either *קִרְחָה* or perhaps rather *קִרְחָה* like *יִרְחָה*, with the ending *חָה* as in *שִׁילָה*, *שִׁילָה*, and prob. *יִרְחָה* l. 12; Driver *Samuel* xc. [י] Lidzb. detects traces of נ and ס, and reads *בִּנְסָה* [י] · *בִּנְסָה* with a drink-offering of deliverance; for ב cf. 2 Ch. 29 35 *בִּנְסָה*. Lev. 16 3; illustrate from Ps. 116 13. Lagrange proposes *יִשַׁע* cf. Ex. 17 15; other suggestions are

<sup>1</sup> Lagrange identifies *קִרְחָה* with *קִרְחָה*, *קִרְחָה* Is. 16 7. 11. Jer. 48 31. 36. 2 K. 3 25; regarding the latter as a corrupt form of *קִרְחָה* 'New town' LXX Is. 16 7. 11 (so Cheyne *Ency. Bibl.* col. 2676), and *קִרְחָה* as its ancient name. But the reading of the LXX in Jer. 48 (LXX 31) 31 *καὶ πόλις Β, πόλις Α + ἀνὰ πόλιν* does not imply an original *קִרְחָה*; it is merely a transliteration of *קִרְחָה* (for *קִרְחָה*). *Qir-hareseth* is prob. the same as *Qir-Moab* = the modern Kerak (Targ. on Is. and Jer. loc. cit.). Nöld. has shown that there is no etymological connexion between *קִרְחָה* and Kerak, *Inschr. Kön. Mesa* 8 f. See *Expos. Times* xiii (1902) 186 f.



במשע *for the deliverance of Mesha'*, Smend u. Socin *Inscr. Kön. Mesa* (1886) 17; *במה ישע* *a high-place of deliverance*, Driver l. c.

L. 4. לכן ח. Perhaps השלכן (Cl.-Gan., Nöld., Lidzb.), i.e. (ה)שִׁלְכִין *those who attack* (?), *assailants*, lit. *cast themselves*. Neither the form (שִׁלְכִין like שִׁלְכִין) nor the meaning occurs in Hebr., which uses only the Hif. and Hof. of שָׁלַח. In Arab. سَلَّ i = *to put in, make to enter*, possibly in Moab. the vb. = *impel, assail*. The reading השלכן is less probable. היראני בכל שנה Cf. l. 7. Ps. 59 11. 118 7 &c.

L. 5. ויעני i.e. וַיַּעֲנֵי, the 3rd rad. of the יָעַן (Hebr. לָעַן) verb being retained, as in וַיַּעֲנֵי l. 6. If מלך ישראל = *king of Israel* as elsewhere, ויעני must be the impf. with waw conv. introducing the predicate, 'Omri . . . he oppressed, a very harsh construction here; see Gesenius § 111 h; Driver *Tenses* § 127 a. The rendering *was king over I.* is more suitable, although this requires על after מָלַךְ (l. 2). Perhaps the prep. was omitted by accident. יאנה Impf. of continuance in the past. The yodh seems certain (Lidzb.). For אנה cf. 1 K. 8 46 (Qal). 2 K. 17 18 (Hithp.). בארעה Cf. Num. 21 29. Jer. 48 46 כמשע עם מואב. The ancient ה of the suff., *ahu-au-δ* י, is preserved in Moabite; contrast י' in the Siloam inscr. 2 2-4. The form ה' is found in the O.T., e.g. אֶהְיֶה Gen. 9 21 &c.; Driver *Sam.* xxxv.

L. 6. ויחלפה i.e. וַיַּחֲלֶפֶה (Nöld.), or less probably וַיַּחֲלִיפֶה in accordance with Hebr. usage; and similarly elsewhere in the inscr. ויחלפה = *succeeded him*; so حَلَفَ in Arab. In Hebr. the Hif. = *cause to succeed, substitute*, Is. 9 9. ויאמר גם הוא Cf. Gen. 27 31. 1 S. 19 20-24. For הא see 8 9 n. After אמר there are traces of a letter, possibly ט (Lidzb.), doubtfully כ; the reading כבה or כרבה is thus very questionable.

L. 7. עלם אבר אבר עלם i.e. אָבַר אָבַר עָלָם, אָבַר אָבַר עָלָם for לעלם as in poetry, e.g. Ps. 89 2. 3. 38; or אָבַר אָבַר עָלָם, cf. Jer. 51 39 וישנו שנת עולם (Driver). וירש Either וַיִּרֶשׁ or וַיִּרְשׁ. The context requires a plupf. sense, for which ועמרי ירש would be the normal expression (l. 18).

L. 8. מהרבא i.e. מַהֲרֶבָּא (Nöld.), in the O.T. מַהֲרֶבָּא, or מַהֲרֶבָּא (Cl.-Gan. *Sûle de Dhiban* (1877) 55), as in the modern name مَدَبَا; so König *Lehrgeb.* ii 345, explaining the form by the Arab. dialectical form *mdhun* = *md'un* 'water'<sup>1</sup>. Medeba (Num. 21 30. Josh. 13 9.

<sup>1</sup> The מהרבא and in מה l. 14 used to denote δ and θ, according to Hommel, marks an affinity with the Minaean dialect of Arabic known from the el-ʿŪla inscr. (NW. Arabia); *Anc. Hebr. Trad.* 276. The alleged affinity between Moabite and Minaean must be received with caution; at the same time it is natural that the

Is. 15 2 &c.) was E. of the N. end of the Dead Sea. יִשְׂרָאֵל The subj., though grammatically 'Omri, must really be Israel. יִמְה The reading seems certain; יִמְה for יָמָיו *yamaih(u) = יָמָיו his days*. For the form with *u* cf. the Hebr. יָמָיו Hab. 3 10. נְבוֹרִיָּה Nah. 2 4. Job 24 23, and the Syr. ܝܡܐ, where the original *h* of the suff. is written but not sounded. For the plur. form without yodh cf. רִשְׁוֹ l. 20. מְנִלְתָּה l. 22, contrast שְׁעָרֶיהָ l. 22. בְּנֵה Prob. is also plur., *his sons* (see below); although בְּנֵה l. 6 is sing.

L. 9. בָּהּ To be completed by restoring יִשְׂרָאֵל at the end of l. 8, i.e. יִשְׂרָאֵל (Nöld.). Ll. 6-9 are important for the historical setting of the inscr., although the exact bearing of some details is obscure. וְיִמְהָרָה בָּהּ הָאָרֶץ l. 6 points to a fresh attempt made by Ahab to assert his authority in Moab; this was prob. the immediate cause of Mesha's revolt. וְיִמְהָרָה בָּהּ וּבְבָתָּה l. 7 indicates that the revolt was successful both against Ahab (בָּהּ) and his dynasty (וּבְבָתָּה, cf. בֵּית אֲחָז 2 K. 8 18. 9 7 ff. 10 11. Mic. 6 16 &c.). וְיִשְׂרָאֵל l. 7 records the final overthrow of Israel's power in Moab, marked, as we may infer from 2 K. 3 27, by the futile conclusion of Joram's expedition<sup>1</sup>, or by the extinction of the house of 'Omri. Then in ll. 7-9 the inscr. goes back to the first stage of the revolt. This began with the recovery of Mehēdeba (l. 8 end), which had been occupied by 'Omri: 'and he dwelt in it his days and half the days of his sons, forty years.' 'Omri's reign, according to 1 K. 16 23, lasted 18 years, Ahab's 22 (1 K. 16 29), Ahaziah's 2 (1 K. 22 52), Joram's 12 (2 K. 3 1). Thus 'Omri's 'days' were 18, and 'half the days of his sons' were 18, making a total of 36, or 'forty years' in round numbers. 'Half the days' of 'Omri's sons brings us, strictly speaking, to the 18th year of Ahab; at any rate it was in the closing years of Ahab's reign, and not after his death (2 K. 1 1. 3 5), that Mesha' began his struggle for independence. But the biblical record so far agrees with the inscr., inasmuch as the Moabite rebellion continued after Ahab's death, during the reigns of his two successors (l. 7). This second stage of the rebellion is recorded in ll. 10 ff.; 'Aṣāroth, Nebo, Yahaš were recovered, until Israel was finally driven out. At the close of his 18 years' struggle, Mesha' was able to commemorate his victories, and the efforts which

language of Moab should betray the influence of its Arabic-speaking neighbours. See further König *Hebr. u. Sem.* 82.

<sup>1</sup> 2 K. 3 27<sup>b</sup> seems intentionally to cast a veil over the abrupt retirement of the allies. It may have been due to superstitious dread of the god of the land after the sacrifice of Mesha's son, or perhaps to an unexpected invasion of the Syrians. See Lagrange *Rev. Bibl.* x 538-545.

he made for the future security of his kingdom, on a triumphal inscription. The stone, be it noted, was set up in קרחה l. 3; but קרחה was not fortified till Moab's freedom had been won, and Israelite prisoners could be employed upon the works, ll. 24-26. The foregoing account to a great extent turns on the rendering of בנה l. 8 *his sons*<sup>1</sup>, i. e. בנה like ימי, *his days* in this line. To take בנה as a sing., *his son* i. e. Ahab, raises serious chronological difficulties. It is impossible to get 40 years out of 'Omri's 18 and the half of Ahab's 22. Wellhausen makes the attempt by discarding the dates in Kings, and lengthening the combined reigns to 60 years (*Isr. u. Jud. Gesch.*<sup>2</sup> 9 f.); but to do this is to dislocate the biblical chronology, and the translation of בנה *his son* is not so certain as to demand such a violent measure<sup>3</sup>. בעלמען l. 30 בת בעלמען Num. 32 38. Josh. 13 17. Jer. 48 23 (בית מען). Eze. 25 9 &c. Now Má'in (ماعين), SW. of Mádebâ. אשח Prob. from שח sink, so pit (cf. שח Jer. 18 20) or reservoir for water, l. 23. The word prob. occurs in this sense in Sirach 50 3, where אשח is to be corrected to λάκκος ὡσεὶ θαλάσσης cod. A. See *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, Cambr. (1899) 63.

L. 10. קרית=Hebr. קרית Gen. 14 5. Jer. 48 1 &c., now Qur'yât (قربات), S. of 'Aţţârûs. For the form cf. דבלחן l. 30=דבלחם l. 31 f.=דבורים. These names are prob. not in the dual—it is difficult to see what significance the dual could have—but in the sing., with the sing. termination י, ם, called by Barth a 'local ending' (*Nominalb.* 319 n. 5); cf. דין 2 K. 6 13. קרית Josh. 21 32. This ending was subsequently expanded into ים; e. g. in Hebr. ירושלים &c., in Aram. שְׁכֵרִין=שְׁכֵרִין, Hebr. שְׁכֵרִין; similarly the Moab. עזרים=Hebr. עֲזָרִים. If these forms were originally duals, it is not clear how ים, ם could have been contracted into ם, י. It is true that the dual in Moab. ended in ך, e. g. מאתן l. 20=מאתים, but the origin of this form is quite distinct. See Gesenius-Kautzsch 256; on the other hand, König *Lehrgeb.* ii 437, Wright *Comp. Gr.* 150, regard these forms as dual, and Nöldeke points ים, קרית &c. ואש עמרת . . . Cf. Num. 32 34 JE. 'Aţţârûth=modern 'Aţţârûs (عطاروس),

<sup>1</sup> So Nordlander *Inscr. Kön. Mesa* (1896) 30 f. See Lidzbaraki *Ephemeris* i 143 f.

<sup>2</sup> Marti has recently suggested the rendering 'he (i. e. 'Omri) dwelt therein his days, and half of my days (i. e. ימי for ימי) his son (dwelt therein),' *Ency. Bibl.* i col. 792. This gets over the chronological difficulty, but it involves a very harsh construction. Marti rather exaggerates the awkwardness of the passage. Winckler cuts the knot by making חצי the half mean the whole! *Allor. Forsch.* ii 401-407.

about 8 miles NNW. of Dibon. For *אש נר* cf. *אש ישראל* Jud. 20 17 &c.

L. 11. *ואלתחם* i.e. *ואלתחם* = the Arab. viii conj. *اَلْتَحَلَ*; see Wright *Comp. Gr.* 208 f. The stem exists also in Assyrr., e.g. *iktalad* 'he plundered.' In Hebr. *קיר* = wall; but the meaning *town* appears in the Moab. pr. nn. *קיר מואב* nn. *קיר ורשת*, cf. Arab. *قَرْيَة* village. *ואחוז* i.e. *ואחוז*; so in Arab. *اخذ* = take a city, in Hebr. *לכד*. At the end of the line *כ* is prob. to be restored.

L. 12. *רית* for *רית* (*רית*), so point *רית*, cf. *רית*, *רית*, *רית* (l. 13); Stade *Lehrb.* § 192 b. Cf. Nah. 3 6 *רית*, Eze. 28 17 *רית*. *ואשב* Prob. *ואשב* from *שוב*, Josh. 14 7; or *ואשב* from *שבה*. *אראל* Of the many interpretations proposed for this word the most suitable here is *altar-hearth*, Eze. 43 15. 16 from *ארי* burn, Arab. *أرى* whence *أرى* hearth + *أل*, as in *כרמל*, *חשמל*. Here *אראל* is in the constr. st., and in Eze. 43 15 f. it has the article; this is against treating *אראל* as a compound, *hearth of El*, as e.g. König does, *Lehrgeb.* ii 416. See Cheyne *Ency. Bibl.* i col. 298; Marti on Is. 29 1. The *אראל* was perhaps a fire-altar, i.e. a pillar surmounted by a cresset, Rob. Smith *Rel. of Sem.* 469. If *אראל* = *lion of El* as in 2 S. 23 20 and Is. 33 7, it is difficult to believe that this was the title of a priest, as Lidzb. takes it, *Eph.* i 278. *דודא* Prob. *Daudah* (ll. 1 n. 3 n., cf. *דודא* Jud. 10 1), apparently a local god worshipped by the Israelites E. of Jordan<sup>1</sup>. As a pr. n. *Dādu* occurs in the Tell-el-Am. letters, e.g. 44. 45; in Hebr. *דודא*, *דודא*, *דודא* &c.; in Aram. letters CIS ii 107; in Palm. *דודא* 139 2; and in the inscr. from Šafā 2. The primary meaning is *loved one*, then *kinsman*, *uncle*. See Gray *Hebr. Pr. Names* 60 ff.<sup>2</sup> *ואסחבה* i.e. *ואסחבה* cf. Jer. 22 19. 2 S. 17 13. Arab. *سحب*.

L. 13. *למני יהוה* Cf. *למני יהוה* 1 S. 15 33. 2 S. 21 9. *בקריח* i.e. *בקריח* Jer. 48 24. Am. 2 2 (with art.), mentioned by the latter perhaps on account of this sanctuary of Kemosh (Nöld.). It is not unlikely that Ar, the capital of Moab, was the same place; see Driver on Am. 2 2. Its site is unknown, but it must have been on the N. or NE. border of Moab. Another suggestion identifies Qeriyoth with Rabbath-Moab, S. of the Arnon, Buhl *Geogr. Alt. Paläst.* 270. *ואשב*

<sup>1</sup> The difficult *דודא* Am. 8. 14 LXX *δ θεός σου* is ingeniously corrected to *דודא* by Winckler *Altor. Forsch.* i 195.

<sup>2</sup> Dussaud et Macler *Voyage Archéol. au Šafā* (1901) 126.

<sup>3</sup> Winckler treats Ariel-Dōdah as a compound deity, i.e. 'nergal-Tammuz-Jahve with his consort Dodah'—an etymological extravagance; *Gesch. Isr.* ii 257 f.

i.e. <sup>הַיָּבֵשׁ</sup> 2 K. 17 24. שֶׁרן if not a city, may be the שֶׁרן of 1 Ch. 5 16 (E. of Jordan) which is prob. the same as חַמְשִׁיזֶר Dt. 3 10. Josh. 13 9. 16 f. At the end of the line an א can be traced, prob. part of אש.

L. 14. מִזְרַח Site unknown; not in the O. T. וַיֹּאמֶר לִי כְמוֹשׁ לֵךְ Cf. l. 32. Josh. 8 1. Jud. 7 9. 1 S. 23 4 &c. נֶבֶח Num. 32 3. 38 JE (assigned to Reuben). Is. 15 2. Jer. 48 1. 22. A city on or near Mt. Nebo; Buhl 266 f. The name may point to the worship of the Babyl. god Nebo in the city or on the mountain, though not necessarily, cf. Arab. النَبَاة the height. וַיֹּאמֶר So in Job 16 22. 23. 8; in prose only Ex. 9 23.

L. 15. בָּלִיל Pronounced בָּלִיל, as Is. 15 1 בָּלִיל. 21 11 בָּלִיל show. אִם יִבְקַע כְּשֹׁחַר אֹרֶךְ Cf. Is. 58 8 מִבְּקַע חֲשֹׁרֶת. In Hebr. עֵלָה is usual, e.g. 1 S. 9 26, and with מ', מַעְלֹת הַשֵּׁ' Neh. 4 15. Prob. sing. with the ending *ām* (l. 10 n.) rather than dual. In Moab. the dual ends in ׀, טַאֲתֹן l. 20.

L. 16. כָּל Restore כָּלָה i.e. בָּלָה. After שְׁבַעַת we may read [נֶגֶר] נֶגֶר i.e. נֶגֶר resident foreigner, sojourner (stranger, AV., RV.), or possibly, as this is not very suitable, נַי young, child (Lidzb.); see 20 A 15 n.

L. 17. רַחֲמַת i.e. רַחֲמַת cf. Jud. 5 30 רַחֲמַת, prob. female slaves. מַלְכַּעֲשֹׁתֶר A compound deity like עֲשֹׁתֶר נְכֶשֶׁת 10 3 n. עֲשֹׁתֶר was most likely a female deity, though the name is written without the usual fem. ending, as in the Babyl. *Ishtar*, the Palm. עֲשֹׁתֶר (in עֲשֹׁתֶרֶת 112 4), and in the Phoen. pr. n. עֲשֹׁתֶרֶת 22 1. The male עֲשֹׁתֶר (עֲשֹׁתֶרֶת) belonged only to the S. Semites. See 4 1 n. הַחֲרֻמָּה i.e. הַחֲרֻמָּה. For the practice of *devoting* a city to the god, cf. in Israel Num. 21 2 f. JE. Dt. 2 34. 3 6. Josh. 6 17-19. The *ban* (Arab. حَرَمَ *separate, prohibit*) involved the destruction both of persons and of property, Lev. 27 28 f. See Driver *Sam.* 101 f. *Deut.* 98 f., for the idea Rob. Smith *Rel. of Sem.* 434 &c., and 79 8 n. At the end of the line restore לִי rather than לִי אֶת; the latter in l. 12 is sing. and has אֶת before it.

L. 18. וַאֲסַחֲבֵי הֵם The pron. is here used as an accus.; cf. הֵם *eos* Ezr. 4 10. In Bibl. Aram., as in Syr., there is no verbal suff. 3 plur.; in Syr. <sup>ܐܢܬܝܢ</sup> are used instead.

L. 19. יִיחַ Num. 21 23. Dt. 2 32. Is. 15 4. Jer. 48 21 &c. The site is not known, but it lay on the E. plains, N. of the Arnon; according to Eusebius it was between Dibon and Medaba (*Onom.* 264 96 ed. Lagarde). Yahaş was occupied by the Israelite king at the beginning of the war, prob. as an advanced post. בְּהַלְחָמָה i.e. בְּהַלְחָמָה or

בְּהַלְחֹמָה following the Arab. form اِنْجَالَ inf. conj. viii. The place-names אֶשְׁחַב, אֶשְׁחַב, אֶשְׁחַב are in form infinitives of conj. viii. וַיִּנְשֹׂא וְנָה' Cf. of Yahweh Dt. 33 27. Josh. 24 18.

L. 20. קִמְחָם=קִמְחָם, pronounced קִמְחָם, cf. the dual ending of the oblique cases in Arab. —بن, and the contraction of *ai* to *el* in Aram. אֶלְמֵי, אֶלְמֵי; or the pronunciation may have been קִמְחָם, like the Arab. وَاثْقَان, Targ. קִמְחָם. רִשָּׁה Prob. *his chiefs*,=רִאשֵׁיו, the plur. with suff. as יִמָּה, יִמָּה (?) l. 8. In Moab, as in Israel, the nation was organized in clans or families; e.g. Ex. 6 14 P. 18 25 JE. וַאֲשָׁה i.e. הַיִּשְׁרָאֵל cf. l. 30. The suff. is sing. collective.

L. 21. לִסְפָּח Inf. of יִסְפָּח (l. 29), i.e. לִסְפָּח, as לִסְפָּח should be read in Num. 32 14. Is. 30 1. Ges.-Kautzsch 195 n.<sup>1</sup> רִיבֵן Perhaps a district, rather than a city (l. 3 n.); note the expressions עַל לִסְפָּח (cf. יִסְפָּח עַל הָאָרֶץ l. 29) and כָּל ד' שִׁשְׁמֵעַת l. 28, which seem hardly applicable to a city (Nordlander 42). הָעֵרֶן Lit. *the woods*, prob. the royal groves or park קִרְחָה; cf. Qoh. 2 6.

L. 22. הַעֲפֹל the *acropolis* of קִרְחָה; cf. Neh. 3 27. 2 Ch. 27 3. Is. 32 14 &c. of the fortified mound within Jerusalem, 2 K. 5 24 within Samaria. שְׁעֵרָה Plur. with scriptio plena, cf. l. 8 n. מִנְדִּלְתָּה must also be plur., i.e. מִנְדִּלְתָּה or מִנְדִּלְתָּה (Nöld.), l. 8 n.

L. 23. בַּת מֶלֶךְ Cf. 1 K. 16 18. כֻּלָּי Either *both*, *double*, Hebr. בְּלָאִים, Arab. كِلَا, both, Eth. *kele*, or *sluices* from בְּלָא, *re-strain*. After הָאֵשׁ there are traces of ו; restore הָאֵשׁ לְמִן. הָאֵשׁ לְמִן • לְמִן The ב in בִּקְרֵב is doubtful (Lidzb.). i.e. לְמִן or לְמִן.

L. 24. אֵין i.e. אֵין. The order as in Gen. 47 13.

L. 25. חִמְכִּרְתָּה Prob. חִמְכִּרְתָּה from כִּרְתָּה, *cutting*, perhaps for water. In Hebr. כִּרְתָּה is used of *cutting* trees, and כִּרְתָּה of *cutting* wells or trenches. כִּרְתָּה may be taken from כִּרְתָּה (פְּרִתִּי) whence כִּרְתָּה *pit*, Zeph. 2 9; but it is difficult to see how חִמְכִּרְתָּה can come from a לָח verb, unless it be a peculiar Moab. form. בְּאִמְרִי i.e. בְּאִמְרִי. The yodh is faintly visible. For ב *with the help of*, cf. 1 S. 14 6 and l. 28 n.

L. 26. עֲרֵיר Num. 32 34. Dt. 2 36. Jer. 48 19 &c. The ruins 'Arâ'ir (عرعر) S. of Dibon are on the N. edge of the ravine of the Arnon (W. el Mojib). After אֲרִינָה perhaps the stroke | followed.

L. 27. בְּמֹת בְּמֹת Prob. the same as בְּמֹת Num. 21 19 f. בְּמֹת 22 41 &c., situated perhaps on Mt. 'Attarûs. הָרִם i.e. הָרִם K. 2 25. בָּרִי Dt. 4 43 (in Reuben) &c. 1 Macc. 5 26 ff. Βορόρ. The site is unknown; it must have been towards the E. border of the Moab. table-land. עֵין i.e. עֵין Mic. 3 12.

L. 28. At the beginning we may conjecture ש[חא | ח] for רש see l. 20 n. Halévy suggests plausibly ש[חא | ח], i. e. *with the help of fifty men of D.* (l. 25), *Rev. Sép.* (1900) 292. *obedience, cf. Is. 11 14 עמון משמעתם*. For the idiom see *Driver Tenses* § 189. 2. At the end of the line part of a כ can be discerned; restore מלכות[י]. In the space which follows על רש *over chiefs* may be supplied.

L. 29. בקרן Prob. בָּקֶרֶן *in the cities.* Cf. l. 21.

L. 30. Before ובת only בא can be seen, perhaps to be completed מורבא l. 8. עלמן בת דבלתן Jer. 48 22. Num. 33 46 עלמן ובת בעלמן Cf. l. 9 n. The preceding stroke usually marks a stop; and as בעלמן was 'built' in l. 9, it seems unreasonable to take ובת ב' as accus. after בנתי l. 29. On the other hand if 'ב' begins a new sentence as *casus pendens*, and as for *Beth-b.*, the construction of ואשא (cf. note on ויענו l. 5) becomes awkward. At the end of the line the usual restoration נקר is possible, meaning *breeders of a particular kind of sheep*; cf. 2 K. 3 4 (of Mesha).

L. 31. חורון See l. 1 n. 10 n. Is. 15 5. Jer. 48 3 ff. The city lay on the table-land S. of Wadi Kerak, but on lower ground; hence the verb ירד l. 32, and מורד ח' in the O.T. The word must be construed as a *casus pendens*. Neither [בן . דין . חורן] (Smend u. Socin) nor [בני . חורי] (Nöld.) can be supported by a close examination of the stone. Lidzb. suggests .בת .וק. As Hauronān lay in the S., and outside the Israelite occupation, it is likely that these lines gave an account of campaigns against the Edomites.

L. 32. אמר לי כמש Cf. l. 14. At the end of the line Halévy (l. c.) supplies ימן רבן *and I fought against the city many days.*

L. 33. בזה. Restore וישבה i. e. וַיֵּשְׁבָה l. 8 f. על[א]רם prob. the name of a place.

L. 34. שרק ? meaning.

## HEBREW

2. Siloam. Circ. 700 B.C. Imp. Mus., Constantinople.

- 1 ... הנקבה • חה • היה • דבר • הנקבה • בעוד .....
- 2 הנחן • אש • אל • רעו • ובעוד • שלש • אמת • להנקב • נשמע • קל • אש • ק
- 3 רא • אל • רעו • כי • הית • זדה • בצד • מימן ..... א • ובים • ה
- 4 נקבה • הבו • החצבם • אש • לקרת • רעו • נחן • עלן • גרזן • וילכו
- 5 המים • מן • המוצא • אל • הברכה • במאתים • ואלף • אמה • ומא
- 6 ת • אמה • היה • גבה • הצד • על • ראש • החצבם

... the boring through! And this was the manner of the boring through: whilst yet . . . . .<sup>2</sup> the pick, each towards his fellow, and whilst yet there were three cubits to be bored [through, there was hear]d the voice of each calling to his fellow, for there was a split in the rock on the right hand . . . . . And on the day of the <sup>4</sup> boring through the miners struck, each to meet his fellow, pick upon pick; and <sup>5</sup> the waters flowed from the source to the pool for two hundred and a thousand cubits; and a hundred cubits was the height of the rock above the head of the miners.

This ancient Hebrew inscr. was discovered in 1880 on the right wall of the tunnel which connects the Virgin's Spring ('Ain Sitti Maryam) with the pool of Siloam (Birket Silwân, Jn. 9 7), about 19 ft. from the Siloam end. This tunnel pierces the SE. spur of the hill on which the temple of Jerusalem formerly stood. Above the inscr. the rock was dressed for a considerable space, as though it had been prepared for some more writing, or for a relievo representing the miners at work (Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 295. ib. ii 285 illustrn.). The inscr. describes an incident in the boring of the tunnel: the gangs which started from opposite ends successfully effected a junction, and so freed a passage for the water from the spring to the pool. The course of the tunnel is marked by two curious curves which perhaps were designed intentionally to avoid some underground obstacle, supposed by Cl.-Gan. to have been the tombs of the kings (*Rec.* ii





L. 1. At the beginning of the line we may conjecture הִנְּהוּ *behold!* or הִנְּהוּ, or הִנְּהוּ cf. l. 3. Blake (see n. 1 below) suggests הִנְּהוּ; for the construction cf. Gen. 11 1. Is. 47 11. הִנְּהוּ Not in the O. T.; but the vb. occurs in 2 K. 12 10 &c. = *pierce*, Arab. كَفَبَ *ib.* הִנְּהוּ may be pointed הִנְּהוּ or הִנְּהוּ, Syr. הִנְּהוּ *hole*, Arab. كَفَبَ *tunnel*. The word is to be translated as a verbal noun active, *piercing through*; see l. 3. הִנְּהוּ Cf. Dt. 15 2 הִנְּהוּ הִנְּהוּ 19 4. 1 K. 9 15. In the lacuna there must have been a verb and a subject, e.g. *the miners were lifting up*, הִנְּהוּ הִנְּהוּ (Ex. 20 25); or הִנְּהוּ וְהִנְּהוּ.

L. 2. **וְיָרָא** So Jer. 6 21 **וְיָרָא**. **וְיָרָא**; for the construction cf. Gen. 48 7. The **ו** is fairly clear (Socin l.c.), and a part of the top of **פ** (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 53). This restoration was proposed by Guthe l.c. 737. **וְיָרָא** Pf. as in 2 S. 12 22; or **וְיָרָא**.

L. 3. הִיתָ i. e. הִיָּתָ K. 9 37 Keth., rather than הִיָּתָ which in this inscr. would be הִיָּתָ (see above). הִיָּתָ The context suggests *fissure*; but the meaning is uncertain, and the word not otherwise known. The וֹרֵר *seethe, act presumptuously* gives no suitable sense<sup>1</sup>. After מִיָּמִן many restore מִיָּמִן and on the left, i. e.

sense<sup>1</sup>. After מִימָן many restore מִימִינָא and on the left, i. e. from S. to N. facing the two gangs, in the direction of the tunnel. Socin in his facsimile gives מִי and what are supposed to be fragments of מִי; but while the מִ is certain, the לִ is very doubtful, and the restoration מִימִינָא is not sufficient to fill the gap (Lidzb. l. c.).

L. 4. החצבם *the hewers*; חצב of *hewing out* cisterns Dt. 6 11.  
 2 Ch. 26 10, and of *mining* Dt. 8 9. See the word in Sirach 48 17  
 (p. 16 n. 1). לקרת i.e. לקרת from קרה. ילכו Note the  
 use of waw conv. with impf.

L. 5. מִמֵּי *spring* of water; i.e. the Virgin's Spring, from which the tunnel starts. Cf. 2 Ch. 32 30 מִמֵּי נִיחֹן הָעֵלִיץ מֵמַתָּיִם. For the unusual order cf. Num. 3 50 וְאֵלֶּף אַמָּה שֶׁלֹּשׁ מֵמַתָּה וְאֵלֶּף. The actual length of the tunnel is 1706·8 ft. (Conder l.c. 122), very nearly 1200 cubits of 17 in.; but the 1200 is only a round number, like the 100 at the end of the line, and therefore is of no value for fixing the length of the cubit.

L. 6. נְבֵחַ הָחֵדֶר i.e. נְבֵחַ הָחֵדֶר. The thickness of the rock above the excavators is roughly calculated at 100 cubits. 'Towards the north the rock surface is 170 feet above the roof of the tunnel.' Conder l.c. 127.

<sup>1</sup> Blake, in the *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* xxii. i (1901) 52 f., suggests הָרַח from אָרַח which seems to have the primary meaning of *narrow* in Syr. and Arab., אָרַח *evacuavit, privavit* (Payne Smith), رَدَّ *fill, be in straits for water*, conj. *v* *straitened in one's bosom* (Lane). This is possible.

# PHOENICIAN

## PHOENICIA

3. Byblus. CIS i. v-iv cent. B.C. Paris.

- 1 אנך יחומלך מלך גבל בן יחרבעל בן בן ארמלך מלך
- 2 גבל אש פעלתן הרבת בעלת גבל ממלכת על גבל וקרא אנך
- 3 את רבתי בעלת גבל [ב שמע] קל ופעל אנך לר בתי בעלת
- 4 גבל המזבח נחשת זן אש בח[צ]ר ז הפתח חרץ זן אש
- 5 על פן פתחי ז והערות חרץ אש בתבת אבן אש על פתח חרץ זן
- 6 והערפת זא ועמדה זה ... ס אש עלהם ומספנתה פעל אנך
- 7 יחומלך מלך גבל לרבתי בעלת גבל כמאש קראת את רבתי
- 8 בעלת גבל ושמע קל ופעל לי נעם תברך בעלת גבל אית יחומ[לך]
- 9 מלך גבל ותחזו ותאריך ימו ושנתו על גבל כ מלך צדק הא ותתן
- 10 [לו הרבת ב]עלת גבל חן לען אלנם ולען עם ארץ ז וחן עם אר
- 11 [ץ ....] כל ממלכת וכל אדם אש יסף לפעל מלאכת עלת מז
- 12 [בח ועלת פת]ח חרץ זן ועלת ערפת זא שם אנך יחומלך
- 13 ..... פעל מלאכת הא ואם אבל תשת שם א. כ ואם ה ..
- 14 ..... את ה א ... יס. ה עלת מקם ז ו ..
- 15 ..... הרבת בעלת גבל אית האדם הא חרעו

I am Yehaw-milk, king of Gebal, son of Yehar-ba'al, grandson of Uri-milk, king <sup>2</sup> of Gebal, whom the lady, mistress of Gebal, made king over Gebal; and I invoke <sup>3</sup> my lady, mistress of Gebal, [for she hears] my voice. And I make for my lady, mistress <sup>4</sup> of Gebal, this altar of bronze which is in this court, and this engraved work of gold which <sup>5</sup> is over against this engraved work of mine, and the uraeus (?) of gold which is in the midst of the stone, which is above this engraved work of gold, <sup>6</sup> and this portico and its pillars and the ... which are

upon them and its roof do I, <sup>7</sup>Yehaw-milk, king of Gebal, make to my lady, mistress of Gebal; inasmuch as I invoked my lady, <sup>8</sup>mistress of Gebal, she has heard my voice and done kindness to me. May the mistress of Gebal bless Yehaw-milk, <sup>9</sup>king of Gebal, and grant him life and prolong his days and his years over Gebal, for he is a righteous king! And may <sup>10</sup>[the lady, m]istress of Gebal, give [him] favour in the eyes of the gods and in the eyes of the people of this land and the favour of the people of the lan[<sup>11</sup>d . . .]! Every prince and every man who shall make any addition to this alt[<sup>12</sup>ar or to this engraved wor]k of gold and to this portico I, Yehaw-milk, <sup>13</sup>. . . . . set . . . . . him who does that work; and if thou do not set there (??) . . and if . . . <sup>14</sup>. . . . . upon this place and . . . <sup>15</sup>. . . . . the lady, the mistress of Gebal, that man and his seed.

This is the oldest Phoenician inscr. yet found in Phoenicia itself. It belongs to the Persian age. Above the inscr. Yehaw-milk, in Persian dress, stands with left hand uplifted, and with the right offering a bowl to the seated goddess. The scene perhaps pictures the occasion when he dedicated the objects recorded below. A conjectural restoration of the stele standing on the two lions which were found near it is illustrated in Berger *Hist. de l'écriture* <sup>3</sup> 162.

L. 1. אֲנִי The usual form of 1 sing. pron. in Phoen.; rarely אֲנִי CIS i 103 c. 104. 107. Though not written (cf. אֲנִי l. 2, 1, 1 &c.), the final *f* vowel was prob. pronounced. In later Punic usage the final vowel seems to have been dropped in pronunciation as well as in spelling, e.g. Plautus *Poenulus* v 2 35 *anech*, Schröder xxix 18 4 אֲנִי. Cf. 1 1 n. יְהָוָה i. e. יְהָוָה, *let Milk grant life* cf. חַיּוּ l. 9 and יְהָוָה 2 Ch. 29 14. נָבַל Cf. 1 K. 5 32. Eze. 27 9. The Greeks changed the name Gebal to Βύβλος; it is now called Djebél, about half-way between Tripoli and Beirût, where the inscr. was found in 1869. *Gubla* is frequently mentioned in the Tell-el-Am. letters, e.g. 50 2. 53. 54. 123 &c. יְהָוָה *Ba'al is proud* cf. יְהָוָה *haughty* Fr. 21 24; NHebr. (Hithp.), Aram. יְהָוָה *be haughty*. The reading, however, is uncertain. The Corp. and Lidzbarski read יְהָוָה *B. rages*; Vogüé יְהָוָה *B. gives joy* cf. יְהָוָה 1 Ch. 5 24. בֵּן Cf. 5 14. 27 4. CIS i 372. 391 f.; in Aram. 66 2; in Hebr. Ex.

10 2. **מִלְכִּי** *fire of Milk* cf. **מִלְכִּי** 1 Ch. 6 9, and *Urumilki of Gebal* on the Taylor cylinder of Sennacherib, col. ii 50 (*KB* ii 91)—an earlier king of the same name. The occurrence of *milk* in the royal names **מִלְכִּי** and **מִלְכִּי** points to the cult of the patron-deity of Gebal, by tradition identified with *Kρόνος*, the mythical founder of the city, Philo Bybl. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 568 δ *Κρόνος* . . . πόλιν πρώτην κτίζει τὴν ἐπὶ Φωινίκης Βύβλον. *Milk* alone as the name of the god has not been found on any inscription; it is merely a title.

L. 2. **שֵׁן** The Phoen. relative, pronounced as a monosyllable *ish* or *ash*, e.g. Plaut. *Poen.* v 2 56 *assamar* = **שֵׁן** **שֵׁן**, or possibly as a dissyllable **שֵׁן**, Plaut. ib. 1 5; Apuleius *Herb. Medicam.* 47 (48) *nesso esse sade* = **שֵׁן** **שֵׁן** **שֵׁן**. The short form **שֵׁן** is also found, e.g. CIS i 112 b<sup>1</sup>, and more frequently in Pun. and NPun. e.g. 41 2. 3. 55 6. 57 7. 9. 10 **שֵׁן** = **שֵׁן**, and in the transcriptions *si*, *se* Plaut. ib. 1 1. 8 &c. The etymology of **שֵׁן** is obscure. Taking **שֵׁן** as the original element, it is possible that **שֵׁן**, properly a demonstrative sound, 'Deutelaut,' was added to it; cf. the **שֵׁן** in **שֵׁן**, **שֵׁן**, **שֵׁן**, Kōnig *Lehrgeb.* ii 323; on the other hand, in the Assy. *ša* the vowel sound followed the consonant. Whatever the relation between **שֵׁן** and **שֵׁן** may be, in actual usage the Phoen. **שֵׁן** forms historically a link between the Hebr. **שֵׁן** and **שֵׁן**. See Wright *Comp. Gr.* 119; Zimmern *Vergl. Gr.* 77. **שֵׁן** i.e. **שֵׁן** cf. **שֵׁן** 4 7. **שֵׁן** 5 5. The form of the rel. sentence is exactly like Gen. 45 4 **שֵׁן** **שֵׁן** **שֵׁן** (Ges. § 138 d). The sentence has been rendered 'for whom . . . made the kingdom,' treating the suff. as = prep. and suffix, as in **שֵׁן** Josh. 15 19 &c., but **שֵׁן** = *royal person* not *kingdom* in Phoen.; see note below. **שֵׁן** The title **שֵׁן** is very ancient; it was used by the inhabitants of Gebal in the fifteenth cent. B.C. of the goddess of their city, *Bilit ša Gubla* (Tell-el-Am. letters 55–110). Whether *Bilit* (**שֵׁן**) was the name of the deity, or whether it was used in an appellative sense, *mistress*, like **שֵׁן** lit. *owner, lord*, cannot be decided with certainty<sup>1</sup>. Among the Phoenicians of a later age, at any rate, there is no clear evidence of a distinct goddess Ba'alath. The meaning of the expression **שֵׁן** **שֵׁן** is too obscure to be decisive<sup>2</sup>. Probably, therefore, **שֵׁן** is only the title of the chief goddess of the city, *the mistress*

<sup>1</sup> This goddess was, of course, a Canaanite not a Babylonian deity. But the Assy. *Bilit* raises the same difficulty; sometimes it is used as a pr. name, sometimes as a title 'lady,' sometimes—and this illustrates the usage here—merely as a designation of Ishtar. Jastrow *Rel. of Bab. and Assy.* 226; Zimmern *KAT* 356.

<sup>2</sup> The NPun. pr. n. **שֵׁן** is uncertain; Berger *Inscr. céram. d'Hadrumète* 2.

of Gebal; her actual name was not pronounced, perhaps out of reverence. But there can be little doubt that the Ba'alath of Gebal was 'Ashtart, just as the Ba'al of Tyre was Melqarth (36 1), the Ba'al of Hārran was Sin (p. 182), and בעל שמש was the title of an unnamed goddess in Sabaeen (CIS iv 172 3)<sup>1</sup>. There is abundant evidence that 'Ashtart was the chief goddess of Gebal. The city was specially sacred to her; its coins are stamped לנבל קדש (149 B 11), with her symbol, the cone, standing in the temple-court (Rawlinson *Phoenicia* 146, Perrot et Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii 60). Moreover, the goddess represented in the sacrificial scene above the inscr. is almost certainly 'Ashtart. In appearance, indeed, she resembles the Egyptian Isis-Hathor, having on her head the solar disk between two cow-horns<sup>2</sup>; but the Phoenicians borrowed some of the attributes, as well as the outward representation, of the Egyptian Isis for their own goddess. In an inscr. lately found at Memphis (1900) Isis and 'Ashtart are named together . . . לרבתי לאלם אדרת אם אלם עשתרת ולאלם (p. 91 n. 1); and Plutarch has preserved the legend that Isis journeyed to Byblus (Gebal), where she was called 'Αστάρτη, *de Os. et Is.* § 15<sup>3</sup>. By the Greeks Ba'alath was taken to be a distinct deity, Βήλθης, Βααλτίς, and in particular the Ba'alath of Gebal was identified with Aphrodite, 'Αφροδίτη Βυβλή, Lucian *de dea Syr.* 6<sup>4</sup>. In certain parts of Arabia the planet Venus had the name of *Balīth*<sup>5</sup>. The title רבת is given to 'Ashtart and to other goddesses; see 45 1. 47. 50. 60. 77 B. הרבת The article in Phoen. is far less common than in Hebr.; thus in 5 it occurs 7 times where Hebr. would have used it 28 times, Schröder 161. מלכות *kingdom, sovereignty*, then generally, *royal person*, cf. l. 11. 57 2 &c.; in contrast to אדם 5 4. 6; and often on coins of African kings=מלך, 57 1 n. מלך The ptc. followed by the pron. as in פעל

<sup>1</sup> So with the Nab. שרש lit. *lord of Shara*; the actual name of the god is unknown. Wellhausen *Reste Ar. Heid.* 51; and see E. Meyer *Ency. Bibl.* 3742.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Philo Bybl. η δὲ 'Αστάρτη ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἰδίᾳ κεφαλῇ βασιλείας παράσημον κεφαλῇ ταύρου *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 569.

<sup>3</sup> Is. 10 4. if emended to נָחַשׁ וְנָחַשׁ נָחַשׁ (Lagarde), may further illustrate the combination of Phoen. and Egypt. deities; Beltis is perhaps the goddess of Gebal. Cheyne *Isaiah*, SBOT 137.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Philo Bybl. ὁ Κρόνος Βύβλω μὲν τὴν πόλιν τῇ θεᾷ Βααλτίδι, τῇ καὶ Διόνῃ, ἔδωκεν ἰδ.

<sup>5</sup> Chwolson *Die Ssabäer* ii 22 (= En-Nedīm i iv) يوم الجمعة الزهرة واسمها بَلْتِي. Isaac of Antioch (died circ. 460 A. D.) speaks of Baaltis as a goddess common to the Oenhoenes and Arabs (*Opera* i 210 l. 98; 212 l. 129 ed. Bickell). Cumont in Pauly's *Realencyclopädie* (1896) s. v. Baltis.



Babelon *Pers. Achém.* nos. 1398, 1403, 1407 &c.; cf. the *aedicula* from Sardinia, CIS i 148, Pl. xxx. It has been suggested that מרח may mean not merely *engraved work* but *statue* or *bust*, and that the statue of the king (מרחי) was erected opposite to a gilded statue of the goddess (חמ' חרץ); a position which may be illustrated from the Rosetta Stone, where the priests decree a statue of Ptolemy to be placed near the principal god of the temple, Cl.-Ganneau *Ét.* i 17. But whether מרח could be used in this sense is questionable; and even if the word is to be found in τοῖσι Φοινικησὶν παρακοῖσι, which Herodotus says 'the Phoenicians place at the prow of their triremes' (iii 37), this single example of doubtful significance—παρακοῖσι may refer to figures of the Egyptian god Ptah—is hardly sufficient to warrant the rendering *statue*. An obvious meaning of מרח is *door*, here a *monumental door* or *pylon* (Vogüé, Renan); this suits מרח חרץ but not מרחי, which seems to denote the stele of the inscr. What is intended by חערות, if that be the right reading, is even more doubtful. Possibly ערת is the Phoen. equivalent of the Egyptian 'a'a, i. e. the uraeus, or small serpent, which appears sometimes as an accessory to the winged disk and on the head-dress of gods and kings in Egyptian art. Cl.-Ganneau takes the word as a plur. denoting an uraeus-frieze of Egyptian pattern on the epistyle of the *aedicula* (חמרת); he gives several illustrations of Egyptian and Phoen. votive shrines with this decoration (l. c. 22-24).

בח[צ]ר in this court is the best restoration of the text; cf. 33 2. 3.

חרץ=χρυσός, חר, 4 5. 24 1. 33 3. 5. In Hebr. חרץ is poetical, e. g. Ps. 68 14; many words poetical, archaic, or rare in Hebr. are common in Phoen., e. g. מעל for עשה, פעם for רגל, אלף for שור, שאר for בשר, נעם for טוב, ירח for חרש &c. In this inscr. and in 4 5. 33 5 חרץ has been rendered *incision, engraving* from חרץ=*cut, sharpen* in Hebr. See 33 5 n. The rendering *gold* is preferable here and in 4 5.

בתח Prob.=בתוך cf. עלת for על ll. 11. 12. 14 &c. חערות Prob. gallery, portico, στοά. Etymologically the word is the same as the Arab. غُرْفَة lit. 'eaves to catch the rain,' or 'gable from which the rain drips'; then 'the gallery below the roof,' 'upper balcony'; see Hoffmann *Ueb. einige Phön. Inschr.* 12 f. in *Abh. Gött. Ges.* xxxvi (1890). The word occurs again 10 1. 33 5. The Corp. reads, with less probability, חערות the row of columns, cf. the Hebr. מערכה a row (of lamps) Ex. 39 37. עסרה i. e. עשרה; cf. in Sabaeen the dedication of the peristyle of 'Umdān מכנתן עסרן CIS iv 240 6. מ...ם perhaps מראש and the capitals, Ex. 36 38. 38 17. ומספנתה and its ceiling cf. ספן in Jer. 22 14. Hag. 1 4.



L. 7. כמאש i. e. כמ+אש = כמו אשר, 10 9. קראת Pf. 1 sing.; cf. מעלת 5 19. 18 2. Though not written, the final *f* was pronounced; Plaut. *Poen.* v 1 1 *corathi*. Schröder 204.

L. 8. ופעל . . . רשע Pf., prob. pronounced as fem.; cf. 56 1. 27 3. חוא 54 3 (NPun.) נדר CIS i 191 2 (Pun.). In Pun. inscr. the pf. 3 sing. fem. often ends in א (א-), e. g. CIS i 216 3 f. 280 2 f. &c. Contrast impf. with י after באשר in Hebr., Ex. 16 34. מעל = Hebr. עשה חסד עם Gen. 26 29. Ps. 119 65 or עם חסד Gen. 24 12 &c.

L. 9. ורחו Piel impf. 3 sing. fem. with suff. of 3 sing. mas. i. e. ורחו. The same stem of the √חח occurs in the pr. nn. ורחלך, ורחל, ורחל, cf. ורחל Gen. 4 18 and perhaps ורחל. ורחל i. e. ורחל; cf. 65 3. Ps. 21 5. ירחו are plur. Cf. Dt. 17 20. 1 K. 3 14. Pron. of 3 sing., used in this form for both genders, prob. with a difference of pronunciation, *hu'* or *hu'*, according to the gender of the antecedent; e. g. mas. ורחל 1. 15. הרבר ורחל 4 6. 5 10 &c. Moab. St. 1 6. 27. Old Aram. 61 30. 62 11. 22. 63 17 f. Palm. 147 ii c 6: fem. ורחל 1. 13. 5 11. 22. 27 2 &c.

L. 10. ורחל . . . ורחל Cf. ורחל ורחל ארחל in the inscr. from Memphis l. 4 p. 91 n. 1, and the Hebr. idiom with ורחל, Pr. 3 4; also with ורחל, Ex. 7 20. Num. 25 6 &c.; cf. 62 23 קרח. ארחל Cf. 5 9. 16. 18. 22. 10 7 (constr. st.). 20 A 3. B 3 (constr. st.). *Poen.* v 1 1 *alonim valonuth* = ורחל; the sing. occurs only in pr. nn. ורחל, ורחל. This ארחל is not the direct equivalent of the Hebr. ארחל, for א does not interchange with ו; it is an independent formation with the ending ו, like the Hebr. ורחל; König *Lehrgeb.* ii 444. In the cases quoted ארחל has a plur. meaning *gods* (ארחל ורחל 5 9. 22); contrast ארחל, which, though plur. in form, is sing. in meaning, 33 6 n.

L. 11. No convincing restoration has been proposed for the beginning of the line. For the imprecations cf. 5 10-12. ירח Prob. Hif. impf. 3 sing. mas. ורחל = ורחל, after ירח 5 20. Moab. St. 1 21. 29.

L. 12. שם Ptcp., cf. l. 2 n. At the beginning of the next line we may restore ורחל נבל מני to complete the construction, as in Lev. 20 5. Jer. 21 10 &c. Cl.-Ganneau l. c. restores ורחל [למני], cf. 4 3 n.

L. 13. מרחל ורחל. Phoen. omits the art. with the pron. in these cases, cf. ורחל 1. 15, and sometimes with the noun too, as here and 5 11 ורחל. Cf. 1 3 ורחל and add. note ii. The rest of the line is obscure. Cl.-Ganneau takes ורחל . . . ורחל as depre-

cative particles after the adjuration which he restores in l. 12 (קמי), cf. Neh. 13 25, *Do not set there . . . nor*. בל perhaps = בל *not*.

L. 14. Cl.-Ganneau suggests יסח[ח] *sweep* refuse into the sanctuary; cf. Lam. 3 45-סחי. The prohibition may be illustr. by a Gk. inscr. (B. C. 380) ἐν τῷ τᾶς ἱερᾶς γᾶς κόπρον μὴ ἄγειν μηδὲμίαν Michel *Rec. d'inscr. gr.* 702 21.

L. 15. זרע In fig. sense as 4 7 n. 5 8. 11. 22; cf. also Ps. 21 11. זרע is an isolated instance of the suff. ׳ with a noun instead of the usual ׳. A verb is required at the beginning of the line, such as חקץ *may . . . cut off!* 5 9 f. 22.

Judging from this inscr., the dialect of Gebal approached nearer to Hebr. than the normal Phoen. speech. Thus the suffixed forms follow the Hebr. type, עלום l. 6, זרע l. 15, ימו ושננו (plur.) l. 9, עמדה (plur.) l. 6, סספנתה (sing.) l. 6; יתחזי l. 9 with י- for י- cf. יתחזי, Ps. 41 3. The verb חוז seems to have been used at Gebal; in NPun. it occurs rather often in the form חוא, עח &c.; in Phoen. proper it is only found in compound names. Idioms which resemble Hebr. are כמאש = כאשר l. 7, על מן l. 5 *over against*, ימו תארך l. 9, חן חן לען l. 9 f., [חן חן] l. 12 f., יסף לעשות l. 11 cf. יסף לעשות K. 16 33. Dt. 13 12 &c. There is a Hebr. ring about the phrase חן חן לען l. 9.

*Additional note i. The fem. sing. ending in Phoenician.* The ending of the fem. sing. of nouns in Phoen., whether in the absol. or constr. state, is ת', an archaic form which belongs also to the language of Moab, e.g. בטת l. 3. מסלת 26. 28. 29. The ת' was prob. pronounced ת- (in transcriptions 'at'), as in the names of the old Canaanite towns אפתת, בעלת, חלקת &c., in the O.T.; for Phoen. followed the same general laws of tone as Hebr., which lengthened the vowel of *ath* under the accent. Hebrew, however, went further, and aspirated the final ת into ת, e.g. in the Siloam inscr. נכתב 2 1. הברכה 5; the transcription of some pr. names suggests that the Punic dialect did the same to a limited extent, e.g. Dido = ידירא, Carthago = קרת חרשא, חמלכא = חמלכא &c., Schröder 126. The instances of the ending מ' with fem. nouns cited by Schröder 172 n. 9 are all doubtful. With regard to the fem. ending of the verb, it seems that Phoen. proper did not use a consonantal form, e.g. ופעל 3 8. The ending מ', developed like the Hebr. ת- out of an original ת-, is confined to the Punic and Neo-Punic inscr., e.g. נדרע, נדרא *passim*, 27 3. שטעא = שטעא CIS i 180 4. See Stade *Morgenl. Forschungen* (1875) 214 ff.; Wright *Comp. Gr.* 134.

*Additional note ii. The forms of the demonstrative pron. in Phoenician.*

Sing. (1)  $\text{ז}$  mas., sometimes fem. e.g. 3 10. 5 3. 7 1. 19 1. 42 3 &c., and often in NPun.  $\text{ז}$  54 1. 58 1. Cf. the Old Aram.  $\text{ז}$  in  $\text{זמן}$  61 3.  $\text{וזן}$  4. 22, and the Hebr.  $\text{זו}$  Ps. 12 8. It does not take the art. after a definite noun; cf. Moab.  $\text{זאת חבמת זאת}$  1 3; *Poen.* v. 1 1 *macom esse* =  $\text{מקום הזה}$  is an exception.

(2)  $\text{ן}$  mas. 3 4. 5. 12. Cf. Old Aram.  $\text{ן}$  61 1. 62 1 and the emphatic  $\text{ונה}$  62 22. 63 20. 64 3. 68 6. 76 c 2 (p. 185 n. 1); in Nab., Palm., Palest. ( $\text{נִין}$ ) and Bibl. Aram.,  $\text{רנה}$ ; Eth. *senū*.

(3)  $\text{זא}$  fem. 3 6. 12. Cf. Old Aram. 61 18 f. 69 13. 76 B 5 (used as fem. of  $\text{זנה}$ ); in Nab., Bibl. Aram.,  $\text{דא}$  (used as fem. of  $\text{רנה}$ ); Palm.  $\text{דח}$ ; Eth. *adā*.

(4)  $\text{זת}$  fem. NPun. 54 4. 57 3 &c.; in Plautus *syth*. Both  $\text{זא}$  and  $\text{זת}$  are, in origin, fem. formations from  $\text{ז}$ .

(5)  $\text{אז}$  mas. 11. 24 1. 25 1. 30 1, and fem. 13 2. 15 1. The  $\text{א}$  is a demonstrative sound, not the article.

Plur.  $\text{אל}$  5 22. CIS i 14 5 &c.; cf. 1 Ch. 20 8; with the art.  $\text{ואל}$  27 3, cf.  $\text{ואל}$  in the Pentateuch; in NPun.  $\text{אלא}$ , Plautus *ily*; Old Aram.  $\text{אל}$  (?) 61 29; Egypt. Aram.  $\text{אלי}$  74 A 2; Nab.  $\text{אלח}$  87 3 &c.; Palm.  $\text{אלן}$  110 1 &c.; Bibl. Aram.  $\text{אלה}$ ,  $\text{אלה}$  Jer. 10 11; Palest. Aram.  $\text{אילן}$ ; late Hebr.  $\text{אלי}$ ; Eth. *'ellu*.

4. Sidon. Tabnith. Circ. 300 B.C. Imp. Mus., Constantinople.

- 1 אנך תבנת כהן עשתרת מלך צדנם בן
- 2 אשמנעזר כהן עשתרת מלך צדנם שכב בארן
- 3 ז מי את כל אדם אש תפק אית הארן ז אל אל ת
- 4 פתח עלתי ואל תרגון באי אולן כסף אי אולן
- 5 חרץ וכל מנם משר בלת אנך שכב בארן ז אל אל תפת
- 6 ח עלתי ואל תרגון כתעבת עשתרת הדבר הא ואם פת
- 7 ח תפתח עלתי ורגו תרגון אל י[כ]ן ל[ך] זרע בחים תחת שמ
- 8 ש ומשכב את רפאם

I, Tabnith, priest of 'Ashtart, king of the Sidonians, son <sup>2</sup> of Eshmun-'azar, priest of 'Ashtart, king of the Sidonians, lie in this coffin: <sup>3</sup> My [curse be] with whatsoever man thou art that

bringest forth this coffin! Do not, do not <sup>4</sup>open me, nor disquiet me, for I have not indeed (?) silver, I have not indeed (?) <sup>5</sup>gold, nor any jewels of . . . only I am lying in this coffin: do not, do not open <sup>6</sup>me nor disquiet me, for that thing is an abomination to 'Ashtart. And if thou do at all <sup>7</sup>open me, and at all disquiet me, mayest thou have no seed among the living under the sun <sup>8</sup>nor resting-place among the shades!

The sarcophagus of Tabnith, like that of Eshmun-'azar ii (5), displays the characteristics of Egyptian workmanship; it was apparently stolen from an Egypt. tomb, for it bears the epitaph of an Egypt. general Penptah. The style is that of the fourth cent. B.C.; and as the dynasty of Eshmun-'azar i and Tabnith prob. belongs to the period after the occupation of Sidon by Alexander the Great in 332, the inscr. may be assigned to the end of the century, or perhaps rather to the first decade of the next, circ. 290, and 5 to a date 15 years later; see 5 18 n.

L. 1. אָזַר See 3 1 n. חבנת Father of Eshmun-'azar ii, 5 1. The name, pronounced Tabnith or Tabneth, is preserved in that of a village near Nabatiyeh, SE. of Sidon, *Kefr Tibnith*. It corresponds to the Hebr. Tibni, 1 K 16 21 f. LXX Luc. Θαβερναι, but hardly to the Gk. Τάνης, the king of Sidon who rebelled against the Persians and was slain in 350, for his coins bear the letters ην as the initials of his name, Babelon PA 1574-8. כהן עשתרת cf. 5 15. It is prob. that the dynasty was founded by a priest of 'Ashtart at Sidon; cf. 1 K. 16 31 and Jos. c. Ap. i 18 Εὐθώβαλος ὁ τῆς Ἀστάρτης ἱερεύς<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> אַשְׁתָּרַת pronounced 'Ashtart, as the Gk. Ἀστάρτη (LXX &c.) proves: the chief goddess of the Phoenicians. Her cult was established at Sidon (5. 6. 1 K. 11 5. 33), at Gebal (8), at Ashqelon (Herod. i 105 τῆς Οὐρανίης Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἱερόν . . . πάντων ἀρχαῖστατον ἱεὺς δὲα ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ, prob. alluded to in 1 S. 81 10 where קַיָּשָׁר נָזַח is to be read, LXX τὸ Ἀσταρτίον; cf. the bilingual inscr. 32 1 אַשְׁתָּרַת נִינְוָה הָיְתָה אֲרִיִּסְטָרְחוֹס Ἀφροδισίου Ἀσσυρίων(της), in Cyprus (e. g. at Kiton 18. 20), in Sicily at Eryx (CIS i 186 עֶרֶץ אֶרֶץ 'ג' = the frequent VENEREI ERYCINAI), in Gaulus (38), and at Carthage (e. g. 45 1. CIS i 255 עֶרֶץ אֶרֶץ עֶרֶץ . . . עֶרֶץ. 263 אַשְׁתָּרַת אֲרִיִּסְטָרְחוֹס). The goddess of Carthage called by classical writers Coelestis, *Ophevia* (see quotation from Herodian below), was prob. none other than the Phoen. 'Ashtart; but see 48 1 n. As an element in compound pr. nn. 'Ashtart occurs very often. She was the goddess of fertility and generation (cf. Dt. 7 13. 28 4. 18. 51); and was identified both by Greeks and Phoenicians with Aphrodite, e. g. the common epithets *Κύπρις* and *Κυθήρεια* (of Kuthera in Crete) in Homer, and Cypria, Paphia, as titles of Venus; *Αἰβανίτις* was the title of Aphrodite worshipped in Lebanon (בלבן אַשְׁתָּרַת), Lucian *adv. indoct.* 3. There can be no doubt that the prototype of the Phoen. 'Ashtart was the Assyr. Ishtar; to a considerable

L. 2. ארן Of a mummy-case, as Gen. 50 26.

L. 3. מי את כל אדם אשר תפס The construction is uncertain. Taking מי as *whosoever* and את as = אֵת, we may render *whosoever thou art—any man—that shall bring forth*; cf. מן את תחנם 84 5 f. *whosoever thou art that shall rob* (so Cl.-Gan.); but here the construction is complicated by the insertion of אדם כל and becomes very laboured. Renan may be right in explaining מי as a mistake for קממי, *my curse be with every man*; see 5 4 n. תפס is prob. Hifil impf. of פס which means (1) *bring forth, fetch out*, e.g. Is. 58 10; cf. the Aram. פס *go forth*, in Af. *bring forth*; or (2) *light upon, find*, e.g. Pr. 3 13 || מצא 8 35. The first meaning is preferable here. According to Hoffmann פס = *primarily to come upon by accident, break in upon, break* (*Ueber einige phön. Inschr.* 57 ff.).

L. 4. ולא יתפתח עליהם ll. 6. 7. 5 7. 10. CIS ii 226 2 יתפתח עליהם is prob. the prep. with suff., *upon me*, used pregnantly after תפתח lit. *open over me*; contrast 5 4 ז אל יפתח איה משכב ז. Less prob. יתפתח is a noun (1) *inner chamber* (of the vault), the root פתח being used, as often in Assy., in the sense of *going away*; so Winckler, *Altor. Forsch.* i 63 n.; or (2) *roof, lid*, lit. 'that which ascends,' cf. פתח upper part, פתח an elevated place; so Hoffmann l. c. But no derivative of the verb is actually used in Assy. or in Arab. with the meanings proposed in (1) and (2). To take עליהם as = Hebr. עליהם upper chamber does not suit the reference to a sepulchre. It is safer to render עליהם upon me. See further 5 6 n. תרנן i.e. תרנן Cf. 1 S. 28 15 of

degree the character of the goddesses was alike, and both filled the most prominent place in the worship of the two races. No satisfactory Semitic derivation of Ishtar-Ashtart has yet been found; hence it has been supposed that ultimately the name is of non-Semitic origin, Schrader *COT* 179, Sayce *Hibb. Lects.* 252 f. The form עשרת with the fem. ending *t* is peculiar to the Palestinian deity. In Moabite the name occurs as עשרת with עשרת 1 17; in Aram. it becomes עשר (= עשר = עשר), e.g. Palm. עשרת 112 4 n. = *ʿAṣṣarātis*, and the pr. nn. עשרת CIS ii 52, עשרת Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 118. In S. Semitic (Sabaean) the phonetic equivalent is עשר CIS iv 41 2. 46 5 &c., a male, not a female deity. 'Ashtart was not properly a moon-goddess, any more than Ishtar; but in some places she appears in this character, e.g. Lucian *de Dea Syr.* § 4 ὅτι μὲν αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, 'Ἀστάρτης ἱερόν' 'Ἀστάρτην δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω Σεληναίην ἱμεῖναι (speaking of the temple at Sidon), and Herodian v 6 10 Αἱβυες μὲν οὖν αὐτὴν Οὐρανίαν καλοῦσι' Φοίνικες δὲ 'Ἀστροδόχην ἐνομήζουσι, σελήνην εἶναι θέλοντες. 'Ashtart was sometimes represented, as we have seen (3 2 n.), with the Egyptian symbols of Isis and Hathor, the solar disk between two cow-horns. It has been suggested that these were misunderstood, and taken to represent the full and crescent moon; and in this way 'Ashtart came to be conceived as a moon-goddess. See Schürer *Gesch.* ii 23 f.; Driver, art. *Ashtoreth*, *Hastings Dict. Bibl.* vol. i; Lagrange *Rev. Bibl.* x (1901) 550 ff.; E. Meyer *Ency. Bibl.* 3741 ff.

disquieting the dead. א The Phoen. negative; twice in the O. T. 1 S. 4 21. Job 22 30; in Assy. *a-a, ē, ai*. It is the usual negative in Eth., and frequently occurs in Rabbinic, e.g. אִי אִמְשֵׁר. The pr. nn. אִיחְמֵר, אִיחְבֵּל do prob. *not* contain this form. The other neg. in Phoen. is בל 5 3 n.

אִיל The parallel expression in 5 5 אִי כ suggests that אִיל like בן must contain some such meaning as *with me*. At any rate the final ל' is prob. the suff. 1 sing. in the verbal form which was sometimes used with preps.; e.g. 5 9 חֲחֹחֵם בן. Hoffmann l. c. reads אִל אִי, which is quite possible, and takes אִי as a particle strengthening the preceding negative (cf. 42 18) = the Bibl. Aram. הִנֵּה = הִנֵּה, Pal. Talm. and Midr. הִנֵּה used sometimes with merely a demonstrative force, *here*; so he renders *there is not indeed with me* (ל' = לִי). It is possible that S. Augustine on Ps. 123 (*Op.* iv. col. 1407 ed. Ben.) is alluding to this particle when he writes 'quod Punico dicunt *iar*, non lignum (יער), sed quando dubitant; hoc Graeci ἀρα; hoc Latini possunt vel solent dicere, "putas," cum ita loquuntur, "putas, evasi hoc?"' For הִנֵּה after a negative cf. הִנֵּה חֲחֹחֵם Hab. 2 13 and οὐκ ἔστιν Acts 2 7. Though Hoffmann's explanation cannot be regarded as certain, it is preferable to that of Halévy, who takes אִיל as = εἰδωλον. It was not the custom to bury εἰδωλα of gold and silver in sepulchres.

L. 5. 5 5. 45 2 f. Prob. = Aram. כֶּסֶף, כְּלִי, 65 6, lit. *vessel*, used here like the Hebr. כְּלִי for *jewels*. Hoffmann takes the word as = μαμωνᾶς, כֶּסֶף, *money, valuables* (Talm.); but this does not account for the plur. form. מִשְׁכָּב Meaning unknown. בִּלְתִּי here apparently = בִּלְתִּי *only*. There is no exact parallel for such usage in Hebr.

L. 6. חֲעֵבַת עֲשֵׁתֶרָה Cf. תִּעֲבַת יָחַד Dt. 7 25. 17 1. 18 12 &c. Pr. 3 32. 11 20 &c. חֲרִבֵּר See 3 13 n. 9 n.

L. 7. רִנָּה תִרְמֵן i. e. רָלוּ תִרְמֵן. In Hebr. the Qal. inf. abs. is found occasionally with the fin. vb. in a derived conjugation, e.g. חִיָּם עֲלֵם 1 S. 23 22. Nif. חִיָּם עֲלֵם Ex. 19 13. יִכֵּן לֶךְ The stone-cutter has accidentally omitted the כ in these two words. The verb כֵּן is used in Phoen., as in Arab. and Ethiop., for the Hebr. חָיָה, in the sense *to exist, to be*; e.g. 5 8. 11. 20. 29 15. 42 3. 7. 13 &c. זֶרַע For זֶרַע in metaph. sense cf. 61 20. 64 11. 69 12; and cf. the imprecations in 5 8-9. 11-12, and the Palm. זֶרַע וְנֶדַע. לא יהא לֵה זֶרַע וְנֶדַע Cf. 5 12. The phrase is a favourite one with the author of Qoheleth.

L. 8. מִשְׁכָּב מִשְׁכָּב אֵת רַפָּאם Again in 5 8. For מִשְׁכָּב of a *resting-place* in the under-world cf. Eze. 32 25. For רַפָּאם cf. Is. 14 9. 26 14. 19.

Job 26 5. Pa. 88 11 &c.; the meaning usually given is *weak ones*,  $\sqrt{\text{רפה}}$  *to be weak*; but, as Cheyne remarks, 'the terrible' or 'the wise' is what we should expect; see *Ency. Bibl.* art. Dead.

5. Sidon. Bahmun'-asar. CIS i 3. Date, see p. 27. Louvre. Plate I.

- 1 בירח בל בשנת עסר וארבע — III | למלכי מלך אשמנעור מלך צדנם  
 2 בן מלך תבנת מלך צדנם דבר מלך אשמנעור מלך צדנם לאמר נגולת  
 3 בל עתי בן מסך ימם אורם יתם בן אלמת ושכב אנך בחלת ז ובקבר ז  
 4 במקם אש בנת קנמי את כל ממלכת וכל אדם אל יפתח אית משכב ז ו  
 5 אל יבקש בן מנם כ אי שם בן מנם ואל ישא אית חלת משכבי ואל יעם  
 6 סן במשכב ז עלת משכב שני אף אם אדם ידברנך אל תשמע  
     בדנם כ כל ממלכת ו  
 7 כל אדם אש יפתח עלת משכב ז אם אש ישא אית חלת משכבי  
     אם אש יעמסן במ  
 8 שכב ז אל יכן לם משכב את רפאם ואל יקבר בקבר ואל יכן לם בן חורע  
 9 תחתנם ויסגרנם האלנם הקדשם את ממלכ אדר אש משל בנם לק  
 10 צתנם אית ממלכת אם אדם הא אש יפתח עלת משכב ז אם אש ישא אית  
 11 חלת ז ואית זרע ממלת הא אם אדם המת אל יכן לם שרש למט ו  
 12 פר למעל ותאר בהים תחת שמש כ אנך נחן נגולת בל עתי בן מס  
 13 ך ימם אורם יתם בן אלמת אנך כ אנך אשמנעור מלך צדנם בן  
 14 מלך תבנת מלך צדנם בן בן מלך אשמנעור מלך צדנם ואמי אמעשתרת  
 15 כהנת עשתרת רבתן המלכת בת מלך אשמנעור מלך צדנם אם בנן  
     אית בת  
 16 אלנם אית [בת עשתרת] בצדן ארץ ים וישרן אית עשתרת שממאדרם  
     ואנחן  
 17 אש בנן בת לאשמנן [ד] קדש ען ידלל בהר וישבני שממאדרם ואנחן  
     אש בנן בתם

- 18 לאלן צדנם בצדן ארץ ים בת לבעל צדן ובת לעשתרת שם בעל  
ועד יתן לן ארן מלכם
- 19 אית דאר ויפי ארצת דגן האדרת אש בשד שרן למדת עצמת  
אש פעלת ויספננם
- 20 עלת גבל ארץ לכננם לצדנם לעלם] קנמי את כל ממלכת וכל  
אדם אל יפתח עלתי
- 21 ואל יער עלתי ואל יעמסן במשכבו ואל ישא אית חלת משכבי לם יסערנם
- 22 אלנם הקדשם אל ויקצן הממלכת הא והאדם המת חרעם לעלם

In the month Bul, in the fourteenth year 14 of the reign of king Eshmun-azar, king of the Sidonians, <sup>2</sup>son of king Tabnith, king of the Sidonians, spake king Eshmun-azar, king of the Sidonians, saying, I have been seized <sup>3</sup>before my time, the son of a (short) number of days . . . , an orphan, the son of a widow; and I lie in this coffin and in this grave, <sup>4</sup>in the place which I built. I adjure every prince and every man that they open not this resting-place, <sup>5</sup>nor seek with me jewels, for there are no jewels with me there, nor take away the coffin of my resting-place, nor carry me from this resting-place (and lay me) on a second resting-place! Yea, if men speak to thee, do not listen to their words. For every prince and <sup>7</sup>every man who shall open this resting-place, or who shall take away the coffin of my resting-place, or who shall carry me from <sup>8</sup>this resting-place, may they have no resting-place with the Shades, nor be buried in a grave, nor have son or seed <sup>9</sup>in their stead, and may the holy gods deliver them up to a mighty prince who shall rule over them, to cut off that prince or man who shall open this resting-<sup>10</sup>place, or who shall take away <sup>11</sup>this coffin, and the seed of that prince or of those men! May they have no root downwards or <sup>12</sup>fruit upwards, nor any comeliness among the living under the sun! For I am to be pitied (?); I have been seized before my time, the son of <sup>13</sup>a (short) number of days . . . , an orphan, the son of a widow was I. For I, Eshmun-



'azar, king of the Sidonians, son <sup>14</sup> of king Tabnith, king of the Sidonians, grandson of king Eshmun-'azar, king of the Sidonians, and my mother Am-'ashtart, <sup>15</sup> priestess of 'Ashtart, our lady, the queen, daughter of king Eshmun-'azar, king of the Sidonians—(we are they) who built the houses <sup>16</sup> of the gods, the house of 'Ashtart in Sidon, the land of the sea, and we caused 'Ashtart to dwell there, making (her) glorious (?); and we <sup>17</sup> (are they) who built a house for Eshmun, in the holy field (?), the well of Yidlal in the mountain, and we caused him to dwell there, making (him) glorious (?). And we (are they) who built houses <sup>18</sup> for the gods of the Sidonians in Sidon, the land of the sea, a house for the Ba'al of Sidon, and a house for 'Ashtart, the Name of Ba'al. And further, the lord of kings gave to us <sup>19</sup> Dôr and Yâfê, the glorious corn-lands which are in the field of Sharon, in accordance with the great things which I did; and we added them <sup>20</sup> to the borders of the land, that they might belong to the Sidonians for ever. I adjure every prince and every man that they open me not, <sup>21</sup> nor uncover me, nor carry me from this resting-place, nor take away the coffin of my resting-place, lest <sup>22</sup> these holy gods deliver them up, and cut off that prince and those men, and their seed, for ever!

L. 1. בל 12 1. 24 2. the eighth month, November, cf. 1 K. 6 38; Assy. *Arah samna*, Palm. כנן, Jewish מרחשון. The name is probably native Canaanite; its original meaning is not known. עסר For עשר, an orthographic peculiarity found only here; 42 3. 46 1 עשרת. In Phoen. as in Hebr. ש stands for s and sh, e.g. שמע l. 6 and ישא l. 7. שנת is plural. Phoen. uses 'in 14 years' for 'in the 14th year'; see 6 1 n. and cf. the construction vi ביסם 12 1 n. למלכי is usually taken as inf. constr. with suff. 3 mas. sing., 'of his reign,' viz. of king Eshmun-'azar, cf. the Aram. idiom in which the suffixed noun is followed by ךי, ך, before the genitive. The Hebr. בבוא האיש Eze. 10 3 is similar; Ges. § 131 n. and note<sup>2</sup>, Schröd. 149 f. But the construction is awkward in Phoen., and the parallel which is quoted from 42 4 ff. אמרי השאר can be otherwise explained. Lidzsb. may be right in treating מלכי as inf. constr. with ך compaginis, cf. 6 1 f. מלך ברעשתרת. In 24 2. 26 2 למלכי has the suff.

3 mas. sing., but the construction is different. אשמונעזר i.e. Eshmun-azar ii, see 4 1 f.

L. 2. חבנת בן מ' See 4 1. Elsewhere peculiar רבר . . . לאמר to Hebr. The ✓ רבר l. 6 has not been found in Phoen. outside this inscr.

L. 3. קטמו ולא עת 1. 12, cf. Job 22 16 עת. Qoh. 7 17, and the beginning of Hezekiah's hymn, Is. 38 10. The Phoen. negative כל, in Hebr. poetic, occurs again in 42 15. 43 6. The other negative is אי l. 5 and 4 4 n.; the two are apparently combined in איכל 42 18. 21. 43 11. לא is not used in Phoen. The meaning of the eight following letters (again in l. 12 f.) is obscure. They may be read בן מסך יום the son of a (small) number of days, cf. מסך Num. 9 20 a few days. The word מסך prob. comes from סכך (for the form cf. סִכֵּךְ Ex. 26 36. סִכָּם Num. 31 28), and means number, sum, as סָךְ in the Babyl. Aram. of the Talmud, e.g. B. Bathr. 21 a סך מקרי דרדקי the number for a teacher of the young; hence the denom. vb. סך to sum, count up, e.g. B. Bathr. 166 b (Levy NHWB s.v.); cf. the Syr. سَمَك (from سَمَك sum, limit, and Arab. سَمَك to stop, close up. The Hebr. סוּךְ (שֹׁךְ) to fence, hedge round Job 3 23, מסוכה Mic. 7 4, is prob. a kindred root. With regard to בן another explanation is possible; it may be written for מן before a word beginning with מ, cf. l. 6 n., 29 13 מנחת (Lidzb. 312); in Himyaritic בן is the equivalent of מן from, e.g. CIS iv 20 4 בעממו = מן iv 2 9 f. If this is the case, tr. from the (full) number of (my) days. אזור l. 3. Meaning unknown. The four letters occur again in an inscr. from Hadrumetum (Susa), Euting Hadr. 9 אזור 2 (Carth. In. Anh. 6). To derive the word from אזור to gird (Stade Morg. Forsch. 225 f.) gives no sense that suits the context; on the other hand, if the root be אָרַם, it may have the same sense as the Arab. نَزَعَ cease, stop short, and אזור, possibly an Afel form, may mean cut off, i.e. by disease (Winckler Allor. Forsch. i 67); but it is hard to say what part of the verb אָרַם (Afel) can be. None of the explanations which have been proposed, e.g. Hoffmann's אָרַם בְּנֵי אֶל [בְּנֵי] אֶל, commend themselves. The letters which follow may be read אלמת perhaps = Hebr. אִלְמַת widowhood, here widow. חלת Prob. sarcophagus. The ✓ חלל = bore, hollow out; Arab. حَلَل hence حَلَّة box, case; Aram. חֲלָן sheath; Bab. Talm. חלתא bee-hive; ll. 5. 7. 11. 21.

L. 4. בנת i.e. בְּנֵי. קנמי את כל וגי' my curse be with every . . . ! cf. l. 20. 4 3 (corr.). In the Mishnah קנא is used in adjurations and imprecations, very much in the same way as קרבן (e.g. Nedarim 10 a), 'קנא אדם איני מנרשך a man of Sidon said to his wife



(מן) before a word beginning with מ, see l. 3 n. The prep. ב itself cannot denote *from* (Winckler *Allor. Forsch.* i 64 f.); the instances quoted, e.g. 11 בראשח נחשח 3 9. במלג לאוד 3 38 6 אלם are not conclusive. The meaning of עלת is disputed. It occurs after פתח three times in this inscr. ll. 7. 10. 20 (cf. l. 4 אית אית), and three times in 4, ll. 4. 6. 7; similarly after יער l. 21. It is safest to take it here (l. 6), and in every case, as the prep. עלת used in a pregnant sense; thus after יעסכן, *carry me (and lay me) on a second sepulchre*, after יפתח, *open over me, over this sepulchre* i.e. *open me up* &c., exactly as the Palm. ואנש לא יפתח עלהי נוסחא *and let no man open over him this chamber* 145 3. Note the alternative construction with the accus. l. 4 1 אית משוב 1. See 4 4 n. ארם Plur. of אדם, not found in Hebr.; ll. 11. 22. 20 A 5. 33 4. 7. 42 16. 17. דיברך For suff. after דבר cf. the rare usage in O.T., e.g. Gen. 37 4 דברך. The form here is Piel impf. 3 plur., and the suff. has a demonstrative נ; cf. יסננם l. 19. Ps. 50 23 יסננני Gen. 27 19. 31 תברכני Job 7 14 תבעתני; König *Lehrgeb.* ii 443 c. ברנם This might mean *their vain talk* from בר Is. 16 6. Jer. 48 30 &c., but it is much more likely that the stone-cutter made a mistake (cf. ll. 9. 15. 16), and intended to write ברברנם i.e. קרברנם. For שמע ב Gen. 22 18. 2 S. 12 18 &c. with בקול.

L. 7. יפתח עלת 4 4 n. אש ישא or *who shall take away*. Here and in ll. 10. 11 אש by itself=*or*, a variation from the Hebr. usage. In 42 3 &c. אש . . . אש=*whether . . . or*, as in Hebr.

L. 8. יכן 4 7 n. למ Prep. ל with suff. 3 plur., l. 11. Many scholars, however, take this suff. to be sing. and not plur., and suppose that it was pronounced לם *-ahim-ēm* (as *ahi-ē* √, the usual form of this suff.); Schröd. 153-157, see 42 5 n. But in this inscr. the context does not require למ to be taken as sing. 4 רפאם

L. 9. תחתם = תחתיהם *in their stead*. יסנרם Piel or Hifil impf. 3 plur. mas. with suff. נם, *and may . . . deliver them up*; here followed by אש *with*, instead of ביד as in O.T. האלנם חקדשם Cf. l. 22. 8 10 n. Dan. 4 5. [ת]טלכ So the text is prob. to be corrected. Cf. the mistake in [כ]טל l. 11. אר splendid, mighty, an epithet assumed by the Ptolemaic kings, 10 6; cf. Ps. 136 18 מלכים ארירים. משל Qal ptc. where the impf. might be expected. בהם=בנם See add. note on suff. נם p. 39.

L. 10. לקצחנם *to cut them off*, see add. note p. 39. The object of the inf. is expanded in the two long clauses which follow: '(even) that prince . . . or those men (l. 11).' It is possible to put the stop at לקצחנם and take אית מטלכת ונ' as accus. pendens, the construction

being resumed by  $\text{לם יא אל}$  l. 11 (Hoffmann); but this is less in accordance with epigraphic style.  $\text{אם}$  or l. 7 n.

L. 11.  $\text{ממל[כ]ת}$  So correct the error of the mason.  $\text{מ' הא}$  3 13 n.  $\text{האדם חמח}$  17 42 5. 22 29 5.  $\text{חמח}$  For the ending ת in  $\text{חמח}$  cf. Eth. 'emüntü, 'emāntü, Assy. *ḫunūti*, fem. *ḫināti*, Sab. *hmt*; König *Lehrgeb.* ii 368.  $\text{שרש למח ונ'}$  Cf. Is. 37 31. Am. 2 9. Job 18 16. For  $\text{פר}$  cf. 44 2.

L. 12.  $\text{חמח שמש}$  with the sense of *beauty* as in Is. 53 2.  $\text{נחן}$  Apparently Nifal ptcp. of  $\text{נחן}$  i.e.  $\text{נחן}$  to be pitied, cf. Jer. 22 23  $\text{כיד־נחן}$  (text doubtful); for ptcp. as gerundive cf. נדא Pa. 76 8.  $\text{מחלל}$  18 4. It is possible (Lidzb.) that  $\text{נחן}$  may be some form (? ptcp.) connected with the  $\sqrt{\text{נח}}$  and means *I am resting*; cf.  $\text{נחח}$  of *rest* in the grave 16 2.

L. 14.  $\text{בן בן}$  refers to Eshmun-azar, not to Tabnith; cf. 8 1.  $\text{אמ[ת]עשתרת}$  Not 'Ashtart is mother but *handmaid of 'Ashtart*,  $\text{אמ[ת]עשתרת}$  16 3, as is clear from  $\text{אמאשמן}$  CIS i 881 which must =  $\text{אמ[ת]עשתרת}$ , for Eshmun could not be 'mother.'

L. 15.  $\text{רבתן}$  Cf.  $\text{רבותי}$  8 3. 7.  $\text{אם}$  An error for  $\text{אש}$ .  $\text{בנן}$  i.e.  $\text{בניני}$ .  $\text{בנ}$  Plur. =  $\text{בני}$ .

L. 16.  $\text{אלנח}$  Jud. 17 5. For  $\text{אלנח}$  see 8 10 n. The 'house of 'Ashtart' mentioned here is prob. the great temple of 'Ασάρα in Sidon which Lucian visited, *de dea Syr.* § 4; see p. 27.  $\text{ישבן}$  Prob. an error for  $\text{ישבן}$  l. 17, Hifil or Piel (cf. Eze. 25 4 and  $\text{ישב}$  in Mishnah) pf. 1 plur. of  $\text{ישב}$  and *we caused to dwell*. Winckler, however, *Altor. Forsch.* i 67, prefers the text, which he renders *and we brought in*, quoting the Assy. *iširu* (a Canaanite word), *send or bring in something*, often in Tell-el-Amarna letters (Winckler, Engl. Tr., p. 10\*).  $\text{שממאדרם}$  Meaning uncertain. The Corp. groups the letters  $\text{שממאדרם}$  there, *making (her) glorious*, i.e.  $\text{שממאדרם}$  cf. l. 19 n. Hoffmann explains  $\text{שממאדרם}$  in app. to  $\text{עשתרת}$  and in l. 17 to the suff. in  $\text{ישבני}$ , and illustrates the order by Ps. 47 10, and the idea by Ps. 7 18. 9 3 &c., comparing the name Semiramis =  $\text{שמירם}$ ; but it may be doubted whether  $\text{שמ}$  can = nomen = numen. The rendering of *the glorious heavens*  $\text{אדרם}$  does not suit l. 17.  $\text{אנחט} = \text{אנחן}$ . The final vowel, though not written (cf. Aram.  $\text{سنع}$ , later  $\text{سنع}$ ), was prob. pronounced.

L. 17.  $\text{אשמן}$  Eshmun was the god of vital force and healing; hence the Greeks and Romans identified him with Aesculapius, e.g. in the trilingual inscr. 40 1  $\text{אשמן} = \text{ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΩ} = \text{AESCOLAPIO}$ . He had a shrine near Berytus,  $\text{τὸ τοῦ 'Ασκληπιοῦ ἄλσος}$  Strabo ed. Müll. 644; at Sidon his importance is implied by the name of king Eshmun-azar. In Cyprus many pr. nn. were compounded with Eshmun, e.g.  $\text{אשמןאן}$

12 4. עבראשמן 17 1 f. אשמונול 19 2 &c. At Carthage he had a temple which stood on the highest ground in the city, the Byrsa (cf. CIS i 252 4 א' עבר בת א'). His worship was carried to the Carthaginian colonies, e.g. to Sardinia, cf. 40 and the pr. nn. עבראשמן ib. אשמונעמט 39 2 &c. At Carthage his attributes were combined with those of 'Ashtart, e.g. עברמלקרת כהן אשמונעשחרת CIS i 245 3 f., and in Cyprus with those of Melqarth, e.g. לאדני לאשמונמלקרת CIS i 16. The etymology of the name is obscure. According to the ancients אשמן was derived from שמי the eighth of the Κάβειροι<sup>1</sup>; recently G. Hoffmann has suggested a connexion with אשמן, אשמן 'the fat one,' ZA xi 227. The two letters before קרש are almost obliterated; the latter of the two is ד or ר. The Corp. suggests יער = יר ק' the sacred grove; שד ק' l. 19 the sacred field (Lidzb.) is more likely. Hoffmann's holy demon (אשד) is improbable. ידלל ען ידלל Meaning uncertain; perhaps, well of Yidlal. וישבני Hifil pf. 1 plur. with suff. ו and we caused him to dwell, i. e. וישבני.

L. 18. לאל i. e. לאל plur. constr., cf. 20 A 3. לבעל צרן to the Ba'al of Sidon 38 6, cf. Hesychius Θαλάσσιος Ζεύς ἐν Σιδῶνι τιμᾶται. For Ba'al with a local designation cf. לבנ ב' צר 11 ב' צר 38 1. תרו ב' תרו 149 A 1 ff.; in O.T. ב' חרמון Jud. 3 3. ב' חצור S. 13 23. ב' מעור Dt. 4 3 &c. The actual name of the god was not pronounced; see 3 2 n. עשחרת שם בעל 'A. the name of Ba'al, i. e. the manifestation of B. In the O.T. the Name of Yahweh is frequently used for His manifested presence (Ex. 23 20 f. 1 K. 8 16. Is. 18 7 &c.), or His Person and attributes as revealed to men (Ex. 3 15. 34 5 f. &c.). The Phoenicians, in accordance with their polytheistic tendencies, personified the attributes of Ba'al, and the name of Ba'al became a distinct deity and underwent a change of gender; the manifestation of B. became 'Ashtart his consort. Cf. תנת פן מעל Tanith the Face of B. in the Carthaginian inscr.; and see further Vogüé Mélanges d'Arch. Orient. 53 ff., Stade Morg. Forsch. 196. Some authorities, however, interpret differently, pronouncing שם as אשמן, and rendering 'Ashtart of the heaven of Ba'al, Dillmann Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad. (1881) 606 ff., Nowack Hebr. Archäol. ii 306 f., E. Meyer Ency. Bibl. 3745. These scholars in l. 16 group the letters אדרם אדרם 'A. of the glorious heavens; see note in loc. But the meaning Himmels-Ashtarle Baals, i. e. 'Ashtart the consort of Βαελσαμμην (Dillm.), can only be extracted

<sup>1</sup> E. g. Damascius ap. Phot. 352 b, ed. Migne iii 1305 οὗ δὲ τὸν Ἐσμοῦνον θεοῦτον ἀνιόντων ἀρραγνέουσιν ὅτι θεοὺς ἦν τῶν Σιδωνίων πατρ. Philo Bybl. Fr. Hist. Gr. iii 569 οἱ ἐνταῦθα Σιδωνεὶς παῖδες Κάβειροι, καὶ θεοὺς ἀδελφὰς Ἀσκληπιάδας.

from שם בעל by violence; the equivalent of such a title would be עשתרת ב' ש' or ע' שם, see p. 27. Besides the temples of 'Ashtart and Eshmun (ll. 16. 17), perhaps the gods of the royal house (Hoffm.), the king and his mother had founded temples to the patron deities of the state, Ba'al of Sidon and 'Ashtart the Name of Ba'al (l. 18). The 'house of 'A.' in l. 18 is different from the 'house of 'A.' in l. 16; the same goddess was worshipped in two temples under different aspects. יתן The Phoen. form of the Hebr. נתן, ll. 12 3 &c., and the pr. nn. יתנבעל, בעלית, מלכית &c. The form נתן, however, is implied in some names, e.g. מתן 2. מתנאלם, מתנבעל &c.<sup>1</sup> מן מלכם = the Ptolemaic title κύριος βασιλείων (Gk. inscr.), the chief holder of royal power in the East, e.g. 10 5 f. (Ptolemy iii). 27 1 (Ptolemy ii). 28 2 (Ptolemy i). 29 4 ff. (Ptolemy vii?); in 9 5 Alexander the Great (Seleucid era). Here the reference is perhaps to Ptolemy ii Philadelphus; and the position of Eshmun-'azar as a subject-prince may be confirmed by Diodorus Sic. (xix 58), who mentions Phoen. kings *after* Alexander in the time of Antigonus (so Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 86). As illustrating Eshmun-'azar's commemoration of his suzerain's bounty, cf. what Theocritus says of Ptolemy ii, Πολλὸν δ' ἰφθίμοισι δίδωργται βασιλεῦσιν Πολλὸν δὲ πτολίεσσι, πολλὸν δ' ἀγαθοῖσιν ἑταίροις *Id.* xvii 110 f. The death of Eshmun-'azar may have occurred about 275 B.C. His dynasty has been placed much earlier, in the Persian period; but the use of the title מן מלכם favours the view adopted; the Persian king is always מלך מלכים, cf. 71 3; Cl.-Gan. l.c. and *Rec.* v 223, E. Meyer l.c. 3762 n. See Appendix I.

L. 19. דאר The modern Tanṭura, on the coast, N. of Jaffa. In Assy. inscr. it is called *Du'ru*, Schrader *COT* 168; in the O.T. דור Josh. 12 23 or דאר ib. 17 11 &c. יפי Joppa, Josh. 19 46. Jon. 1 3 יפו. תאדרת *great, glorious* ll. 9. 16 f. The idea of expanse is contained in the root (Ex. 15 10. Ps. 93 4 of the waves of the sea, *majestic*); so דאר is suitably applied to the wide corn-lands of שרן (Is. 65 10. 1 Chr. 27 29 &c.). שר = שרה cf. 29 9. למדח Prob. in proportion to, in accordance with, cf. כמדח 42 17; from מדר

<sup>1</sup> Winckler *Altor. Forsch.* i 69 f. explains מן as originally (H)ifil of מן (cf. יסמ), subsequently used as the basis of a new Qal formation. In the same way he accounts for the Hebr. יצ, יצר, יצו &c., viz. as Qal formations from the (H)ifil of verbs י'ן. But (1) there is no evidence for a Hifil in Hebr. with ' for 'ה, and (2) the cognate languages show that these verbs were originally י'ח, not י'ן, e.g. יצ = Aram. (Targ.) יצו, Arab. وَصَبَّ; יצר = Aram. (Targ.) יצר, Arab. وَصَّع; יצר = Aram. (Targ.) יצר, Arab. وَصَّر, Assy. *ṣṣru*.

*measure.* 'עצמת ונ' *the mighty things which I did*, perhaps referring to the support given to Ptol. ii in his struggle with Antiochus i, which began about 275 B. C., Bevan *House of Seleucus* ii 233-235. The words have been transl. 'for the great tributes which I paid'; but מרה Neh. 5 4, BArm. מרה, מרה, is a loan-word from Assyr. (*madattu*), and even if it had found its way into Phoen. through Aram., על is not a suitable verb to go with it; the Hebr. עשה נר is not really parallel. וספננ Qal perf. 1 plur. with suff. and *we added them* i. e. וספננ, see add. note; to take the form as Qal perf. 3 sing. with suff. does not account for the first נ. Stade, *Morg. Forsch.* 310, regards וספננ as imperf. 3 sing. with waw conversive; but this idiom is not found elsewhere in the Phoen. inscrr. at present known (see 42 4 n.); and though the נ energicum belongs to the imperf. rather than to the perf. in the cognate languages, yet a double energetic נ, with the verb and in the suff. נם, produces a combination too clumsy to be probable. יסף עלת 8 11.

L. 20. לכננ = להיוחם Cf. 4 7 n. and add. note below. נבל  
Prob. plur. = נבלי.

L. 21. ער Piel juss. 3 sing. or plur. from ערה *lay bare, uncover*, cf. 2 Ch. 24 11 ויער את הארון; here followed by the prep. עלת (cf. יפתח עלת l. 7 & c. 4 4 n.), unless עלת is to be taken as a noun, *inner-chamber* l. 6 n. לפה = למ in the sense of *lest*. In dialectical or late Hebr. למ preceded by the relat. has acquired this meaning, e.g. Cant. 1 7 שלמה. Dan. 1 10 אשר למח. In Aram. ܥܠܬ is the ordinary word for *lest*; so in BArm. למח די Ezr. 7 23, and למח alone Ezr. 4 22; Kautzsch *Gr. Bibl. Aram.* 131, see further Driver *Samuel* 123 f. In the expression למ יעסם CIS i 270 ff. (40 5 n.), למ has a prohibitive sense; cf. in Palm. למ יסבע *let him not be satisfied* 145 7. יסנרנ l. 9 n.

L. 22. אל = אלה Cf. 45 2. 27 3 האל. יען Qal or Piel impf. 3 plur. with ending יען, cf. ישאן 33 6. חמת l. 11 n.

*Additional note on the suffix of 3 plur. in Phoen.* There are three forms: (1) חם, so far only found in Plautus *Poen.* v 1 4 *syllhōm* i. e. חם, cf. Hebr. חם, Arab. هَم, Aram. חם. (2) חם prob. *ēm* (from *ahim*), e.g. ורעם l. 22. קלם 23 7. מנם 43 6. (3) חם, with nouns sing., e.g. חברנ l. 6. ר[בר]נם l. 19. 25 2 (ptcp.); with the verb, e.g. לקצתנם l. 10. לכננ l. 20 (inf.). יסנרנ l. 9 (impf.). יספננ l. 19 (pf.); with preps., e.g. תחתנ l. 9. בנ ib. This suff. is compounded of ח+נ, the נ being the energetic or demonstrative *num* which is common in Arab. with the



impf. (also before suffixes, e.g. *yaqṭulan-ka* and *yaqṭulanna-ka*), and appears in Hebr. occasionally, e.g. יִכְרְרְנִי. In Phoen. it has been already noticed l. 6 above, יִכְרְרְךָ. This same נ is regularly used in the Aram. dialects with the plur. suff. attached to the verb, e.g. Bibl. Aram. —נְכוֹן, Mand. 'נכוֹן, 'ננהוֹן (Nöldeke *Mand. Gr.* 88), Palest. Talm. 'נכוֹן, 'נכוֹן, 'נכוֹן, 'נכוֹן, 'נכוֹן, 'נכוֹן, 'נכוֹן (Dalman *Gr. d. Jud.-Pal. Aram.* 79). It is a peculiarity of Phoen. that this נ is combined with the suff. כ, and that this כ'נ is used as a suff. with nouns and preps. See König *Lehrgeb.* ii 444, Wright *Comp. Gr.* 194.

6. Sidon. CIS i 4. iv cent. B. C. Louvre.

- 1 בִּירַח מִפְּ[ע] בִּשְׁת מִלְכְּ  
2 י מֶלֶךְ בִּרְעִשְׁתָּרַת מֶלֶךְ  
3 צִדְנִם כִּי בִּן בִּרְעִשְׁתָּרַת  
4 מֶלֶךְ צִדְנִם אֵית שְׂרֵן אִרְ[י]  
5 ל[א] לִי לְעִשְׁתָּרַת

In the month MP', in the year when king Bod-'ashtart, king of the Sidonians, came to the throne, (it was) that Bod-'ashtart, king of the Sidonians, built the plain of this land to his god 'Ashtart.

L. 1. [ע] מִפְּ Restored after 29 6. בִּשְׁת מִלְכְּ בִּי lit. 'in the year of the reign of king B.,' i.e. prob. his first year. For the construction מֶלֶךְ מִלְכִּי see 5 1 n.; in the latter case we find לְמִלְכִּי שֶׁ (for שֶׁנֶּת as בֵּת for בִּנְתָּה) is obviously singular here, as it is in such expressions as שֶׁנֶּת אֵשׁ הָאֵשׁ 27 2, and similarly 9 5. 10 8. בִּשְׁת שֶׁמֶם 40 2. 47 1. . . בִּשְׁת . . . בִּים 33 1; so on the Moab. St. 1 2. 8, and in Aram. 69 1. On Phoen. coins, to denote the year, it is always שֶׁת or בִּשְׁת, not שֶׁנֶּת, e.g. Babelon *Pers. Ach.* p. 21 ff. On the other hand, שֶׁנֶּת is the form used for the plural; thus . . . בִּשְׁת . . . בִּים 12 1. 13 1. 14 1. 23 1 and similarly 5 1. This is quite clear in the phrase אֵשׁ הָמָה xxxiii שֶׁנֶּת . . . 29 5. In NPun. שֶׁנֶּת, שֶׁנֶּת, is obviously plural, e.g. 53 2. 54 3. 56 4. 58 3. There are cases where בִּשְׁת sing. is used, e.g. 9 4. 10 5. 33 1, instead of the normal בִּשְׁת plur. 23 6. 24 2. 26 2. 29 4. 8. 30 4; but these cases may be accounted for by the imitation of the Gk. formula ἐν ἔτει or ἐτῶς. Thus the usage seems to be estab-

lished: in Phoen. שט was used for the sing. and שנת for the plur. (cf. Hebr. בת and בנות). The above is worked out clearly by Cl-Gan. *Rec.* ii § 75.

L. 2. ברעשתרת Perhaps Straton i 374-362 B.C.; cf. 149 B 13, and see Appendix I. The meaning of the prefix בר is disputed. The word may be explained by the Hebr. בר plur. בָּרִים *parts, members*. The theophorous pr. nn. which contain this prefix, e.g. ברמלקרת 30 2. בראשטן 42 2. ברתנת ib. 1, will then describe the individual as being under the protection of the deity, a *member* or *client* of 'Ashtart, Eshmun &c.; cf. בר 17 2 n. In the same way we can account for the use of בר in a series of Carthaginian inscrs. CIS i 269-286, where it occurs, not in connection with a deity, but with the name of the donor's patron, e.g. 49 2 f. (= CIS 269) בר אשטניתן *B. the Sidonian, the client of his master Eshmun-yathon*. This usage is explained by the old Semitic custom which allowed a foreigner to place himself under the protection of a native, a *member* of whose household he became. The donors of these inscrs. were apparently strangers (e.g. אש צדן) who availed themselves of the custom at Carthage; so Lidzbarski 134 n., Bloch *Phoen. Gloss.* 19 n. Most authorities (e.g. Corp. p. 345) take בר to be a shortened form of עבד *servant*; but this does not suit the cases where בר is used of women (CIS i 279. 280)—אמת would be the proper word—nor the cases where בר and עבד occur in the same context, e.g. עברמלקרת בן עברמלקרת and vice versa, CIS i 203. 199. The pronunciation of ברעשתרת &c. was prob. Bod-'ashtart &c., the short vowel before ר with daghesh (. . . בֶּרִי) being lengthened when בר was used in composition before another syllable; this pronunciation is supported by the Gk. form Βουδάστροπος, in an inscr. from Cos, Michel 424, Θήρων Βουδάστροπου Τύπιος. A different etymology is suggested by Grunwald, *Eigennamen des A. T.* 7 n., who quotes the Assy. *Pudi-ilu, Budu-ilu* = 'prince of God' (?) KB ii 91, *Budi-ba'al* ib. 173; this meaning of *Budu*, however, is not clearly established.

L. 3. כ נ בן i.e. בִּנָּה *for he built*; or supplying a clause before the conjunction . . . (*it was*) *that he built*. Cf. 33 3.

L. 4. שרן אר[ץ] Various restorations and renderings have been suggested; the simplest is *the plain of this land*, שרן being a *plain* between the mountains and the sea, cf. 5 19. To *build the plain* is not a very natural expression, but it is paralleled by יבן את 1 K. 16 24 *והר*. Hoffmann, *Üb. ein. Phön. In.* 59, connects the word with אֶשְׁרָא Ezr. 5 3. 9 *walls* (Vulg.), a form which is itself equally obscure.

L. 5. ל[א]לִי לֵע' Cf. 24 1. CIS i 94 4. The Phoen. suff. 3 m. sing.

is  $\sqrt{\text{ē}}$ , contracted from *ahi*; cf. Aram. ܐܗܝ, ܐܗܝ, ܐܗ. Both the Phoen. and Aram. have weakened the original *ahu* preserved in the Arab.  $\text{أه}$  and the Hebr.  $\text{אִי}$ ,  $\text{אִי}$ ,  $\text{י}$ .

7. Sidon. Sid. 4. iii-ii cent. B.C. Louvre.

1 המנחת ז אש יתן עברמסכר רב עבר לספת  
2 רב שני בן בעלצלה לאדני לשלמן יברך

This offering (is that) which 'Abd-miskar, governor of the other side of SFT, the second governor, son of Ba'al-šillah, gave to his lord Shalman: may he bless!

L. 1. מנחת Here of an *offering* in general, as perhaps in CIS i 14 5 מנחת//אל; elsewhere מ' is used of sacrifices, with or without blood, e.g. 29 13. 42 14. 43 10. For י with a fem. noun see 3 add. note ii. עברמסכר Cf. חטרמסכר 59 A 5. גרמסכר CIS i 267 &c. מסכר must be the name of a deity, though it appears as the name of individuals in the Latin forms *mescar*, *misicir* &c. CIL viii 5194. 5217. The etymology of the name is uncertain. Renan thinks of the Egypt. Sokari, who at Memphis was the god of the dead (Maspero *Hist. Anc.* 26. 412); another suggestion is that the name is pure Egypt. *mer-seker* 'loving silence,' a title of Hathor (cf. חטרמסכר *supr.*), with an elision of the *r*; Hoffmann proposes a compound of the Cyprian מרי (= מלקרת 40 1 n.) + the Egyptian *Σώχαρις*, *Škr*, ZA xi 239 f.; Cl-Gan. suggests that מסכר = מזכר (cf. 9 6 n.), which may be the equivalent of *Μνημοσύνη* to whom a temple (*Aedes Memoriae*) was dedicated at Carthage, *Rev. Arch.* iii. t. 33. 274. This last explanation is certainly attractive. רב עבר לספת רב שני Meaning obscure. Lidzbarski 367 renders, most plausibly, 'under-prefect of Trans-LSPT,' or 'of Trans-SPT,' taking the ל as a prep. (cf. עבר לירדן) and ספת as the name of a stream (סוף), or as = Hebr. שפה *bank*; Eph. i 16. 147. This rendering may be illustrated by the legend on some Cilician coins of Mazaios, מוזאי וי על עברנהרא וחלק, i.e. 'Mazaios governor of Trans-Euphrates and Cilicia,' 149 A 6. Cl-Ganneau's explanation, 'rab retired, moreover rab for the second time,' is less probable; it is difficult to believe that לספת = *added to this*, and שני = *second*. Landau, *Beitr. z. Alttertumsk. d. Or.* ii 13, renders 'which A. gave for LSPT, the over- $\text{למ}$ ,' treating רב in רב as due to dittography, and reading בעבר = בעבר.

L. 2. בעלצלה *Ba'al prospers*, cf. רעמצלה 82 2. אשמנצלה 85 2; צלה is Piel. שלמן The name of this deity has been found on a

Gr. inscr. from Shêh Barakât, N. of Aleppo, Σελμανίης CIG 4450. 4451. The Assy. *Shulmanu* may be the same word (Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* ii 48), but as it occurs only in pr. nn., e.g. Shalman-asar, it may be merely the title of some god; Jastrow *Rel. of Bab. and Assy.* 189. יברך A brief petition often found at the end of a votive inscr., e.g. 9 8. 12 4. 30 6 &c.

8. Tyre. iii cent. B.C. Louvre.

- 1 . . . רת עלת שםאלקצרי .. נפעל הסף ו  
 2 באבן צר ועד כסף *NNNN* טבע צר משן.  
 3 נדר עבדך אדנבעל השפט בן עזמלך בן  
 4 [הש]פט בן בדמלקרת השפט בן דעמלך  
 5 [השפט]ט בן עזמלך פעל אית חצי הסף ו  
 6 ת יתן אית החצי הסף ו  
 7 דל . . . ד שפט בן בדמלקרת  
 8 צאת . . . בן  
 9 . . . [ע]בדבעל . . .

L. 1. עלת is the prep. *upon*. The next four letters are read *שמאל* the left by Cl.-Ganneau *Rec.* i 89; but the letters are very doubtful. נפעל Nif. pf. 3 m. sing. הסף is used in the O.T. for a *sacrificial bowl* Ex. 12 22. 1 K. 7 50. Jer. 52 19. Here we must suppose that the word is used in an extended sense of a large receptacle or *reservoir*. The inscr. is carved on a small moulded cube of stone pierced with a round passage about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter; it was probably a spout through which water ran into a tank or reservoir. It seems to be the latter which is referred to as הסף, and not the stone which bears the inscr. The Hebr. סף has also the meaning *threshold*, e.g. Is. 6 4; but this meaning is not suitable here.

L. 2. באבן צר may possibly mean *in Tyrian weight*, cf. אמלך *and moreover* (?) *silver* (*shekels*). The first of the numerical signs is probably to be taken as the symbol for 1000 *ף*; it seems to be different from the three signs which follow. This symbol *ף* is found on the Aram. papyrus CIS ii 147; see Euting *Nabaldäische Inschriften* 96 and Schröder *ZDMG* xxxix (1885) 317. The total number will be

1070. כבוע צר *coinage of Tyre*, כבוע lit. *stamped*; so in Arab. *ṣabāʿ seal, imprint*. The coinage of Tyre, i.e. the Tyrian or Phoen. as distinct from the Attic standard, is frequently mentioned in the Talmud, e.g. *Bab. Qam.* 90 ב צורי *Bekoroth* 49 b. *Jos. Bell.* ii 21 2 *Τυρίων νόμισμα*. This was the standard adopted by the Hasmonean princes, as being the native and traditional one; see *Levy Gesch. jüd. Müns.* 155.

L. 3. חשפט The title only here in Phoenicia itself. At an early date, in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, we hear of a succession of *judges* at Tyre, who took the place of the king; they held office for short terms, and in one instance two ruled together for six years, *Jos. c. Ap.* i 21. Whether this precedent was followed in the third cent. is not known; cf. 17 2. The *suffetes* at Carthage belonged to a more developed constitution. עמלך i.e. *Milk is (my) strength*, a common name in the Pun. inscr.

L. 4. ברמלקרת 8 2 n. דעם-מלך = *Dom is king*, cf. 32 2 דעםאלח בן דעמחנא צדני. These names show that דעם was a deity who had votaries among the Sidonians at the Piraeus. No further traces of him have as yet been found in Phoen.; but D. H. Müller, *ZDMG* xxx 691 f., quotes דעם (with mimation) as a pr. name found in Himyaritic; in Arab. too pr. names are formed from the same root. The Arab. *ḍamḥ* = *prop, support*; and it is possible that דעם = *Supporter, Upholder*.

L. 5. מעל אית חצי הסף 1 *made the half of this tank*. חצי again in *CIS* i 169 11.

L. 6. חצי הסף is a grammatical anomaly.

9. Umm-el-'Awāmid. *CIS* i 7. Date 132 B.C. Louvre.

- 1 [לארן ל]בעל שמם אש נדר עבראלם
- 2 בן מתן בן עבראלם בן בעלשמר
- 3 בפלג לארך אית השער ו והדלתה
- 4 אשל פעלת בתבלתי בנתי בשת צ
- 5 צצצ לארן מלכם צצצ וו שת לעם
- 6 צר לכני לי לסבר ושם נעם
- 7 תחת פעם אדני בעל שמם
- 8 לעלם יברכן

To the lord Ba'al-shamem (this is that) which 'Abd-elim, <sup>2</sup>son of Mattan, son of 'Abd-elim, son of Ba'al-shamar, in <sup>3</sup>the district of Laodicaea, vowed:—even this gate and the doors <sup>4</sup>thereof I made in fulfilment of it (? ?); I built (this) in the year 180 <sup>5</sup>of the lord of kings, the 143rd year of the people <sup>6</sup>of Tyre, that it may be to me for a memorial and a good name <sup>7</sup>under the foot of my lord Ba'al-shamem <sup>8</sup>for ever: may he bless me!

Umm-el-'Awâmfîd is a ruined site near the coast between Tyre and 'Akka.

L. 1. **לַאֲדֹן בְּעֶל שָׁמַם** *lord of the heavens*, i.e. the god who dwells in the heavens, to whom the heavens belong<sup>1</sup>. Unlike the early Ba'als who were connected with the earth and with special localities, *Ba'al of heaven* had a general, universal character. He makes his appearance in the later stages of Sem. religion, during the Gk. period. The earliest texts which mention him are the Punic (3-2 cent. B.C.), **לֵאדֹן לְבַעֲשָׁמַם** 39; CIS i 379 **חנא כחן שבעלשם** (Carthage); **קבר** 'חמלכת כחן בעלשם ות' (a newly discovered inscr. from Carthage, Lidzb. *Eph.* i 248 n.); Plaut. *Poen.* v 2 67 *balsamen*. But Carthage was not the original home of the cultus. This inscr., dated 132 B.C., gives evidence for Phoenicia, and throughout the N. Semitic world 'ב' ש' can be traced at this and a later period; thus among the Nabataeans of Hauran CIS ii 163 **בַּעֲשָׁמַם** 176 **לְבַעֲשָׁמַם**; in the Ṣafâ inscr. **בְּעֶל שָׁמַם** (Littmann *Ṣafâ-Inscr.* 58. 70); in Palm. 188 i n. The name implies a conception of deity which seems to have been produced by outside influences. Lidzb. l. c. suggestively notices that the Jewish title **יהוה אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם** Ezr. 1 2. **אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם** Ps. 136 26. **אֱלֹהֵי שָׁמַיָא** Ezr. 6 9 &c. **מֶלֶךְ שָׁמַיָא** Dan. 5 22 &c., which begins to be used in the Persian period, and may reflect the influence of Persian religion, was circulated by the Jews of the Dispersion at the very time when 'ב' ש' came into vogue (3-2 cent.); and it is probable that Jewish monotheistic ideas found their way into the surrounding heathenism, as they certainly did at Palmyra (185 i n.). On the other hand, when Syria came under Gk. rule, 'ב' ש' was readily

<sup>1</sup> The S. Arab. god **דְּשָׁמַם** is generally said to = 'ב' ש'; but Lidzb., *Eph.* i 243 ff., has proved that the identification cannot be sustained. The S. Arab. inscr. do not give **דְּשָׁמַם** the position of 'ב' ש'; he is only one among other deities; and 'heaven' is never written **דְּשָׁמַם** in S. Arab. The Minaean form is **שָׁמַם**, the Sabaeen **שָׁמַם**, and 'heaven' is always sing. (Hommel *Süd-ar. Chrest.* 46). Like other Arab. names with **د** *possessor of* . . . , **דְּשָׁמַם** is an epithet, prob. = *possessor of loftiness*.

identified with Zeus, as later, under the Romans, with Jupiter; thus in 2 Macc. 6  $\text{ז} \text{ב} \text{ז}$  =  $\text{Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος}$  and  $\text{Ζ. Ἡένιος}$ <sup>1</sup>. Yet 'ב' never occupied the predominant position of Zeus or Jupiter among the N. Semitic races<sup>2</sup>. Among the Nabataeans (supr.) in Roman times he never took the place of the national god Dushara; at Palmyra he was not counted among the  $\text{πατρώοι θεοί}$ , and it is remarkable that the dedications which contain his name were made by private persons, and they are few in number. There is no record of any official or general adoption of his worship by a king or city. A striking reference to the god occurs in the story of Ahiqar. Down to the fifth cent. A.D. his cult lasted in Syria, and from there passed into Armenia; see Lidzb. l. c.  $\text{חנן}$  Cf. 2 K. 11 18  $\text{חנן}$  a priest of Ba'al; *MittNa* a king of Tyre, inscr. of Tiglath-pileser, *COT* 169; *mutun, mythum* &c. in Lat. inscr., CIL viii p. 1030 a.  $\text{עבדאלם}$  'Αβδηλῆμος Jos. c. *Ap.* i 21; see 33 6 n.

L. 3.  $\text{בפלג}$  Cf. Hebr.  $\text{פלג}$  Neh. 3 17 f., and the Assy. *pulug(g)u* and *pulukku*, both in the sense of 'district,' 'border,' Delitzsch *Assyr. HWB* 525. 527. It is impossible to say which of the many Laodiceas in Syria is intended; perhaps L. ad mare, as distinguished from L. ad Libanum, is the most likely. Appian, *Syriaca* 57, mentions a  $\text{Λαοδίκεια ἡ ἐν τῇ Φοινικῇ}$ , and there is a series of coins belonging to L. ad Libanum which bear the legend  $\text{לללכאמא}$   $\text{בכנן}$  149 B 8<sup>3</sup>. In the Talm. a  $\text{לודיקא}$  is mentioned, and the context implies that it was near Tyre, *Menahoth* 85 b: also *Siphre* (Deut.) 148 a, ed. Friedmann. The  $\text{ב}$  in  $\text{בפלג}$  is rendered 'oriundus a' by Winckler *Allor. Forsch.* i 65; but the rendering is scarcely supported, see 5 6 n. Cl.-Gan. takes  $\text{לללכאמא}$  as the name of a month,  $\text{לאודίκιος}$ , and explains thus: the vow was made in the middle ( $\text{בפלג}$  lit. *division*) of the month, and the building carried out at the end of it ( $\text{באחלת}$ ), *Ét.* i 37 ff. From  $\text{לללכאמא}$  20 A 5. Ps. 141 3 =  $\text{לללכאמא}$ .

<sup>1</sup> The  $\text{ז} \text{ב} \text{ז}$  of Dan. 12 11 &c. is prob. an intentional disfigurement of  $\text{ז} \text{ב} \text{ז}$ , Nestle *ZATW* (1884) 248, Driver *Daniel* 188. In *Julian* ed. Hoffmann 249 l. 8 he is mentioned along with Zeus, Hermes, Serapis.

<sup>2</sup> Philo of Bybl. exaggerates when he says  $\text{τοῦτον γὰρ (τὸ ἥλιον) θεὸν ἐνόμισον μόνον οὐρανοῦ κύριον Βεελσάμην καλοῦντες}$ , *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 565 f. The identification with the sun is hardly correct.

<sup>3</sup> Babelon gives  $\text{לללכאמא}$   $\text{בכנן}$  L. *the metropolis of Canaan*, *RS* p. 84, cf. p. 86  $\text{לללכאמא}$   $\text{בכנן}$ , 149 B 15  $\text{לללכאמא}$   $\text{בכנן}$ ; but the construction 'ב'  $\text{לללכאמא}$  is objectionable, and  $\text{לללכאמא}$  the rel. should be read,  $\text{ל}$  and  $\text{ל}$  being almost indistinguishable on the coins. It is surprising to find the same legend on coins of Berytus (Babelon *Pers. Ach.* clxiii f.); but the L. of the inscr. is not likely to have been Berytus, which was destroyed by Tryphon in 140 B.C.

For the  $\pi$  artificially inserted in the plur., cf. Hebr. אֲמָתַי, Aram. אֲמַתַּי, Arab. أَمَّهَاتُ, and 63 16  $\pi$ .

L. 4. **אשל מעלת בתכלתי בנתי** No satisfactory explanation of these words has been discovered. The translation given above is that of the Corpus; **אשל** = **לו אשר** **מעלת**, Pf. 1 sing., **בתכלתי** *in the fulfilment of it*, i.e. the vow, **בנתי** Pf. 1 sing. But **ל** by itself = **לי** (לו) is contrary to usage, and the suff. in **בתכלתי** has no direct antecedent. Another explanation is **אשל למעלת בתי גמלתי** *which are for the making of the temple, I have finished; I built it . . . , or I have completely built.* But we should expect the forms **כלת**, **בנת** for the Pf. 1 sing., and perhaps **הבית**. Lidzb. proposes to treat **ל** before **מעלת** as an affirmative, the Arab. **ج**, and **תכלתי** as a noun **תכלית** or **תכלת** with **ו** compaginis, and **בנתי** as inf. constr. with suff., *which I have indeed made in the completion of my building*; this involves too many doubtful assumptions.

L. 5. ל'אח מלכ' 5 18 א. The date is reckoned by the Seleucid era which began in 312 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Strictly speaking the *lord of kings* was Alexander the Great (died 323 B.C.); at the time when the era was instituted, however, the reigning king was Seleucus I Nicator. 'The 180th year of the Seleucids' will be 132 B.C., and 'the 143rd year of the people of Tyre' thus makes the Tyrian era begin in 275 B.C., at which time the city, after its capture by Ptolemy Philadelphus, began to recover itself as an autonomous municipality.

L. 6. לְחִיזתוֹ = לִכְרֹנֵי לְבָנֵי i.e. לבני שם i. 56 זכר = סכר Cf. Is. 56 5; and for שם נעם cf. שם טב 65 3, and in the Mishnah, e.g. *Berakoth* 17 a.

L. 7. מַעַם = Hebr. רָגַל. *My or his lord.* The context makes the former more suitable.

L. 8. יִרְבֵּן Cf. 7 2 n. The suff. shows that here and elsewhere the verb is Piel not Pual.

<sup>1</sup> Its starting-point was the victory of Ptolemy i Soter, the ally of Seleucus, over Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus, at Gaza in 312 B.C. This was followed by the victory of Seleucus over Nicanor the general of Antigonus, the recovery of Babylon, and the conquest of Susiana and Media. Porphyr. Tyr. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 707. See CL-Gan. *Ét.* i 60 ff.; Bevan *House of Seleucus* i 52. The Seleucid era was used by the Nabataeans, 97 iii n., by the Palmyrenes, 110 5 n., and by the Jews, who called it מנין שמואל *the era of contracts*, e.g. 'Ab. zar. 10 a. For other designations see I Macc. 1 11. Jos. Ant. xii 5 3. xiii 6 7.



## 10. Ma'sûb. Date 222 B.C. Louvre.

- 1 ערפת כברת מצא שמש וצ  
 2 פלי אש בן האלם מלאך מלכ  
 3 עשתרת ועברי בעל חמן  
 4 לעשתרת באשרת אל חמן  
 5 בשת מ III III לפתלמים ארן  
 6 מלכם האדר פעל נעם בן פת  
 7 למים וארסנאם אלן א[ח]  
 8 ים שלש חמשם שת לעם [צר]  
 9 כמאש בן אית כל אחרי...  
 10 ם אש בארץ לכן לם ל...  
 11 עלם . . . . .

The portico on the quarter (?) of the sun-rise and the north (side) <sup>2</sup> of it, which the Elim, the envoys of Milk-<sup>3</sup> 'Ashtart and her servants, the citizens of Ḥammon, built <sup>4</sup> to 'Ashtart in the ashērah (?), the god of Ḥammon, <sup>5</sup> in the 50th year of Ptolemy, lord <sup>6</sup> of kings, the noble, the beneficent, son of Ptolemy and Arsinoë, the divine Adelphoi, in the three (and) fiftieth year of the people of [Tyre]; <sup>7</sup> as also they built all the rest . . . <sup>10</sup> . . . which . in the land, to be to them for . . . <sup>11</sup> . . . ever.

Ma'sûb is situated to the S. of Umm-el-'Awâmid, about half way between Tyre and Ptolemais ('Akka). The general purport of the inscr. seems to be this: Certain distinguished citizens of Ḥammon, a town near Tyre, build or restore a portico in the neighbouring temple of 'Ashtart at Ma'sûb, in honour of their own Milk-'Ashtart, the deity of Ḥammon. It may have been that the temple of Ḥammon was founded from that at Ma'sûb, and the restoration an act of piety towards the mother-shrine.

L. 1. ערפת See 8 6 n. כברת The √כבר = *be much, great*, as in Assyrr. *kabdrû*, Old Aram. e.g. 61 11. 62 4. 9, Aram. כָּבַר, Arab. كَبَّرَ; so 'כ' may be taken as an adj. agreeing with ערפת the great portico.

A more expressive meaning, however, is suggested by the Assyr. *kibratu* 'a (widely) extended territory,' 'a quarter of the world,' e.g. *īar kibrat arbati* 'king of the four quarters,' Schrader *COT* 247, cf. the Hebr. כְּבֶרֶת הָאָרֶץ Gen. 35 16 &c. *a distance* (lit. *a large space*) of land; hence we may render כ' *quarter*. In this case כְּבֶרֶת will be an accus. of place, defined more fully by the following genit. מִצָּע שָׁמַשׁ (a single term) as often in Hebr., e.g. Ex. 33 10. 1 K. 19 13. Jer. 36 10. If כְּבֶרֶת be rendered *great*, then מִצָּע will be accus., *on the east*, cf. Josh. 1 4. 15. 23 4. For מִצָּע cf. Ps. 75 7 and the Old Aram. מִקְצָא שָׁמַשׁ 62 14.

L. 2. וְצִפּוֹן=צָפֹן, *Perhaps and the north (side) of it*, צָפֹן=צָפֹל, *נ* being interchanged with ל, as לִשְׁכָּה and נִשְׁכָּה *chamber*. The ו co-ordinates the word with עֶרְפָּת, to which also the suff. refers. For the suff. ו' used for the fem. (ע' fem. in 8 6) as well as for the mas. cf. עֲבָרִי l. 3 and CIS i 280 בְּרִי אֲרִי . . . אֲשֶׁר נִדְרָא שְׂרִדְנָתָא. A different meaning is suggested by Halévy *Rev. Ét. Juiv.* xii 109 f., who takes צָפֹל as a dialectical form of צָפֹל (cf. נָצַר and נָטַר)=*attach, add*, in Rabb. Hebr. צָפֹל *something attached, subordinate*, so וְצִפּוֹן=וְצָפֹלֶיהָ *and its annexes*. The first explanation is preferable. הָאֵלִים appears to be a title, 'primores,' *chiefs, leaders*; cf. אֵלֵי מֹאָב Ex. 15 15. Eze. 17 13 &c. This use of the word is perhaps to be found again on the Phoen. seal 150 5 לְבַעֲלִיתֶן אֵשׁ אֵלִים אֲשֶׁר מִלְּקִרְתִּיצָא. Plur. constr.= מִלְּאֲדִי, in appos. to הָאֵלִים. Cf. Le Bas-Waddington *Voy. Arch.* iii no. 1890 Δούκιος Ἀκκαβαλου εὐσεβ[ῶ]ς καὶ πεμφθεῖς πρὸς τῆς κυρίας Ἀταργάτης (from Kefr Hawar).

L. 3. מִלְכַּעֲשֶׁתֶּרֶת The name of the goddess and her city occur again in inscr. from the same neighbourhood, CIS i 8 חֲמַן אֵל חֲמַן לְמִלְכַּעֲשֶׁתֶּרֶת אֵל חֲמַן, and לְבַעֲלִיתֶן בֶּן עֲבָדֶיהָ (recently discovered) Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* v 151; cf. also the Pun. inscr. CIS i 250 בְּרַעֲשֶׁתֶּרֶת . . . עֲבָרִי בֶּת מִלְכַּעֲשֶׁתֶּרֶת. Milk-'Ashtart is a distinct deity formed out of the combined attributes of Milk and 'Ashtart. In the combination 'Ashtart predominates, for the deity thus conceived is a goddess, not a god. Other examples of compound divinities are אֲשֶׁמַּעֲשֶׁתֶּרֶת CIS i 245 3 f. 1 עֲשֶׁתֶּרֶת כֶּשֶׁם 1 17 מִלְכַּבַּעַל 37 1 n. מִלְכַּבַּסֶּר ib. מִלְקִרְתִּיצָא 150 5 &c.; see Baethgen *Beitr.* 37 ff. As the name of a god, מִלְךְ alone is not found (see, however, 50 1 n.); but the many pr. nn. of which מִלְךְ forms a part imply that a deity was worshipped in Phoenicia and its colonies under this title; 8 1 n., Driver *Deut.* 223<sup>1</sup>. וְעֲבָרִי Not plur. constr., for this form is not written with

<sup>1</sup> Hoffmann, *Ueb. einige Phön. Inschr.* 26, renders *Queen-'Ashtart* (Milk-'Ashtart, but in Phoen. this would be Milkath-'Ashtart), *King Ba'al* &c. We

✓ in Phoen., e.g. מלאך l. 2, בעל (prob.) l. 3, אלן l. 7; it is therefore plur. with suff. 3 fem. sing. = עֲבָדָהּ. Cf. צפלי l. 2 n. בעל חמן This must prob. be rendered *citizens of Hammon*, cf. CIS i 120 הרמא בעלת בונחי 'Eirene, the citizenship of Byzantium.' 309 בעל תברשי 3 NPun. בעל 54 2; Sab. מבעל CIS iv 86 8. 172 1; and בעלי יריחו Josh. 24 11. Jud. 9 2. If בעל be taken as a divine name, עברי must = *her servant the Ba'al of H.*, an unsuitable expression, for Ba'al could not be termed the servant of 'Ashtart. To render *his servant B-hammān's*, on the analogy of מלך אשמונעור l. 1, is to introduce confusion into the general sense of the inscr. A place called חפון (*hot spring?*), near Tyre, is mentioned in Josh. 19 28 as belonging to Asher; it is prob. to be identified with Umm-el-'Awāmid (9), where there are ruins of a Phoen. city: Guérin *Galilée* ii 141, Hoffmann l. c., Buhl *Geogr. Alt. Pal.* 229<sup>1</sup>.

L. 4. לעשרת באשרת This difficult phrase is usually rendered *to 'Ashtart in the ashērah*, the goddess being regarded as dwelling in her symbol, the sacred pole (בַּאֲשֶׁרֶת); see Cl-Gan. *Rec.* i 83, Robertson Smith *Rel. of Sem.* 172, Driver *Deuteron.* 202 f. We have no clear evidence, however, that the *ashērah* was the symbol of 'Ashtart. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Cyprus, the Bible and Homer* 165. 168, explains 'Ashtart in the *ashērah* as referring to an image of 'Ashtart standing in a niche in an *ashērah*, and he gives an illustration of Artemis in a similar position. But it is by no means certain that the poles or trees figured on gems &c. to which he alludes are *ashērahs*; so that this explanation has only the value of a conjecture. The most plausible solution of the difficulty is that proposed by Hoffmann l. c. The primary meaning of אשרת he takes to have been a *sign-post* set up to mark the site or the boundaries of a deity's influence; cf. Assyr. *āšru* 'place,' Aram. *ʾāšl* 'place,' Arab. *ʾāṣr* 'sign, tract,' from the same root. Meaning originally the *sign* of the deity's habitation, the *ashērah* would readily be used of the *sacred precincts* or *temenos* of the god, which is exactly the sense required here; in Assyr. *āširtu, ʿširtu*

must take מלך, like בעל and אמן, as an appellative; but while two divine names are sometimes compounded to form a single divinity as above, the language does not favour a combination of this kind; the analogy of ordinary pr. nn. compounded with מלך requires that מלך be taken as a predicate, e.g. מלכיו *Yah is king*. *Ba'al is king* would be a suitable name for a man, but not for the god himself.

<sup>1</sup> Meyer, *Ency. Bibl.* 3741, renders חמן ב' אמן *B-hammān* (37 4 n.) i. e. the numen occupying the *hammān* of Milk-'Ashtart, *the god of the hammān-pillar*, who in turn has an *ashērah* in which dwells an Astarte, the dedication being made to the latter. This seems improbable. Would חמן ב' be called *his servant* (עברי) in relation to חמן אמן?

actually denotes a 'sanctuary' or 'temple'; so Zimmern *KAT*<sup>2</sup> 437 n. The fem. ending does not mark the gender, according to Hoffmann, but has merely a grammatical significance; it is the sign of a 'nomen unitatis' (Ges. § 122 f). The word *ashērah* has been read in only one other inscr., 14 3, and there the text is uncertain. It is true that אַשְׁרָה was a goddess, known in Assyria as *Ash-ra-tum*, in Arabia as *Athirat* (cf. 69 16 n.), and in Canaan, 1 K. 15 13 = 2 Ch. 15 16. 2 K. 21 7. 23 4. 7; see Lagrange *Relig. Sémit.* 120 ff. Here, however, בַּאֲשֶׁרֶת cannot be treated as a divine name. אֱלֹהֵי חֲסֹן Again in CIS i 8 מִלְכַּעֲשֶׁתֶּרֶת אֱלֹהֵי חֲסֹן from Umm-el-'Awāmid; this shows that חֲסֹן אֱלֹהֵי is in apposition to עֲשֶׁתֶּרֶת.

L. 5. מִלְכָּם 5 18 n.; Ptolemy iii Euergetes, B.C. 247–221. בִּשְׁח Sing. for the usual בִּשְׁחָ plur., see 6 1 n.

L. 6. מַגְדָּר corresponds to the Gk. *μεγαλόδοξος*; see 5 9 n. מַגְדָּר נַעַם i.e. *εὐεργέτου*; cf. 8 8. בֶּן פְּתֹלְמִיִּים son of Ptolemy, i.e. of Ptolemy ii Philadelphus, B.C. 285–247. Cf. 27 1.

L. 7. אֲרִיסְטֹאס i.e. *Ἀριστοῦς*. The Phoen. has transcribed the genitive; cf. 27 2. אֱלֵי אֱלֵי אֱלֵי i.e. *ἑλῖ* cf. 3 10 n., the Phoen. equivalent of the title *θεῶν ἀδελφῶν* in Gk. Ptolemaic inscr., e.g. the bilingual inscr. of Canopus (B.C. 238), where Ptolemy iii is styled τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀριστοῦς θεῶν ἀδελφῶν, Michel 551; see 95 1 n.

L. 8. [צֶרֶךְ] לַעֲמֹ See 9 5 n.

L. 9. כְּבֹאֵשׁ = כְּבֹאֵשׁ, see 3 7 n.; lit. *according as*, introducing a fresh *item*; similarly 45 1. 4. חֲרִי The subj. is חֲרִי ל. 2. חֲרִיִּי Prob. = חֲרִיִּי, here used in a concrete sense, as in 42 4. 8. חֲרִיִּי חֲרִי; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 85. Hoffmann conjectures [חֲקָרֵשׁ] for the missing word.

L. 10. בַּאֲרָץ Perhaps the land within the domain of the sanctuary of Ḥammon (Hoffm.). לֵן לֵן לֵן Cf. 9 6, which suggests that the line may be restored לֵן לֵן לֵן נַעַם לֵן לֵן.

## CYPRUS

11. Ba'al Lebanon. CIS i 5. viii cent. B.C. Biblioth. Nat., Paris.

א. סבן קרתחדשת עבד חרם מלך צדנם אז יתן לבעל לבנן אדני

א. בראשת נחשת ח ...

ב. מב סבן קרתחדשת

ג. [לב]על לבנן אדני

a . . . governor of Qarth-hadasht, servant of Hiram, king of the Sidonians, gave this to Ba'al of Lebanon, his lord, of choicest bronze.

b . . . ṬB, governor of Qarth-hadasht.

c to Ba'al of Lebanon, his lord.

These inscriptions, the most ancient examples of the Phoen. language and writing yet discovered, are found upon eight fragments of thin bronze, which formed parts of bowls or paterae used for ceremonial purposes<sup>1</sup>. Six of the fragments when pieced together make up inscr. a; the remaining two, b and c, are considered to have belonged to a second bowl, owing to slight differences in some of the letters, e. g. א and ל. The writing is of the archaic type represented by the Moabite Stone (ix cent.) and the Old Aramaic of the Zenjirli inscr. (viii cent.), allowing for the differences between engraving on metal and carving on stone. The Old Greek alphabet belongs to the same type; in particular, the correspondence between the ⚡ i. e. ι and the † i. e. η and the same letters in Old Greek is noticeable. On this account Lidzbarski (p. 176) is disposed to assign the inscr. to a date not far from the period when the Greeks borrowed their alphabet from the Semites (2nd millennium B.C.), considerably earlier than the date of the Moabite Stone. Internal evidence, however, favours a later age,

<sup>1</sup> Fine specimens of these bowls, discovered at Nimroud, may be seen in the British Museum, Nimroud Gallery, table-cases C and D. They are the work of Phoen. artists; in some instances the artist's name is inscribed on the edge in Phoen. letters. The design and workmanship exhibit the characteristics of Egyptian art. The date of the bowls is not earlier than 700 B.C. See Brit. Mus. *Guide to Babyl. & Assyri. Antiq.* (1900) 22 f.

that of the Zenjirli inscr. (61-63), the middle of the eighth cent. B.C.; and the character of the writing agrees with this.

The fragments, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, were found in Cyprus. The dedication to Ba'al of Lebanon seems at first sight to point to Phoenicia or Syria as their original home. But the Phoen. colony in Cyprus may well have carried with them the cult of their deity from the mother-land; or if the *סכנ* *governor* came from Phoenicia, he may have wished to remember the god of his native place, just as the Tyrian colonists at Malta made their dedication to Melqarth, the Ba'al of Tyre, 86 1.

*סכנ* *governor, prefect*, cf. *סכנ* *steward* Is. 22 15. The title occurs in the Tell-el-Amarna letters, apparently as a Canaanite loan-word, *sukini* = *rabisi* 'officer' 237 9. The *√* = *be of use, service* (Hebr.), *care for* (Assyr.). *קרחרשת* i.e. *new-town*, 'Carthage.' That there was a place of this name in Cyprus is made certain by the mention of *Ḫarti-ḫadas(f)ti* (Assyr. *ḫ* interchanged with north-semitic *ḫ*) in the lists of Asarhaddon and Ašurbanipal, along with well-known Cyprian towns, such as Paphos, Idalion, Tamassos; *KB* ii 240. It is clear from this inscr. that the city at this period was under the dominion of the Phoen. king. Its site is unknown. An attempt is made by Schrader, *Sitzungsb. Berl. Akad.* (1890) 337-344, to identify it with Kition, the modern Larnaka. *Ḫarti-ḫadast* occupies, he says, the place on the Assyr. lists where we should expect to find Kition; and as the name *קרחרשת* *new-town* suggests a previous 'old town,' it is probable that *ק'ח'* was the Phoen. quarter of the ancient Kition. The identification he thinks to be confirmed by the discovery in Larnaka itself of an inscr. containing the words *עבר' הקרתחרשתי* 'Abd. the man of Carthage, 20 B 6. This is very likely the Cyprian Carthage; but the special mention of the individual's native place rather points to the fact that his home was not in Kition but elsewhere. The bronze fragments are said to have been found on a mountain 20 miles NE. of Limassol and 10 from the sea (CIS i p. 23), at some distance from Larnaka; but this can have no bearing on the argument, for the bowls may have been removed from the place to which they originally belonged. The evidence, in fact, is not sufficient to establish Schrader's identification. *עבר' servant* i.e. high official as *בבל מלך בבל* in 2 K. 25 8. Lidzb., ? *vassal* as in the Zenjirli inscr. 63 3. *ח'ירם* i.e. *ח'ירם* = *ח'ירם* *brother of the exalted one*; cf. *ח'מלך* 40 2. *ח'מלכת* ib. *ח'מל* 1 K. 16 34 for *ח'מל*. Hiram here has the title *מלך צידון* *king of the Sidonians*. It is improbable that he is the Hiram i

who was the friend of David and Solomon, for this Hiram is consistently called *king of Tyre* in the O.T., e.g. 2 S. 5 11. 1 K. 5 15. 9 11 &c.; and historical usage shows that מלך צר did not mean the same thing as מלך צידנים. The official title *king of the Sidonians* implies the union of Tyre and Sidon under one ruler; thus Ethba'al circ. 855 B.C. is called מלך צידנים in 1 K. 16 31 and Τυρίων καὶ Σιδωνίων βασιλεύς by Josephus (*Ant.* viii 13 1 cf. Τυρίων βασιβ. ib. 13 2). The king of the Sidonians was virtually king of all Phoenicia, Sidonians being a general term for Phoenicians used by the people themselves (e.g. 4 1 f. 5 1 f.), by the Assyrians, by the Hebrews (e.g. Jud. 3 3. 1 K. 11 5 &c.), and by the Greeks (Homer, e.g. *Od.* 4 618. *Il.* 6 290). Another Hiram (*Hirummu*) is mentioned by Tiglath-pileser iii as paying tribute in 738 B.C. (*COT* 252). It is true he is called *of Tyre* (*Šurrai*); but since no king of Sidon is mentioned—if there had been one the Assyrian king would certainly not have allowed him to escape tribute—we may conclude that Sidon was at this time subject to Tyre, and Hiram ii king of both cities. Hence מלך צדנא would have been his full official title; and the probability is that this Hiram ii, who was reigning in 738, is the king alluded to in the inscr. The epigraphical evidence supports this date; for the character of the writing closely resembles that of the Old Aram. of the Zenjirli inscr., which belong to this period, and mention Tiglath-pileser by name, 62 15 f. 63 3. 6. The third Hiram known to us as the contemporary of Cyrus (*Jos. c. Ap.* i 21) is altogether excluded; he could not have been called מלך צדנא, for by his time the title had long been an anachronism. The union of the two cities under the hegemony of Tyre came to an end in 701, when Sennacherib expelled Luli *šarru Šiduni* (= Ἐλουλαῖος king of Tyre, *Jos. Ant.* ix 14 2), and made Sidon subject to Assyria; *KB* ii 90. Tyre survived as a separate state with a king of its own. The above view is stated forcibly by Landau *Beitr. z. Altertumsk. d. Orients* i (1893) 17-29. א Demonstr. pron.; add. note ii p. 26. בעל לבנ is not mentioned elsewhere; cf. בעל חרסן Jud. 3 3, and the Ζεὺς ὄρειος = בעל חררים to whom a temple was dedicated at the gates of Sidon, Renan *Mission de Phénicie* 397. אדני Cf. 7 2. 12 4 &c. בראשח Cf. Am. 6 6 ראשית שמים *the best of ointments*; it is also possible to render *as the first-fruits* (ἀπαρχή) of bronze, cf. Ex. 23 19 &c. The 'ב is *beth essentiae*.

12. Kition. CIS i 10. B.C. 341. Paris.

- 1 בימם ווו לירח בל בשנת מ למ[לך פמייתן מלך כתי ו]  
 2 אדיל ותמש בן מלך מלכיתן מלך כתי ואדיל מזבח א[ו]  
 3 וארום אשנם ו אש יתן ברא כהן רשפחץ בן יכנש  
 4 לס בן אשמנארן לאדני לרשפחץ יברך

On the 6th day of the month Bul, in the 21st year of ki[ng Pumi-yathon, king of Kition and] Idalion and Tamassos, son of king Milk-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion. This altar and two hearths (?) 2 (are they) which Bodo, priest of Reshef-ḥeš, son of Yakun-shalom, son of Eshmun-adon, gave to his lord Reshef-ḥeš. May he bless!

L. i. vi בימם lit. in days, 6 for on the sixth day, xxi בשנת lit. in years, 21 for in the twenty-first year (see § 1 n.). This clumsy expedient is used to express the ordinal numbers which Phoen. does not possess; instinctively the noun was written in the plur. before the numerical signs; cf. 14 i. 23 i. 27 i. In Hebr. and Aram. a similar usage is occasionally found, e.g. Ex. 19 15 לשלשת ימים after three days, i.e. on the third day; Dan. 12 12 unto 1335 days, i.e. unto the 1335th day; Mishnah Berakoth 9 b עד נ' שעות i.e. to the third hour; Mt. 20 3 חֲכֵם מִכֵּן; König *Syntax* § 315 m, *Lehrgeb.* ii 255 n. A less probable explanation is that ימם is not plur. but sing., יָמָם, like the Aram. יִמְמָא, (Nöldeke *ZDMG* xl 721); the Aram. יִמְמָא, however, is used of day as distinguished from night, and not in such constructions as the above. Cf. 5 i n.

למ[לך פמייתן בל Restored from 13 i f. With פמייתן cf. עברמי 23 6. אמתמי = מתמי CIS i 55. פמיש[מע] ib. 197 3. The form suggests that there is some connexion between פמי, clearly a divinity, and the god מעם in the pr. nn. עברמעם CIS i 112 c<sup>1</sup>. c<sup>2</sup>. נעמעם Eut. *Carth.* 263 2 (*namphamo* &c. in Lat. inscr., CIL viii p. 1030 b), but the exact nature of the connexion has not been made out. It is possible that מעם forms an element in the names Pygmaios, Pygmalion (מעם עלין ?)<sup>1</sup>; at any rate Pygmalion could be confused with Pumi-yathon, as will appear below. An

<sup>1</sup> It is curious actually to find the name פמליך in Phoen. (Punic), and in combination with שמיך, apparently as a deity. It occurs in an inscr. on a gold medallion found in a grave at Carthage, 1894, and written in the earliest type of characters. The form of the name must be due to Gk. influence. The inscr. is given in Lidzbarski 171; see also Cl.-Gan. *Roc.* v 152 n.



interesting side-light is thrown by Gk. historians upon Pumi-yathon (361-312 B.C.). Athenaeus *Deipnosoph.*, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* ii 472, on the authority of the historian Daris, says that Alexander, after the capture of Tyre (332 B.C.), gave to one Pnytagoras an estate which Pasicyprus king of Amathous sold along with his crown to Pumatos of Kition, Πυμάτω τῷ Κιτιῷ. There is good reason for believing that this estate was none other than Tamassos. For if we compare 26 1 and this inscr., on the one hand, with 18 1 on the other, we may infer that Pumi-yathon acquired Tamassos between the 8th and 21st year of his reign, and lost it between his 21st and 37th year, i.e. between 341 and 325. This agrees very well with the statement of Athenaeus that Alexander disposed of it in 332. Pumi-yathon's reign continued for some time after the latest date furnished by the inscr. (18 1), as appears from his coins, stamped with his 46th year (149 B6). Diodorus Sic., xix 79, tells us how his reign came to an end; he was put to death by Ptolemy i Soter, who came to Cyprus ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας τῶν βασιλέων Πυγμαλιῶνα δὲ εὐρὼν διαπρεσβεύμενον πρὸς Ἀντίγονον ἀνέλε. Diodorus calls him Pygmalion; but this is prob. only another name for Pumi-yathon; see Babelon *Pers. Achém.* cxxxi, Droysen *Hellenica* ii 2 10. His death took place in 312; after this, the reckoning by the era of כתי עם began, i.e. in 311 B.C. מלך כתי ואדיל. The usual title of the kings of Cyprus. כתי=Kition, on the S. coast; the importance of the town was such that 'the people of Kition,' קִיטִיִּים or קִיטִיָּים, was the name given by the Hebrews to all the inhabitants of Cyprus. אדיל=Idalion, in the middle of the island, NW. of Kition. This and the following city are found in the lists of Asarhaddon and Assur-banipal, *COT* 355 ll. 13. 19.

L. 2. תמס = Tamassos, N. of Idalion; only here in the Phoen. inscr. known. מלכיתן Cf. 18 2. CIS i 16. 89 &c., and on coins, 149 B 5. מוכח Cf. 3 4.

L. 3. ארום Meaning uncertain, possibly *lions* (אַרְיִים=אַרְיִים), carved in stone and placed beside the altar; cf. τοὺς δύο λέοντας, dedicated to Ba'al or Zeus, in a Gk. inscr. found near Sidon, Renan *Miss. de Phén.* 397. More probably *altar-hearths*, from ארוח (ארי, ארו) *burn*, Arab. *أرض* plur. *أرض* *hearth*; אראל 1 12. אשנים=אשן Cf. 23 6. For the prosthetic א cf. Arab. *أشنان*. ארד Cf. 14 2 f. 31 c, frequently in Carth. inscr. It is prob. that ארד is a shortened form of בר-מלקרת, בר-מלקרת, or some such name, rather than of עברא; see 6 2 n. In Hebr. the ending would be א', e.g. חנא=חנן, עברא=עברא. עברא The deity רשף, *Reshef* or *Reshaf*, cf. the Assyr. רשף (א) or רשף (א), occurs frequently in Cyprian inscr. and pr. nn.,

e. g. רשפיתן 15 2. 23 2-6. עבררשף 27 4; cf. מלקרתרצף 150 5. His cult was popular in Cyprus, and especially at Idalion; but beyond an allusion to his temple at Carthage CIS i 251 [ף] עבר בת ארש (the reading [ף] עברארש in ib. 393 is uncertain), Phoen. inscr. do not mention him outside Cyprus. In N. Syria, however, his worship was of ancient date; 61 2. 3. רשף = *flame, lightning-flash*, Ps. 78 48. Cant. 8 6; hence the god was identified with Apollo (30, Tam. 2, CIS i 89), who as *ἑκαβόλος, ἑκατηβόλος* &c. was the author of pestilence (*Il.* i 50 f.). Thus רשף may have been the Phoen. Fire-god who smites men and cattle with fiery darts (cf. Dt. 32 23. Hab. 3 5; Driver *Deut.* 368). The name always has a qualifying term, e. g. רשף-מכל (24 2. 25 2. 26 2 from Idalion), ר' אליית (80 3 f. from Tamassos), ר' אלחיתם Tam. 2 4. In these three instances the qualifying term is the name of a place or city; it is probable, therefore, that the same is the case in ר' חץ *Reshef of ḥṣ*, ? Issos (Cilicia). Cl.-Ganneau, vocalizing ר' חץ, takes the name to be a Phoen. rendering of 'Ἀπόλλων Ἀγυαίς' 'Apollo who guards the streets'; the explanation is ingenious, and may be illustrated by the Assy. *ilu suḫi* 'the god of the streets.' The original pronunciation of רשף is preserved in the name of an Arab village near Jaffa, *أرسوف* *Arsuf* (cf. ארשף above) = the Seleucid *Apollonias*; *Rec.* i 176 ff. In Egyptian the god is called Raspu or Resoup; he is represented as bearded, like Apollo, and is mentioned among Asiatic deities; Müller *Asien u. Eur.* 311 f. The Corp. takes the view that ר' חץ = *Reshef of the arrow*, cf. Ps. 76 4 רשפי קשת; but the figure of Raspu from Egypt. monuments, given in Corp. p. 38, holds a spear, not an arrow, and for other reasons the view is improbable. יבנשלם i. e. *peace be (to him)*; again in 14 2 (rest.), and in NPun.

L. 4. אשמנארן See 5 17 n,

### 13. Kition. CIS i 11. B.C. 325.

- 1 בימם א ווו לירח. מרפא. בשנת א ז ווו ווו למלך. פמייתן.  
מלך. בת[ן]. ואדיל. בן. מלך.
- 2 מלכיתן. מלך. בתי. ואדיל. [ס]מלת. א[ן]. אש. יתן. וימנא.  
מנחשת. יאש. אשת. [בעלת]יתן. עב
- 3 ד. בת. עשתרת. בת. שמעא. ב[ן] ב[עליתן]. לדבתי. לעשתרת.  
[תש]מע. [קל]

On the 14th day of the month Merpa, in the 37th year of king Pumi-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion, son of king Milk-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion :—This statue (is that) which Yaash, wife of [Ba'alath?]-yathon, temple-serv[ant of 'Ashtar]t, daughter of Shime'o, son of Ba'al-yathon, gave and set up of bronze to her mistress, 'Ashtar; may she hear (her) voice!

This inscr. was found and inaccurately copied by Pococke at Larnaka in 1738, with 32 others; they have all since disappeared.

L. 1. xiv ביטם See 12 1 n. מרפא Name of a month, according to Euting, *Sechs Phön. Inschr.* (1875), the 7th month, October. It is also called מרפא Idal. 7 (Euting *Sitz. Berl. Akad.* (1887) 422), CIS i 124 3 (Malta), 179 5 (Carthage). ממיית See 12 1 n. It is noteworthy that Tamassos does not occur in the king's title in his 37th year.

L. 2. מלח [ם] Fem., because the statue represented a female figure—the goddess 'Ashtar; similarly CIS i 40. When the statue represented a male the mas. is used, e. g. 23 2. 5. 25 1. 27 3; the same distinction is observed in the use of זלמא and זלמא in Palmyrene. In the O. T. מל occurs Dt. 4 16. Eze. 8 3. 5. 2 Ch. 33 7. 15. יתן ימנא Perf. 3 fem.; the same formula in 23 2. 30 1. ימנא is Hif., cf. קרש 28 4. קרשת 29 9. 14. The initial *h* of the Hifl was weakened into the spiritus lenis and written with initial י, but prob. pronounced *ihl*, *iqdsh*; cf. the similar weakening of the *h* into *ī* in Arabic, conj. iv; Stade *Morg. Forsch.* 208. In NPun. the Qal מנא is used in the same sense. [בעלת] יתן So Corp.; but the reading is very doubtful.

L. 3. עבר בת ע' So restored by Berger, and adopted by Corp.; frequently in Carth. inscr. שמעא In Hebr. שמעון, a diminutive from שמע-בעל 33 2. Adopting the text above, the husband, father, and grandfather of Yaash are mentioned. לרבתי The suff. ׳ is here used for the 3 sing. fem.; similarly בני 27 4.

#### 14. Kition. CIS i 13. B.C. 375.

- 1 [בי]מם מ לירח זבחששם בשנת 11 ..למלך מלכיתן מלך כתי ואדיל סמלת ז אש יתן ו]  
2 ימנא עבראמר בן ברא בן יכ[נשלם על אשתי על...בת...בן...בן]  
3 ברא לרבתי לאם האורת כ שמ[ע קל תברך]

On the 20th day of the month Zebah-Šišsim(?) in the 2nd(?) year of [ . . . . . ] 'Abd-osir, son of Bodo, son of Yak[un-shalom . . . .], set up [ . . . . ] of Bodo, to his lady, the glorious(?) Mother, because she heard [ . . . ].

More than half of the inscr. has perished; but most of what is missing may be supplied with probability from the preceding inscr. 12 and 18.

L. 1. **xx** בִּיטָם See 12 i n. זְבַח־שִׁשִּׁים The name of a month. The text here is rather obscure, but the reading given is determined by 29 4, where the word occurs again. Berger, *Rev. d'Assyr.* iii (1895) 69 ff., regards שִׁשִּׁים as the name of a god, and, supposing that ש is interchanged with ס, identifies him with ססס *Sasom* in the Cyprian name עִבְרִססס 16 i n. 27 3 &c. The month זְבַח־שִׁשִּׁים is then explained as the month in which sacrifices were offered to Sasom; for the constr. cf. זְבַח־אֱלֹהִים 'sacrifices offered to God,' Ps. 51 19. But as Cl-Ganneau justly remarks, there is no evidence that Sasom, who seems to have been a foreign deity, occupied such a place of importance in the Phoen. pantheon as to have given his name to a month in the calendar. We should therefore render זְבַח־שִׁשִּׁים *sacrifice of sixty*, i.e. the month of the sixty sacrifices, and compare *ἑκατομβαιών*, the name of the first month in the Athenian calendar; *Ét.* ii § 20. The king mentioned here was either Milk-yathon or Pumi-yathon, prob. the former; for the full style of Pumi-yathon, as given in 12 and 18, would make the line too long.

L. 2. **יטא** See 13 2 n. עֲבַד־אֲסִיר *Servant of Osiris*, cf. 16 i. 18 2 f. 36 2 (in Gk. *Διονύσιος*). 27 2 אֲמַת־אֲסִיר. 69 9 בִּרְאָ בֶן פִּטְסִירִי The same names in 12 3 f., but not the same persons. The Bodo ben Yakun-shalom who dedicated an altar in the 21st year of Pumi-yathon (341) could hardly have had a son who set up a statue early in the reign of Milk-yathon, circ. 375.

L. 3. לִרְבִּי Cf. 18 3. לֵאמָ For *Mother* as the title of a goddess cf. לֵאמָ רַבָּת מִן בַּעַל CIS i 195 2. לֵאמָ לִרְבָּת לַתָּנָה 47. לִרְבָּת לֵאמָ 380 4, all Carthaginian. The *Mother* may have been a Phoen. goddess, or one adopted from the Gk. or Egypt. pantheon; there are traces of the worship of Demeter in Cyprus (see Cl-Gan. *Ét.* i 154 f.). הַאֲזֹרָה The meaning is uncertain. Perhaps the א here = ע, and the name is ptcp. f. of עָזַר *she who helps*, cf. 52 5 וְבִאֲזֹרָה; but א for ע is Punic and late. If the word be derived from אָזַר the meaning will be *she who girds on*, figuratively *protects*;

the Piel would properly express this, Ps. 18 33. In CIS i 255 we find עֲשֵׂתֶרֶת הָאֹדֶרֶת i.e. (prob.) 'A. the *glorious*'; it is natural to suppose that הָאֹדֶרֶת here is merely a variety of this word.

15. **Kition.** CIS i 44. iv-iii cent. B.C. Brit. Mus., Cyprus Room no. 47.

1 המצבת או לאשמנאדני שרדל בן עבדמלקרת בן  
2 רשפיתן מלך הכרסים

This pillar (is) to Eshmun-adoni ŠRDL, son of 'Abd-melqarth, son of Reshef-yathon, interpreter of the thrones.

This inscr. is carved on the base of a marble obelisk, about 5 ft. high, terminating in a pyramidal or gabled top. The monument is an unusually perfect specimen of the Phoen. type of *maṣṣēbah* (see the heliogravure in CIS i Tab. viii, and the illustration in Nowack *Hebr. Arch.* ii 18, Benzinger *Hebr. Arch.* 380); it may be compared with the fine specimen discovered at Larnaka (Kition) in 1894, now in the Brit. Mus., no. 31, Cyprus Room; see 21.

L. 1. המצבת The usual word in Phoen. (rarely מצבת 56 1) for a gravestone or pillar erected over a tomb to commemorate the dead and perpetuate his memory among the living; cf. 16 1. 18 1 מצבת בָּחִים 19 1. 21 1 &c.; similarly among the Hebrews, e.g. Gen. 35 20 רָחֵל מצבת קברת רחל. The name of the person commemorated is usually introduced by ל, e.g. 18 3 f. 19 3 f. CIS i 59 116; see further 16 2 n. Thus the usage of מצבת and the form of the sentence leave little doubt as to the way in which this inscr. is to be interpreted; it records the fact the stone was erected to the memory of Eshmun-adoni שרדל and set up over his grave. The view, therefore, that the *maṣṣēbah* was a religious offering '(which) שרדל (erected) to Eshmun his lord' is not in accordance with the usage of the language; it requires אֵשׁ יִמָּנָה to be supplied; and in the case of a dedication to a god the order of words would be different, as for instance in 12. 13 and 14. See add. note p. 26; 1 is also found after מצבת 19 1. CIS i 61. אֵשׁ מִנְאֹרִי is to be taken as a pr. name formed by a combination of Eshmun and Adon, the latter being the title of a god whose actual name was not pronounced. Similar combinations current in Cyprus are Eshmun-

melqarth (CIS i 16. 23. 24) and Adonis-Osiris<sup>1</sup>. In these cases, however, the combination forms the name of a deity, cf. 10 3 n. In CIS i 42 and 43 אשמנארני is followed by what appears to be fragments of pr. names, . . . אשמנארניבן 42 and . . . אשמנארנישכ 43; here the word which follows is שרל, evidently also a pr. name. It is prob. that in all three instances we have the individual's nomen and cognomen given, a very unusual practice (so Lidzb.). The name שרל is found again in a Pun. inscr. CIS i 444 3 f. [שרל]; the etymology and pronunciation are unknown.

L. 2. רשפיתן See 12 3 n. It is curious to find the same name followed by the same title in 23 4 f. 6 and, according to some, in CIS i 22 כרסים [רשפ]יתן מל[ח]. The three inscr. prob. belong to the same period; and though in 23 4 f. 6 the son of Reshef-yathon is Adon-shemesh, yet it is conceivable that he had another son, 'Abd-melqarth, who appears here. The facts are worth noticing, but they are not sufficient to establish an identification. מלח הכרסים The first word certainly means *interpreter* (to refs. above add CIS i 350 4 המלח); it has this meaning in Gen. 42 23, cf. Job 33 23 and ἐρμηνευτής in Gk. inscriptions. כרסים is prob. the plur. of כרסי = Hebr. כִּסֵּא *seat, throne*; for the form cf. Old Aram. כרסא 68 7; Aram. כִּסְיָא, فَكْسِي; Arab. كُرْسِي. The title, then, may signify 'interpreter of the thrones,' i. e. dragoman to the court, whose office it was to act as interpreter between the Cyprian kings and the Persian or Greek courts.

16. Kition. CIS i 46. iv-iii cent. B.C. Bodl. Library, Oxford.

- 1 אֲנִי . עַבְד־אֲסִיר . בֶּן עַבְד־סַסֹּם . בֶּן חֹר . מַצֵּבָה .  
 2 לְמַבְחִי . יִמְנָאת . עַל־מִשְׁכְּבִי . נַחְתִּי . לְעַלְמִי . וְלֹא  
 3 שְׁתִּי . לְאַמַּת־עֲשָׁתָרְת . בַּת־תַּאֵם . בֶּן עַבְד־מֶלֶךְ

I 'Abd-osir, son of 'Abd-sasom, son of Hor, set up (this) pillar in my life-time over my resting-place for ever; also to my wife, Amath-'ashtart, daughter of T'M, son of 'Abd-milk.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀμαθούς, πόλις Κύπρου ἀρχαιοτάτη, ἐν ᾧ Ἀδωνίς Ὀσίρις ἐτιμᾶτο, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὅπου Κούριαι καὶ Φούριαι θύουσιν, Stephanus Byzant. ed. Meineke, p. 82.



17. Kition. CIS i 47.

לעמדה בת עבראש 1  
 מן השפט אשת גר 2  
 מלקרת בן בנחר 3  
 ש בן גרמלקרת ב 4  
 ון אשמנעור 5

To 'THD, daughter of 'Abd-eshmun the judge, wife of Ger-melqarth, son of Ben-hodesh, son of Ger-melqarth, son of Eshmun-'azar.

L. 1. עמדה The meaning of this name is unknown. It has been explained as = עמדה הוד Ps. 104 i. 2; but this derivation is too fanciful to be likely.

L. 2. השפט See 8 3 n. גרמלקרת i.e. *guest of Melqarth*, cf. CIS i 267 3. גרמסר 31 a 1. גרד 29 2. גרעשתרת 46 2. גרסב 2. The 'guest' (= *πάροικος, παράσιτος*) was one who placed himself under the protection of the deity; cf. in Hebr. Ps. 15 יוֹשֵׁב בְּאֶחְלָק יְהוָה מִי יוֹרֵךְ בְּאֶחְלָק (see Cheyne in loc.), and in Arab. جَار الله i.e. one who dwells in Mekka, beside the Ka'aba; the verb جَار in conj. iii is used of 'dwelling beside a temple' or 'receiving under protection as a client'; similarly 'cliens Bacchi,' Hor. *Ep.* ii 2 78. It is prob. that in 20 A 15. B 10 the גרם are mentioned as a class in the list of ministers and attendants of the temple of 'Ashtart at Kition. A good illustration of the religious practice is given by a Palmyrene in the Brit. Mus., Semitic Room no. 581, which is inscribed 'To Shadrapa the good god, that he might be a guest with him, he and all the sons of his house.' The religious idea of the 'guest' of a deity had its origin in the social custom of extending hospitality and protection to a stranger, and in the old Semitic right of sanctuary. Cf. 140 B 8 and 6 2 n.; see further Robertson Smith *Rel. of the Semites* 1 75 ff., *Kinship* 41 f.

L. 3. בנחדש i.e. 'born on the new-moon.' The name is found again in 30 2 (Cypriote δ Νεωμηνίω). 34. CIS i 117 where the Greek equivalent is ΝΟΥΜΗΝΙΟΣ. The naming of children after festivals was common in early Christian times, e.g. *ܩܘܕܝܨܬܐ* = *Κυριακός*, Dominicus; *ܡܥܠܡܐ* i.e. born on the Ascension; *ܦܥܠܐ* i.e. born during the spring fast; Paschalis, Natalis &c.



## 18. Kition. CIS i 58.

- 1 מצבת בחים  
2 אש יטנא עב  
3 דאסר לאב  
4 י לארכתא

The pillar among the living which 'Abd-osir set up to his father Arketha.

L. 1. מצבת בחים Cf. CIS i 116 1 מצבת סכר בחים. This inscr. proves that בחים cannot mean 'in (his) life-time' (למבחי' 18 2), like the Gk. ζῶν, ζῶσα, and the Lat. vivus, viva, in similar cases; a son would not set up a memorial to his father while the latter was still alive. The meaning, therefore, is 'among the living'; see 15 n.

L. 3. עבראסר Cf. 14 2 n. The name Ἀβδούσιρος has been found on the Phoen. coast, Renan *Miss. de Phén.* 241; hence the conjecture that the Phoen. pronunciation of the Egyptian Osir was Usir. אבי It is not certain whether the form was pronounced אֲבִי = Hebr. אֲבִי or אֲבִי = Aram. ܐܒܝ, Schröder 150 n. Nöldeke, *ZA* (1894) iv 402, thinks that the pronunciation was originally אֲבִי, אֲבִי, אֲבִי 21 i. 3.

L. 4. לארכתא Possibly a Gk. name; Archytas has been suggested.

## 19. Kition. CIS i 60.

- 1 [מצבת] אש יטנ  
2 א אשמנעלה  
3 מריחי לאבנ  
4 ם למלגסנס  
5 מהם ...

This is the pillar which Eshmun-ṣillah and Mar-yehai set up to their father Melexenos . . .

L. 1. 1 Fem., see 3 add. note ii. אש יטנ Hif. pf. 3 plur.

L. 2. אשמנעלה Cf. בעלעלה 7 2. דעמנעלה 32 2.

L. 3. מריחי i.e. prob. מריחי *Mar gives life* (Piel), 27 3 ff. The name *Mar* has been explained by the Aram. מר, מרא=בעל; it is conjectured that, like these names, מר was originally used in an appellative sense *lord*, and afterwards as the title of a deity. A better explanation is proposed by Hoffmann, *ZA* xi 240. He regards מר in מריחי, מר ברך CIS ii 85 (? Aram.), מר מסך Cl.-Gan. *JA* viii t. i 143, as a diminutive of מלכרת; and similarly *Mar* in θεῶν Βεελμάρ *Rev. Arch.* xxix (1875) 267 inscribed on a lamp from Tyre, and in Μάρως the Philistine god of Gaza, who appears also in Ḥauran, Δὲ Μάρωφ τῷ κυρίῳ Wadd. 2412 g; see also 40 i n. אשמן מארח. אבנם Cf. 27 5, and see 5 add. note.

L. 4. מלננס = *Melēnos*.

20 A and B. Kition. CIS i 86 A and B. iv cent. B. C.  
Brit. Mus., Semitic Room.

## A.

- |   |    |
|---|----|
| תבלת ירח אתנם                           | 1  |
| בחדש ירח אתנם                           | 2  |
| לאן חדש קפא II                          | 3  |
| III                                     |    |
| לבנם אש בן אית בת עשתרת כת קפא ..       | 4  |
| לפרכם ולאדמם אש על דל זקך 3             | 5  |
| לאדם בעזר אש שכנם למלכת קרשת בים זק ... | 6  |
| לנערם II קפא II                         | 7  |
| לזבחם II קר I                           | 8  |
| לאשם II אש אם אית נער חלת למלכת ...     | 9  |
| את פרכם קפא I ...                       | 10 |
| לנערם III קפא III                       | 11 |
| לגלבם פעלם על מלאכת קפא II              | 12 |
| לחרשם • אש פעל אשתת אבן זבת מב ...      | 13 |
| לעבדאשמן רב ספרם ולח בים ז קר III ז. ק. | 14 |

15 [לכלבם] ולגרים קר ו / ופא ו  
 16 אש לח בים ז קר ו ו.ב...  
 17 . . . . .

Total (?) for the month Ethanim. <sup>2</sup> On the new-moon of the month Ethanim:—<sup>3</sup> To the gods of the new-moon QP' 2. <sup>4</sup> To the builders who built the house of 'Ashtart? QP' ... <sup>5</sup> To the *velarii*, and to the men who have charge of the door? QR 20. <sup>6</sup> To ?? who reside for the sacred service, on this day, Q ... <sup>7</sup> To servants 2 QP' 2. <sup>8</sup> To sacrificers 2 QR 1. <sup>9</sup> To men 2 who ??? for the service ... <sup>10</sup> The *velarii*, QP' 1 ... <sup>11</sup> To servants 3 QP' 3. <sup>12</sup> To the barbers officiating at the service QP' 2. <sup>13</sup> To the masons who made pillars (?) of stone in the house of MK ... <sup>14</sup> To 'Abd-Eshmun, chief of the scribes, ?, on this day, QR 3 ? ... <sup>15</sup> [To 'dogs'] and temple-clients QR 3 and P' 3. <sup>16</sup> ... who?, on this day, QR 2? ...

The two inscr. A and B are written in black pigment on both sides of a stone tablet. The writing of A is in a small, close hand; that of B is in a bolder and clearer character. Many of the letters are difficult to decipher.

L. 1. חכלת *sum, total*; from כלל *be complete*. The first two letters, however, are uncertain. אתנא The month of *steady flowings*, the 7th month, Oct.-Nov.; cf. 30 4, 1 K. 8 2 חתניא. Like the name of the month *bul* (5 1 n.), the name *ethanim* was prob. of Canaanite origin, and adopted by the Israelites from the Canaanite calendar: Benzinger *Hebr. Arch.* 201.

L. 2. בחדש *on the new-moon* i.e. the first day of the lunar month, cf. B 2. 29 4. Ps. 81 4.

L. 3. אל Cf. B 3, plur. constr. as in 5 18. 10 7. Who 'the gods of the new-moon' were is not known. The religious celebration of the new-moon was an ancient custom; see 1 S. 20 5 f. Is. 1 13. Hos. 2 13. Am. 8 5. 2 K. 4 23. אפא A coin of some kind. The four strokes, grouped like numerals, between ll. 3 and 4 may possibly indicate the 4th day of the month; or they may merely separate the previous lines from what follows.

L. 4. לנא אש בן i.e. לנא אש בן. כתי may mean *Kition*, as on coins from Sidon, 149 B 15, although כתי is the usual form.

L. 5. למרכב Cf. l. 10; perhaps, 'those who have charge of the temple-curtains' (מִלְכָּבָת Ex. 26 31 ff. &c.), cf. Talm. *Shegalim* 11 b מִלְכָּבָת, and the *velarii*, i. e. slaves who drew the curtains, in the Lat. inscr. This explanation agrees well with what follows: 'the men in charge of the door.' For ל Cf. 3 n. קר Cf. ll. 8. 14. 16. B 8. 10; a coin, here followed by the symbol for 20.

L. 6. לאור נער Meaning and text obscure. It has been proposed to render נער *who kindles the fire*. In Hebr. the Piel is used in this sense, e. g. 2 Ch. 4 20 בָּעֵרָם בְּמִקְשָׁם, cf. 12 11. למלכת *who reside for the work*. The construction is curious, but there is no doubt about the reading; למלכת = למלכת 1 12. 8 11. 13. 45 2. קדשה Adj., fem. sing. For the expression 'מלכת עבודת הקדש' cf. Ex. 36 3 and 1 Ch. 9 13. 28 13 &c.

L. 9. לאשם i. e. לאשם cf. B 7. 46 1. In Phoen. אש (איש) is not used so frequently as אדם. אש אית נער חלח The words are unintelligible.

L. 12. ללכם i. e. ללכם (Eze. 5 1), cf. גלב אלם CIS i 257 ff. and the pr. n. גלב 27 5. The barbers attached to the temple assisted at the hair-offerings, a customary form of devotion in heathen Semitic religion. Lucian, *de Dea Syr.* vi. lv, alludes to the practice of offering hair to Adonis at Byblus and Bambyce; it was a sacrificial act offered with the idea of attaching the worshipper to the deity and his shrine; see Robertson Smith *Rel. of Sem.*<sup>1</sup> 313. The ceremonial shaving of the head was forbidden to the Israelites as a heathen practice; and the prohibition was extended to making incisions in the flesh, which also was prob. performed by these temple-barbers. See Lev. 19 27 f. 21 5. Eze. 44 20.

L. 13. חרש For חרש cf. 22 2. 45 9. 52 6, CIS i 64 חרש. The word is generally used of workers in metal, but also of workers in stone, e. g. 2 S 5 11 חָרָה אֶת הָאֵלֶּים 1 Ch. 22 14; see also 2 Ch. 24 12. אשתח Cf. B 5. The meaning of the word is uncertain. It has been taken as = שֹׁחֵט + א = prosth. *pillars*, Ps. 11 3. . . סב In B 5 אשתח סבל. Elsewhere סבל occurs with the prefix רש as the name of the god Reshef-mukl, 24 2 &c.; סבל is prob. the name of a city (Lidzb.).

L. 14. רב ספר Cf. הספר frequently in Carth. inscr., e. g. CIS i 154 4. 240 ff. לח Again l. 16. It is not unlikely that לח is an abbreviation for לח [ברם] to the associates, 42 2 n.

L. 15. ולגרם [לכלבם] Restored from B 10. Is the reference to persons or to animals? The words may be rendered *for the dogs and the whelps* (וְלִגְרָם), supposing that the item of expenditure is food for the temple-hounds, which in some cases were considered sacred,

e.g. the hound of Isis, Adonis, &c.; so Hoffmann *Über ein. Phön. Inschr.* 17. In a Gk. inscr. from Epidaurus sacred hounds are mentioned as connected with the temple of Aesculapius (= Eshmun), Michel 1069 126 f.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, כלבם and גרם may be persons: to the 'dogs' and temple-clients. In this case כלבם is explained by Dt. 23 19, cf. κύνες Apoc. 22 15; they were temple-prostitutes, otherwise called קרשים in the O.T., e.g. Dt. 23 18. 1 K. 14 24 &c.; in Assy. *harimtu*, *kadištu* (of Ishtar), Zimmern *KAT*<sup>2</sup> 423. The pr. n. כלב אלם CIS i 49, and such names as Kalbi-Bau, Kalbi-Marduk &c. in Neo-Babyl. contracts, may be quoted in illustration, though in these cases it is likely that כלב was used as a term not of contempt but of self-abasement, *the humble slave of the gods*. The word is found in the Tell-el-Am. letters in this sense, e.g. *kalbu-šarri* 'servant, lit. dog, of the king' 75 36. 86 19. 161 15 &c.; cf. 2 K. 8 13 עבדך הכלב<sup>3</sup>. It is possible that קרשים=כלבים originally had a similar meaning, *devoted followers*; we cannot tell. If כלבם='dogs' metaphorically, the גרם must be *the temple-clients*, lit. *guests*, here apparently a regular class attached to the temple and supported out of its funds; see 17 2 n. Or, again, גרם may be pointed גרם and mean *youths*, cf. 1 16 n.; but this is very uncertain.

## B.

- |                                    |    |
|------------------------------------|----|
| → עקב                              | 1  |
| → בחדש ירח פעלת                    | 2  |
| → לאלן חדש קפא                     | 3  |
| → לבעל ימם ברב שלם                 | 4  |
| → לנפש בת אש לאשתת מכל וש ...      | 5  |
| → לעבראבסת הקרתחדשת                | 6  |
| → לאשם . אש לקח מכנבם קפא ...      | 7  |
| → לדעם . אש ב?ף לכד קר    אש ב ... | 8  |
| → לעלמת ולעלמת =    בזבח ...       | 9  |
| → לכלבם ולגרם קר    ופא            | 10 |
| → לנערם     קפא                    | 11 |
| → א . . . . .                      | 12 |

<sup>1</sup> See Cl.-Ganneau *Rec.* i 235 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Further illustrations from Assy. are given by Thureau-Dangin in *PSBA* xxi 133.

Continuation (?). <sup>2</sup> On the new-moon of the month Pa-'aloth:—<sup>3</sup> To the gods of the new-moon QP' 2. <sup>4</sup> To the ba'als of the days for the ? peace-offering. <sup>5</sup> To the persons of the house which is by the pillars (?) of Mikal and . . . <sup>6</sup> To 'Abd-ubast the Carthaginian . . . <sup>7</sup> To the men who were taken (?) from the 'dogs' (?), QP' . . . <sup>8</sup> To the friends (?) who . . . were taken (?), QR 2 which . . . <sup>9</sup> To the virgins and virgins 22 in the sacrifice . . . <sup>10</sup> To the 'dogs' and to the temple-clients QR 3 and P' 2. <sup>11</sup> To servants 3 QP' 3.

L. 1. קֶבֶךְ Arabic usage shows that the root had the two meanings of *follow, be behind* (conj. i) and *to pay back, recompense* (conj. iv). The name קֶבֶךְ, probably in full קֶבֶךְ-אֵל, may have had either of these two meanings originally; see Baethgen *Beiträge* 158, who compares the Palmyrene name קֶבֶךְ אֵל *Ale follows, rewards*. Hence the noun here may be rendered either *reward*, cf. קֶבֶךְ רַב Ps. 19 12 and Pr. 22 4, or *continuation*, i. e. from the foregoing account.

L. 2. מַעְלָה Name of a month, perhaps the 6th. It is found again in 23 1 (rest.). 29 8. Tam. 2 1.

L. 3. See A 3 n.

L. 4. לְבַעַל יָמִים i. e. לְבַעַל יָמִים is taken to mean 'the gods who preside over the different days of the month.' בִּירַב שָׁלֵם *in magno sacrificio pacifico* (Corp.); but בִּירַב is very doubtful. For שָׁלֵם cf. שָׁלֵם כָּלֵל 42 3 ff.

L. 5. The sense is obscure; נַפֵּשׁ may be sing. collective (not plur., which would be נַפְשֹׁת) in the sense of *persons*, men- and women-slaves, as in Gen. 12 5. Lev. 22 11. Eze. 27 13 (with אָדָם). אֲשֶׁת מַכֵּל See A 13 n.

L. 6. לְעַבְרָאֲבַסְתִּי Cf. *Carth.* 161 6 (rest.). The name occurs in an inscr. from the temple of Osiris at Abydos, 31 d, and in the form 'Αβδουβάστιος in a Gk. inscr. from Sidon, Waddington 1866 c. There can be no doubt that אַבְסַת is the Egyptian goddess Bast, with אֵ prosth.; see Herodotus ii 60. 137 (temple of Bubastis). 156, and cf. the name אַבְסַת מַעַל 31 a. הַקְרַתְחַרְשִׁית *the Carthaginian*; the Carthage in Cyprus (11 n.) or in Africa.

L. 7. לָקַח Either Qal *took* or Pual *were taken*, pf. 3 plur. מַכְנֵבִים is unintelligible, unless it be a mistake for מַכְלֵבִים l. 10.

L. 8. לְרַעִים Possibly *to the friends* i. e. לְרַעִים. The Corp. renders לָכֵן *were taken* i. e. by lot, cf. 1 S. 10 20 f.; but this is uncertain.

L. 9. *virgins* who sang and danced in the temple rites; cf. *עלמות חופפות* Ps. 68 26. *עלמות* Ps. 46 (title). 1 Ch. 15 20.  
L. 10. See A 15 n.

21. Kition. iv cent. B. C. Brit. Mus., Cyprus Room no. 31. Plate II.

1 מַצְבַּת אֵז אִישׁ יִמְנָא אֲרִישׁ רֵב סְרַסְרִים לְאֲבִי לְפָרְסִי  
2 רֵב סְרַסְרִים בֶּן אֲרִישׁ רֵב סְרַסְרִים בֶּן מִנְחֵם רֵב סְרַסְרִים  
3 בֶּן מִשָּׁל רֵב סְרַסְרִים בֶּן פָּרְסִי רֵב סְרַסְרִים וְלֹאֲמִי  
4 לְשִׁמְבֹּל בַּת בַּעֲלָרִים בֶּן מַלְכִּיתָן בֶּן עֹזֶר רֵב חֹז  
5 עֲנִים עַל מִשְׁכַּב נַחֲתָנִים לְעֹלָם

This pillar (is that) which Arish, chief of the brokers, erected to his father, Parsi, <sup>2</sup>chief of the brokers, son of Arish, chief of the brokers, son of Menaḥem, chief of the brokers, <sup>3</sup>son of Mashal, chief of the brokers, son of Parsi, chief of the brokers; and to his mother, <sup>4</sup>Shem-zabul, daughter of Ba'al-ram, son of Milk-yathon, son of 'Azar, chief of the prefects(?), over their resting-place, for ever.

This inscr. is written on a fine monolith of white marble with a gabled top; it belongs to the type of memorial inscr. represented by 15. 16. 18. 19. The stone was found in the necropolis of Kition outside Old Larnaka in 1894.

L. 1. *אֲרִישׁ* is found again in 38 4 and often in Carth. inscr.; on a v cent. gold ring from Syria, *Levy Siegel u. Gemmen* 53; in the form *Arisus* CIL viii 3335, *Arsus* ib. 9054; cf. *עֲבֵר־אֲרִישׁ* 45 7. The *√אֲרִישׁ* Assy. *ērlu* = *desire, request*, Hebr. *אַרְשָׁה*; possibly this is the meaning of the name here. *רֵב סְרַסְרִים* Not found elsewhere. The usage of *סְרַסְרִי* in Rabbinic literature gives a clue to the meaning here. Thus in *Pesikta* ed. Buber 45 a *סְרַסְרִי* = *mediator* and is applied to Moses, *אִף הַסְרַסְרִי הִרְגִישׁ עֲבֹרָה* 'even the mediator trembled on account of it'; in the Mishnah it is used of a *negotiator* in a business transaction, e.g. *Baba Bathra* 87 a, cf. the Midrash on this passage, *Midr. R. Deuteron.* § 3 fol. 91 b ('ס' applied to Moses); *Talm. Jerus. Megila* 74 d &c. In Arab. *سَرَسْرِيّ* denotes *intelligent, skilful*.

one who manages a business well. Thus the earliest authority for the word is this inscr.; and there is no reason to doubt that it is a genuine Phoen. word, a technical term of Phoen. commercial life. It was probably adopted from Phoenicia by the cognate languages. Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdw. in Arab.* (1886) 186, conjectured that the Arab. *سُرْسُور* was a loan-word from Aram., but since the discovery of this inscr. he has abandoned the conjecture, *ZA* (1896) x 99. So we may render רב סרסור *chief of the brokers*, who probably formed a merchant guild or corporation, ἀρχιπραγματευτής. In the family of Arish the office was hereditary, having been held, on the father's side, for six generations. לארי Cf. 18 3 f. n. Perhaps δ Πόρος, הַפֶּרֶס Neh. 12 28. The name has been found on the foot of a vase from Sidon, Cl-Ganneau *Ét.* ii 155.

L. 2. מנחם Cf. 80 2. CIS i 87 3 (Cyprus). 102 δ (Egypt).

L. 3. ססל Cf. Euting *Carth. Inschr.* 130 4 f. סלקרחסל.

L. 4. שמוכל Perhaps the *Name* has, or is, carried cf. the fem. pr. n. בעלמובל CIS i 158 2 f. In Assy. *sabdu* = 'carry,' 'bring' (e. g. *KB* ii p. 235 l. 88; iii 2 p. 92 l. 53 &c.), ? = 'honour,' 'exalt,' as given in *COT*<sup>2</sup> 550; cf. Arab. *كَبَّلَ* take up and carry. The pronunciation was prob. *sabul*; cf. the pr. n. *Zabullus* CIL viii 5987. 9947. The explanation suggested by Derenbourg, *Rev. Études Juiv.* xxx 118 ff., that שמוכל is a variation of such a name as שכניה (similarly Halévy *Rev. Sémi.* iii 183 ff. 'heavenly name,' cf. Hab. 3 11) has little probability. The 'Name' may denote 'Ashtart, called שם בעל in 5 18. בעלרם Cf. 28 2 n., a name belonging to the royal family of Kition. סלכיתן, also a royal name, is given to other persons, e. g. 41 6 f. (Carth.) &c. עור Prob. shortened from עורבעל or the like; it is found in Carth. inscr., e. g. CIS i 453 5 f. Carth. 27 5 f. &c.

רב חזנעם Like רב סרסור only met with here. A careful examination of the stone makes it almost certain that חזנעם is the right reading, and that the indentation in the stone after ז is not a letter, but a recent mark due to an accidental blow. The reading חזיענעם, given by Nöldeke, *ZA* iv 402 ff., cannot, therefore, be accepted. The meaning is doubtful. (1) The word may be connected with the Assy. *hasdnu* 'governor,' 'prefect,' of which the plur. is *hasianuti*, pointing to חז as the root (Zimmern *ZA* vi 248); Tell-el-Am. 179 19. 147 5 *Zimridi hasanu la Ziduna*, and often. This gives a suitable sense. The title may have passed from the Canaanite coast to Cyprus; Assyrian influence was predominant in both regions at various times. The ץ, not used in Assy., may be due to an attempt to express the long vowel. (2) It is natural to think of the Arab. *حزن* lay up, store,



guard; حَارِث guardian of treasures, of Paradise Qur. 39 73. *Chief of the treasurers* would give a good sense here; but it is not likely that a pure Arab. title would be used of a local official in Cyprus. (3) Nöld., l. c., suggests חֲזִינִים חֲזִי *eye-gazers*, i. e. *seers, diviners*, cf. παντιάρχης Waddington 2795; but the construction *seers of*, i. e. *with, eyes* is not very natural, even if the reading חֲזִיעֲנִים is to be accepted. (4) Halévy, *Rev. Sémi.* iii (1895) 183 ff., proposes *chief of the inspectors of wells* חֲזִינִים חֲזִי; so Lidzb.(?). The plur. of חֲזִי in Hebr. is חֲזִיעֲנִים, but the mas. form may have been used in Phoen.; Halévy compares חֲזִיעֲנִים Josh. 15 34, which is perhaps a dual. The office may be illustrated from a Gk. inscr., B.C. 333, where an official is rewarded for his services *περὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν κρηνῶν*, Michel 105 = CIA iv 2. 169 b; cf. also *ἐπιμελητὴς αἰρεθείς*. Ἐφκας πηγῆς (from Palmyra), Waddington 2571 c.; procurator aquarum, Rushforth *Lat. Hist. Inscr.* 89. It may be questioned whether חֲזִי *seer* could be used for *inspector*; שומר *keeper* 38 7 would be a more natural term. On the whole (1) is to be preferred.

L. 5. על משכב נוחתם לעלם Cf. 16 2.

## 22. Kition. iv-iii cent. Larnaka.

1 לעברעשתר בן אשמנ ...

2 חרש עגלת פל זי ...

To 'Abd-'ashtar, son of Eshmun-..., the chariot-smith;  
זי ... made (it).

This inscr. was found at Larnaka in 1894; see Myres and Richter *Catal. of Cypr. Mus.* 172 and Plate viii. Below the inscr. is the incised outline of a figure resembling the steering-oar (?) carved on CIS i 265, Tab. xlvii. But the figure here can hardly be meant for an oar, nor does it look like any part of a chariot. Michon, *Rev. Arch.* (1900) 458, suggests that it represents some tool, such as a plane, and compares the monument of Boitēnos Hermes, a maker of beds, κλεινοπηγός, on which his tools are carved (CIG 2135).

L. 1. לעברעשתר For the usual עברעשתרת 20 2. 5 & c.; see for the form 1 17 n. ... אשמנ The full name was prob. compounded with עזר, עזר, or יתן.

L. 2. חרש עגלת i. e. חרש עגלת. For חרש 2 a worker in metal or

wood cf. 20 A 13 n.; and for ענלה cf. CIS i 346 3 עץ, which seems to mean (*maker of*) *chariots of wood*; a chariot is figured on a stone from Carthage illustrated in Corp. p. 397. The chariot is copiously represented in Cyprian art from the beginning of the Graeco-Phoenician period. In a private communication M. Clermont-Ganneau suggests that . . . י is the fragment of a pr. n., such as יבנקם 38 5 &c., the name of the donor of the stele. To read [יברך] מעל leaves מעל without a subj., and the stele without a donor.

23. Idalion. CIS i 88. Date circ. 386 B. C. Louvre.

- 1 בימם → [וו ווו ווו] ל'ירח פענלת בש[נת ווו למלך מלכיתן [מלך כתי ו]  
 2 אדיל בן בעלרם. סמל אז אש יתן וימנא ו[חד]ש כל[ה] [רשפ]  
 3 יתן בן עזרתבעל מלץ הברסים לאדני למלקרת ש[מע קל]  
 4 פקר המפקד ו והסלמת אש למפקד [אז] אש יפקד א[רנ]ש[מש]  
 ב[ן רשפ]יתן  
 5 מלץ כרסים. ופקד הת . . . סמלם בסלמת המפקד ו . . . אש [יפ]קר  
 6 עברפמי ועברמלקרת אשן בן [אר]נשמש בן רשפיתן מלץ כרסים  
 בשנת ווו ווו  
 7 למלך מלכיתן מלך כתי ו[אד]ל כ שמע מלקרת קלם יברנם

On the 1[6]th day of the month Pa'aloth, in the 3rd year of king Milk-yathon, [king of Kition and] <sup>2</sup> Idalion, son of Ba'al-ram:—This statue (is that) which R[eshef]-<sup>3</sup> yathon, son of 'Azrath-ba'al, interpreter of the thrones, gave and set up and entirely [renov]ated to his lord Melqarth who hears (his) voice. <sup>4</sup> This? . . . and the steps (?) which belong to this ? . . . , which were commissioned (?), A[don]-sh[amash, so]n of Reshef-[yathon], <sup>5</sup> interpreter of the thrones, commissioned. And the ? . . . statues on the steps (?) of the ? . . . and . . . which were [com]missioned (?), <sup>6</sup> 'Abd-pumi and 'Abd-melqarth, the two sons of [Ad]on-shamash, son of Reshef-yathon, interpreter of the thrones, commissioned in the 6th year <sup>7</sup> of king

Milk-yathon, king of Kition and [Id]alion, because Melqarth heard their voice. May he bless them!

This inscr. belongs to the type illustrated by nos. 12-14.

L. 1.  $\text{בִּימָם}$  See 12 1 n.  $\text{מֶלֶךְ}$  See 20 B 2 n.  $\text{מְלִכִּיתָן}$  Cf. 24. 25. 30. According to the chronology given by Babelon *Pers. Achém.* cxxvi, Milk-yathon reigned first from B.C. 392 to 388 and then from 387 to 361 (see 149 B 5). His third year will thus be 390.

L. 2.  $\text{בְּעֶלְרִם}$  24 1<sup>1</sup>.  $\text{מֶלֶךְ}$  Cf. 18 2 n.  $\text{חֹדֶשׁ}$  i.e.  $\text{חֹדֶשׁ}$ , cf. 38 1. 46 1. 102 1; 2 Ch. 24 4. 12 (of the temple). 15 8 (of the altar). But this and the word following are uncertain.

L. 3.  $\text{מֶלֶךְ הַכְּרִיסִים}$  ...  $\text{רִשְׁמִיתָן}$  See 15 2 n.  $\text{עֲזָרְתָּאֲבַעַל}$  perhaps *my help is Ba'al*; the usual form of the name is  $\text{בְּעַל}$ .  $\text{מְלִכִּיתָן}$  =  $\text{מֶלֶךְ הַכְּרִיסִים}$  *king of the city*, cf. 29 3 &c. 36 1 and 3 2 n. This title belonged to Ba'al of Tyre, and came to be used as a pr. name; thus 36 1  $\text{זָרַבְעַל}$  *לְמִלְכֶּרֶת בְּעַל*. In the Gk. form of the latter inscr. the equivalent of  $\text{לְמִלְכֶּרֶת}$  is  $\text{ἩΡΑΚΛΕΙ ΑΡΧΗΓΕΤΕΙ}$ . By the Greeks Melqarth was identified with Herakles, as we learn also from Philo of Byblus, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 568,  $\text{Μελκάρθρος ὁ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς}$ . From Tyre the cult of Melqarth spread to Cyprus (as this inscr. and 29 and the Cyprian names 'עֲבֹרִים', 'גִּרִּים' testify), and to Egypt, Carthage, and other places; see Baethgen *Beitr.* 20 f. Melqarth is not mentioned in the O. T., but the worship of the Tyrian Ba'al introduced into N. Israel by Jezebel was most likely offered to him.  $\text{שָׁמַע}$  i.e. prob.  $\text{שָׁמַע}$ .

L. 4. Further objects dedicated to the deity.  $\text{מִסְכָּת הַמֶּלֶךְ}$  has been rendered 'curavit hanc curam'; but this rendering of  $\text{מִסְכָּת}$ , while it agrees with that of  $\text{מֶלֶךְ}$  (cf. Ezr. 1 2), does not suit  $\text{מִסְכָּת הַמֶּלֶךְ}$  and *the stairs* (?). Accordingly Cl.-Ganneau explains the word from Eze. 43 21, where it is ordered to burn the sin-offering  $\text{בְּמִסְכָּת הַמֶּלֶךְ}$ . The *miskad*, then, was some place adjoining the temple,

<sup>1</sup> (1) Although this Ba'al-ram was the father of king Milk-yathon, he is not given the title of king either here or in 24 1; we may conclude, therefore, that he never was king. (2) In the bilingual inscr. CIS i 89 *our prince* ( $\text{קִרְמִי}$ ) *Ba'al-ram, son of 'Abd-milk*, dedicates a statue in the reign of Milk-yathon. This Ba'al-ram is prob. to be distinguished from (1). The Cypriote version gives  $\text{δὲ φάναξ}$  as the equivalent of  $\text{קִרְמִי}$ , a title which belonged to princes of the Cyprian royal house, cf. Aristotle ap. Harpocration  $\text{ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καλοῦνται ἀνακτες, αἱ δὲ ἀδελφαὶ καὶ γυναῖκες ἀνασσαί}$  *Fr. Hist. Gr.* ii 166; also Clearchus ap. Athen. Deipnos. ib. ii 311. (3) Another Ba'al-ram was king of Kition and Idalion, as his coins testify, about B.C. 396, just before Milk-yathon; but his name has not so far been read with certainty on any inscr.; in Idal. 7 1  $\text{[מֶלֶךְ]}$  not  $\text{[בְּעַל]}$  is prob. the right reading. See Babelon *Pers. Achém.* cxxvi-cxxx.

but outside the sanctuary; one of the gates of the city was near it, Neh. 3 31. There is nothing, however, in this inscr. to determine exactly what is meant by *המסקר*; but it prob. had something to do with the statue referred to in l. 2, perhaps *the pedestal* (so Lidzb. 158 n. 1). *הסלמח* The meaning of this word is also doubtful. It may be *steps*, from *סלל* to lift up, cast up; hence *קלם* ladder Gen. 28 12. *ימקר* The word is uncertain; it may be Hofal pf. plur. as in l. 5. *ארנשמש* l. 6, only here; cf. *עברשמש* CIS i 116 2 (= *HAIOΔHPOC*). 117 2. *מקשמש* (name of a city) Lidzb. 316. Shamash was the sun-god; cf. in Old Aram. *שמש* 61 2 &c. 62 22. 64 9; in Ethiop. *סמס*.

L. 5. *ימקר* 3 plur.; the subject is 'Abd-pumi and 'Abd-Melqarth l. 6. A fresh dedication is mentioned here.

L. 6. *עברשמי* Only found here; for *ממי* see 12 1 n. *אשן בן* i. e. *שני בן*. The constr. st. occurs again in 36 2 *שן בן*, and the abs. in 12 3 *אשנם* (see n.). The sixth year of Milk-yathon was prob. B. C. 386, unless the reckoning started from 387 when he became king a second time according to Babelon's chronology (above).

L. 7. The formula of blessing resembles that in 36 3 f. For suff. in *קלם* see 5 add. note.

24. Idalion. CIS i 90. Date 391 B. C. Brit. Mus., Cyprus  
Room no. 289.

1 מרקע חרין אא אש יתן מלך מלכיתן מלך כתי ואדיל בן בעלרם לאלי  
2 לרשף מבל באדיל בירח בל בשנת 11 למלכי על כתי ואדיל כ שמע  
קל יברך

This plating of gold (is that) which king Milk-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion, son of Ba'al-ram, gave to his god Reshef of Mukl in Idalion, in the month Bul, in the 2nd year of his reign over Kition and Idalion, because he heard (his) voice: may he bless!

This inscr. belongs to the same type as 25 and 26.

L. 1. מרקע i. e. *מרשע*, again in Idal. 7 3 *מרשע נחש* (Euting *Sitzber. Pr. Akad.* (1887) 422). The *מרשע* = *beat out thin*, of metals, e. g. Jer. 10 9 *מרשע* *במקף מרשע*. Ex. 39 3. Num. 17 3. Talm B. *Sheqalim* 9 6

רִקְעֵי זָהָב. The word here prob. denotes the gold-plating of the image (סמל) of the god, cf. *ἀγάλμα ἐπὶ χρυσόν*, Herod. ii 182, and Is. 40 19. If מִרְקָע meant *bowl* or *vessel of beaten gold* (Corp.), the inscr. would have been written on the bowl itself, as 11, not on a stone tablet. חרץ See 8 4 n. בעלרם See 23 1. 2 n.

L. 2. רִשֶׁף סמל באדיל Cf. 25 1 f. 27 5. CIS i. 94 4 f. סמל is prob. the name of a city, see 20 A 13 n.; and רִשֶׁף סמל = τῷ Ἀπολλῶνι τῷ Ἀμυκλαῖ CIS i 89 (Cypriote), Ἀμυκλός being a dialectical form of the classical Ἀμυκλαῖος. The Phoenicians usually tried to give the names of foreign deities a form familiar to themselves; thus 'Reshef of Mukl' was their way of representing Apollo of Amyclae in Lacedaemon. For רִשֶׁף see 12 3 n.; this and the following inscr. show that he was specially honoured at Idalion. The prep. in באדיל implies that the cult of the deity was transplanted from its native home; similarly בעשם באינצם 39 1. שחר בנרב 64 2. 92 3. 99 2. In 45 1. 55 1, however, this appears not to be the case. בל See 5 1 n. לִסְמְלֵי i.e. לְסִמְלֵי Inf. with suff. 3 m. sing., as in 26 2.

25. Idalion. CIS i 91. Brit. Mus., Cyprus Room no. 225.

1 סמל . אז . אש יתן . מלך . מלכיתן . מלך . כתי . וְאִדִּיל בן בעלרם  
לֵאלֵלִי לְ  
2 רִשֶׁף . מבל . נצחת . את . סבי . היצאם . ועזרנם . . . .

This statue (is that) which king Milk-yathon, king of Kition and [Idalion, son of Ba'al-ram], gave [to his god] Reshef of Mukl. With his ? I conquered those who came out and their allies . . . .

The general type of this inscr. resembles that of 24 and 26.

L. 1. סמל Cf. 18 2 n.

L. 2. רִשֶׁף סמל Cf. 24 2 n. נצחת i.e. נִצְחָה or נִצְחָה. The primary meaning of נצח is *shine*, as appears from Aram. usage, e.g. Apoc. 15 6 תְּרָמָלָה רִמָּה *raiment fine, shining*. From this comes the derived meaning *be illustrious, triumph, conquer*, e.g. Midr. Rab. *Eḳah* 1 § 11 ונצח חבריה (Qal), Targ. Jon. Num. 16 14 וְנִצְחָה (Paal), Dan. 6 4 מִן־נִצְחָה (Ethp.); victory Jud. 15 18, נִצְחָה Targ. Jer. Ex. 14 14. 25; in the O.T. cf. the late passages

Lam. 3 18. 1 Ch. 29 11: Driver *Samuel* 98 f. את Prep. as in 4 8. 5 4 &c., here prob. *with the aid of*. סבי The reading is uncertain and the meaning unknown. The first letter looks like a ס, possibly a ז, the second appears to be a ב. The Corp. reads סדי *his counsel* (i. e. Reshef-yathon's), and quotes in illustration Ps. 25 14 &c.; this is very doubtful. חיצאם *those who came forth* i. e. to battle; for יצא in this sense cf. 1 S. 8 20. 2 S. 11 1. ועורנם Cf. 5 add. note. The reference appears to be to some historical occasion, perhaps a rebellion or political revolution.

26. Idalion. CIS i 92. Date 354 B.C.

- 1 [סמל אז אש יתן מלך פמייתן מלך] כתי . ואדיל . בן מלך . מלכיתן  
2 [מלך כתי ואדיל לאלי לרשף מכל בי]רח כרר בשנת שמן וו וו וו וו  
למלכי על  
3 [כתי ואדיל כ שמע קל יברך]

The son of king Milk-yathon was Pumi-yathon (B.C. 361-312), see 12. 13. 149 B 6. The missing portions of the inscr. are restored after 24 and 25.

L. 2. ירח כרר The name of this month occurs again in the NPun. inscr. 55 5. בשנת שמן למלכי Cf. 2 K. 24 12 קשנה לקלכו.

27. Idalion. CIS i 93. B.C. 254. Brit. Mus., Cyprus Room no. 239.

- 1 בימם וו וו וו \ לירח חיר בשנת א → לארן מלכם פתלמים בן  
פתלמי[ם...]  
2 אש הא שת א א → וו וו וו \ לאש כתי כנפרם ארסנאם פלדלך  
אמתאסר בת מכ..  
3 בן עברססם בן גרעת הסמלם האל אש יטנא בתשלם בת מריח  
בן אשמנא[רן]

4 על בן בני על אשמנאון ושלם ועבדרשף שלשת בן מריחי בן

אשמנאון בן נחמי

5 בן גלב הנדר אש כן נדר אבנם מריחי בחיי לאדננם לרשף מכל

ברכם

On the 7th day of the month Hyyar in the 31st year of the lord of kings Ptolemy son of Ptolemy . . . ,<sup>2</sup> which is the 57th year of the men of Kition, the Kanephoros of Arsinoë Philadelphos (being) Amath-osir, daughter of Mk . . . ,<sup>3</sup> son of 'Abd-sasom, son of Gad-'ath:—These statues (are those) which Bath-shalom, daughter of Mar-yehai, son of Eshmun-adon, set up<sup>4</sup> for her grandsons Eshmun-adon and Shallum and 'Abd-reshef, the three sons of Mar-yehai, son of Eshmun-adon, son of Nahmai, <sup>5</sup> son of Gallab, (being) the vow which their father Mar-yehai had vowed during his life-time to their lord Reshef of Mukl: may he bless them!

L. 1. ביטם See 12 1 n. חיי again in 31 d. 45 5, perhaps identical with the Aram. ܡܝܝܪ Targ. Jon. Ex. 12 39, Hebr. מִי, the second month, April-May. מלכס See 5 18 n. מלכס i. e. Ptolemy ii Philadelphus, 285–247 B. C. The missing word at the end of the line is prob. מלדלף. Cf. 10 6 f. and 20 4 ff.

L. 2. אשר היא שנת i. e. שנת. Note the pron. after the relat., a construction which occurs several times in Hebr., chiefly before an adj. or ptcip., e. g. Gen. 9 3 אשר היא חִי Dt. 20 20. Hag. 1 9 & c.; in Aram., e. g. Dan. 7 17 אֲנִי אֲרִבֵּעַ דִּי אֲנִי חִיָּתָא Targ. 2 S. 20 19 אֲנִי אֲרִבֵּעַ דִּי אֲנִי חִיָּתָא; in Arab., e. g. Quran 43 51 هَذَا آتِي مَرْمِيْنٌ this who is a contemptible person; the same is found in Ethiopic. See Driver *Tenses* § 199 obs., *Samuel* 64. For שנת = שנת sing. cf. 6 1 n. לאש כחי The era of the people of Kition began in 311 B. C. In the previous year Pumi-yathon (12 1 n.) was put to death by Ptolemy i Soter, king of Egypt, and this brought the native dynasty to an end. For the threefold indication of date cf. 20 4 f. כנפורס = κανεφορος *Basket-bearer*, a title given to the virgins who carried the sacred baskets in the processions of Athene, Demeter, and Dionysos at Athens. In the cult of the Ptolemies, who were treated with divine honours (cf. 28 2–4, 20 5 ff.), the office of the Kanephoros was one of such dignity that in Egypt (and in Cyprus too) the year was indicated by

her name; for this there is evidence from papyri, from the bilingual inscr. of Canopus (238 B.C.) l. 2 *κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Μενεκρατίας τῆς Φιλάμματος* (Michel no. 551) exactly as here, and from the Rosetta Stone l. 5 *κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Ἀρείας τῆς Διογένους* (CIG 4697), &c., in all cases, be it noted, in connexion with Arsinoë and not with other Ptolemaic queens. From this inscr. it appears that the cult of the Ptolemies, with the *κανηφορία* of Arsinoë, was established in Cyprus. The name of the Kanephoros, Amath-Osir, is Egyptian (cf. עבראסר 14 2), but she was certainly a Phoenician by race. ארסινόη φιλadelphus (genitive) *Arsinoë Philadelphus*, the sister-consort of Ptolemy II; the pair were worshipped as gods, cf. ארסινόη φιλadelphus θεοὶ ἀδελφοί 10 7.

L. 3. עבראסר See 16 1 n. גרע Baethgen explains as *Fortune of Aih(e)*; cf. עבראסר 59 C 2 and the Pun. name *Giddeneme* in Plant. *Poen.* = עבראסר CIS i 383 1, the Palm. נרצא Vog. 84 3, and the Hebr. נרצא Num. 13 10; for the deity עת, עתח, עתח see 112 4 n. Nöldeke, however, considers that the form prob. = נרען, جَدْعَان, cf. جَدَاعَة, جَدْنَج &c., ZDMG xlii 471. רעל Cf. 5 22. ירעל 3 sing. fem.; for the omission of the fem. ending cf. 3 add. note i, and 56 1 מנא. מרדח See 19 3 n.

L. 4. על on behalf of, cf. CIS i 178 על בנא . . . על בעלשלך. 171 6 [בכרם] סמא על בני על עבראסר. בנ See 3 1 n. בנ is plur. constr.; בני sing. with suff. 3 sing. fem. Elsewhere this suff. is ה', e.g. סמאסנתה 3 6; in Pun. מ', e.g. קלא CIS i 371 6, or ע', e.g. קלע Carth. 142 5 &c. שלם Cf. 28 3 n. נחמי Cf. CIS i 94 4 אשמנאון בנ נחמי.

L. 5. גלב See 20 A 12 n. בנ נר As in Arab., the copulative verb בנ is used with the perf. to express a pluperfect, e.g. كَانَتْ خَرَجَ he had set out: Wright *Ar. Gr.* ii § 3 (c), König *Syntax* § 122, Nöldeke *Sem. Spr.* 26. This is the only instance of the idiom so far known in Phoen. The father had registered his vow for the benefit of his three sons, but he did not live to carry it out; so this was done by their grandmother. The inscr. CIS i 381-383 are perhaps to be understood in a somewhat similar way; thus 381 2 b [תן] [אש] [נר] אבא i.e. the son gave this gift which his father had vowed; so apparently 382 [נר] בעלשלך and 383 [נר] אש [נר] אבא and 383 [נר] אש [נר] אבא, the first-named carries out the vow which the second had made. אבנא . . . אדנא See 5 add. note. בחי during his life-time, cf. 16 2 למבחי during my life-time. רען מבל See 24 2 n.



28. Larnax Lapēthos. CIS i 95. Date circ. end of iv cent. B.C.

Ἀθηνᾶ Σωτείρᾳ Νίκη  
καὶ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου  
Πραξίδημος Σέσματος τὸν  
βω[μὸν] ἀνέθ[ηκεν]  
Ἀγα[θ]ῶν τύχῃ

לענת עז חים 1  
הלאר מלכם פתלמיש 2  
בעלשלם בן [ם]ממי 3  
יקדש [א]ת מ[ן]בח 4  
למ[ן]ול נעם 5

To 'Anath, the strength of life, and to the lord of kings  
Ptolemy, Ba'al-shillem, son of Sesmai, consecrated this altar.  
To good luck!

This bilingual inscr. is written on a rock outside the village of  
Larnax Lapēthos, near the ancient city of Lapēthos on the N. coast  
of the island.

L. 1. לענת The goddess 'Anath is met with again in Idal. 7 3  
(Euting *Sitz.-ber. Berl. Ak.* (1887) 420 ff.). Her cult goes back to  
very early times in Syria and Palestine, and has left traces in the  
names of the old Canaanite towns 'Anathoth (Josh. 21 18 &c.),  
Beth-'anath (Josh. 19 38 &c.), Beth-'anoth (Josh. 15 59), which were  
the seats of her worship. The father of Shamgar was called 'Anath  
(Jud. 5 6)<sup>1</sup>. Most likely the goddess came originally from Babylonia,  
where Anatum was the consort of Anu (cf. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 2 K. 17 31):  
Jastrow *Rel. of Bab. and Assy.* 153, Cheyne *Ency. Bibl.* s.v.  
Anath. At the same time it is curious that the Canaanites should  
have adopted Anatum and not the far more prominent Anu;  
possibly the resemblance between Anatum and ענת may be only

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps shortened from ענרעג; in any case an unbecoming name for an  
Israelite. But it is possible that Shamgar was not a 'minor judge,' but a foreign  
oppressor of Israel (ענרעג is read by Cheyne l.c. in Jud. 5 6); the name 'Anath,  
like Shamgar and Sisera, will then be purely foreign. See Moore *Judges* 143.

accidental; E. Meyer, *ZDMG* (1877) xxxi 717 ff., and Zimmern, *KAT*<sup>2</sup> 353, doubt the identification. From Syria the worship of 'Anath was introduced into Egypt, prob. by the Chetas (חֵתָי), and her name appears on the monuments from the 18th dynasty downwards. She was a war-goddess, and was represented helmeted and fully armed; see the monument in the Brit. Mus., Egypt. Saloon no. 191, illustrated in W. Max Müller *Asien u. Eur.* 313. Perhaps it was as a war-goddess that 'Anath becomes Athene in the Gk. version of this inscr.; and the similarity of the two names in sound no doubt assisted the identification (cf. 24 2 n.). Thus לענת עז חים = Ἀθηναῖς Σωτρίστis; for עז חים cf. Ps. 27 1. 28 8, and 57 1 חים חים.

L. 2. ארן מלכם For ארן מלכם 5 18 n. מלכם A local variety (cf. 29 4 ff.) of the usual form מלמים 27 1 &c.; here Ptolemy i Soter (B.C. 323-285). According to Diodorus Sic. xix 79, Praxippos king of Lapēthos, along with other Cyprian princes, declared for Antigonos in the struggles of the Diadochoi. Seleucus as the ally of Ptolemy i laid siege to Kerynia and Lapēthos; later on, in 312, Ptolemy himself landed in Cyprus, put Pumi-yathon king of Kition to death (12 1 n.), and then seized the person of Praxippos, thus bringing to an end the dynasty of Lapēthos. The inscr. must have been written not long after Ptolemy's victory. The Gk. here is difficult to translate. The Corp. suggests an ellipse of νίκη in l. 2, thus: 'Athenae-victoriae et (victoriae) regis Ptolemaei.' Schröder, 156 n., takes the καί of l. 2 as belonging to the preceding word, 'and to the Victory of king Ptolemy.' The second explanation is, perhaps, preferable. For the cult of the Ptolemies, who in Egypt were associated with the ancient gods of the country, cf. 27 2 n.

L. 3. בעלשלם i.e. Ba'al requies (Piel), CIS i 338 3; cf. אשכנזשלם 35 1. 55 1, and שלם 27 4. The Gk. has Πραξίδημος. On a Gk. inscr. from the same place one Πραξίδημος is ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ ναοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ Λαπρανάου (Waddington 2779). מםסס This name is found in 1 Ch. 2 40 מםסס (LXX Σισομαί, Luc. Σασαμαί, Vulg. Sisamoi) borne by a man of Judah descended from an Egyptian ancestor; it evidently has some connexion with the god מםסס, see 16 1 n. Cl.-Gan. thinks that the name in full was [ח]מםסס Sasom-yehai, thus accounting for the final י. The Gk. Πραξίδημος Σίσμαος admits of no clear explanation; perhaps Σίσμαος = Σισμαῖος (adj.), the י in מםסס being treated as the gentile ending. It is difficult to believe that Σίσμαος could have been written for Σισμαῖος.

L. 4. יקר Ifl perf., cf. יקרת 29 9. 14 and ימנא 18 2 n. For the dedication of an altar cf. 3 4 and 40 1 נחשת מ. 12 2. 29 10 (plur.).

34. **אח** Usually **אית** as sign of accus., but cf. § 3. 7; Cl.-Gan., however, reads **קדשת** i sing.

L. 5. **למול נעם** *to good luck*!, a formula invoking a blessing; here at the end of the inscr., as in CIS i 89, where the Cypriote version has **τύχαι αγαθαί**. The formula occurs more often at the beginning, e.g. 29 i **נעם** **משל**, and the frequent **ἀγαθὴν τύχην** in Gk. inscr.; cf. the Rabbinic **למול טוב** i. e. **למול טוב**. **סָלָא** Aram. **סָלָא** is a *star of fortune* or *fate*; the plur. **סָלָלוּ** = *signs of the Zodiac* a K 23 5, **סָלָלוּ** Job 38 32. In Arab. **مَنَازِلُ** plur. of **مَنْزِلٌ** is used of the *stations* of the moon, e.g. Quran 10 5 'it is He who ordained... the moon for a light **مَنَازِلُ** and appointed her stations.' Prob. **מָל** is a loan-word from Assy. *mansaltu* = 'station,' 'abode (of God).'

29. Larnax Lapéthos 2 or Narnaka. iii-ii cent. a.c.

Discovered 1893.

- 1 מ ש ל נ ע ם  
2 הסמל ז משאנך יתנבעל רב ארץ בן גרעשתרת רב ארץ בן  
עברע[שתרת].....סר  
3 בן גרעשתרת בן שלם... רמל אש יטנאת לי אבמקדש מלקרת  
ס.....ם לשמי  
4 בחדש זבחששם אש בשנת 1 לאון מלכם פתלמיש בן און  
מלכם פתלמיש  
5 אש המת לעם לפט שנת 3 111 וכהן לאון מלכם עברעשתרת  
בן גרעשתרת  
6 רב ארץ... רמל ובירח מפע אש בשנת 1111 לאון מלכם פתלמיש  
בן און מלכם  
7 פתלמיש אבחי אבי ישת במקדש מלקרת אית משמן אבי בנחשת  
ובירח  
8 פעלת אש בשנת 1111 111 לאון מלכם פתלמיש בן און מלכם  
פתלמיש בחי

- 9 אבי יתת ויקדשת חית שגית בגבל שד נרנך לאדן אש לי למלקרת  
 10 שבתבאת החית . מנעלת קמת עם ומזבחת לאדן אש לי למלקרת  
 11 על חיי ועל חי זרעי ים מר ים ולצמח צדק ולאשתו ולאדמי  
 12 [בחד] שם ונבכסאם ירח מר ירח עד עלם כקדם ומהדלת הנחשת  
 13 ... תבת וסמדת בקר אש בן מנחת חני ופעלת אנך עלת  
 14 ..... הימאפבת בכסף משקל כ[כ] ר 11 / 1 ו ויקדשת לאדן  
 15 [אש לי למלקרת פקת ונעם יכן לי ולזרעי ויסבך מלקרת  
 16 נעם שרש .....

Good fortune! <sup>2</sup> This statue?? Yathan-ba'al governor of the district, son of Ger-'ashtart governor of the district, son of 'Abd-'a[shtart] ..... SR, <sup>3</sup> son of Ger-'ashtart, son of Shallum ? RML, (is that) which I set up for myself in the sanctuary of Melqarth, S ..... M, for my name, <sup>4</sup> on the new-moon of Zebaḥ-šīšim, which is in the 11th year of the lord of kings Ptolemy, son of the lord of kings Ptolemy, <sup>5</sup> which is the 33rd year of the people of Lapēthos, and the priest to the lord of kings (being) 'Abd-'ashtart, son of Ger-'ashtart <sup>6</sup> governor of the district ... RML.—And in the month MP', which is in the 4th year of the lord of kings Ptolemy, son of the lord of kings <sup>7</sup> Ptolemy, in the life-time of my father, I placed in the sanctuary of Melqarth the MSPN of my father in bronze.—And in the month <sup>8</sup> Pa'aloth, which is in the 5th year of the lord of kings Ptolemy, son of the lord of kings Ptolemy, in the life-time <sup>9</sup> of my father, I gave and consecrated many (?) animals in the border of the country of Narnaka to the lord who is mine, Melqarth; <sup>10</sup> ? ? the animals ? ? ? and altars to the lord who is mine, Melqarth, <sup>11</sup> for my life and for the life of my seed, day by day, and to the legitimate offspring ? and to my lord (?) <sup>12</sup> on the new-moons and on the full-moons, month by month, for ever as aforetime (?), and ? of bronze <sup>13</sup> ... ? and a yoke of oxen (?) which is part of the offering of my grace.—And I have made upon <sup>14</sup> ..... ? ?

in silver, (by) weight 100 and 2 (talents?), and I consecrated (it) to the lord <sup>18</sup>[who is mine, Melqa]rth; ? and good be to me and to my seed, and may Melqarth remember me . . . . ?

L. 1. מל נעם For מל נעם (28 5 n.), a local peculiarity of pronunciation, of which other instances occur in this inscr., e. g. פתלמיש for פתלמים, possibly צמדת for צמדת l. 13, אבמקדש for 'במ' l. 3 &c. As a rule this expression is in the dat., but the nom. is found in a Gk. inscr. from the neighbourhood of Pergamum, ἡγετὶς ἀγαθῆς (Michel 1360).

L. 2. משאנך Possibly the last three letters may be the 1st pers. pron.; Cl.-Gan., *Ét.* ii § 21, reads מל ש מל this statue is mine, (yea) mine, *Yathan-ba'al*. He assumes מל to be a unique form of the demonstr. pron., and finds it twice again in l. 10; ש he takes as the rel. with suff. of 1st pron. = לִי, and מל as added for emphasis after the suff. in ש (cf. in Hebr. אֲנִי הָיָה l. 1 S. 25 24 &c.). These are serious assumptions, especially the forms מל and ש. The suff. ך is nearly always written in this inscr., and the rel. here is inconvenient before מל in l. 3. רב ארץ Cf. ῥαπαρῆς. The office prob. dated from the establishment of the autonomy of Lapēthos. נרעשתרת See 17 2 n. 46 2. The line prob. should be completed with [רב ארץ בן עבדאמר].

L. 3. שלם Cf. 27 4. רמל . . . Here and in l. 6 Berger, *Rev. d'assy.* (1895) iii 76, reads קורמל, taking it as the name of a place, Cape Krommyon, the NW. point of Cyprus. Cl.-Gan. reads מרמל, as a title of the רב ארץ. In the latter case, the first three letters recall the Πραξ- in the names Πραξιόδημος 28, Πραξιάρχος 28 2 n., Πραξιάρχος Strabo 582 3 ed. Müll., the founder of Lapēthos—all names connected with this part of the island. אבמקדש Cf. 16 2. Apparently מל for ב, but in l. 7 we find במקדש; cf. מכי l. 7 for בוי l. 8. For מלקרת see 28 3 n. A Gk. inscr. which mentions Poseidon Larnakios has been found on the same spot (p. 81 supr.); hence it is prob. that the Gks. regarded Melqarth as a marine deity and identified him with Poseidon. The missing letters may be restored מל[בר נעם עד עלם] a good memorial for ever.

L. 4. For the date reckoned by the universal, local, and ecclesiastical systems cf. Luke 3 1 f. בחורש i. e. on the first day of the month; see 20 A 2 n. For the name of the month see 14 1 n. פתלמיש See 28 2 n. There is nothing to determine with certainty which Ptolemy is referred to here; see note on l. 12 below.

L. 5. חמט is the plur. of חמ 5 11. 22. 42 17, the plur. being used because the number of the years is given, contrast 27 אש 2 lvii שח שנת; חמ שנת must be plur. too, like יסח before dates 12 1 n. As חמט agrees with שנת, the form was evidently used for both genders. לטח Cl.-Gan. לטח. On coins of Sidqi-milk, king of Lapēthos (circ. 449-420 B.C.), the name of the city is לטח, 149 B 7; in Gk. it is written Λάπηθος, Λάπαθος, Λάπυθος, Λήπηθος. When the era of Lapēthos began is uncertain; see below on l. 12. כהן priest i.e. of the deified Ptolemy; cf. the reckoning of the year by the name of the Kanephoros of Arsinoë at Idalion, 27 2. The latter inscr. also illustrates the threefold synchronism here.

L. 6. מטע Cf. 6 1.

L. 7. ישת i.e. אבחי אבי i.e. בחי אבי, but בחי l. 8; see l. 3 n. אבמקדש. ישת i.e. ישת Ifl perf. 1 sing. of שית, I set. מטען Meaning unknown. If ש=ש=ס, we may compare מטענת ceiling, covering 3 6; but this does not suggest any suitable sense. The context requires not the *overlaying* of an image but an *image* itself. וברח The third section of inscr. begins here.

L. 8. מעלת See 20 B 2 n.

L. 9. יתח i.e. יתח. חית שנית Perhaps *many animals* (Lidzb.); שנית then will=שנית, the common Aram. word for *many* (שנית, שנית), e.g. Palm. 121 5. 147 i 4. 6, used poetically in later Hebr., e.g. Job 8 7. Ps. 73 12 (שנית). Job 8 11 &c. (שנית). Cl.-Gan. renders *stray animals*, i.e. שנית (in form like שנית Ps. 128 3 &c.) from שנית, used to supply the daily and monthly sacrifices. נבל שר i.e. שנית cf. 5 19. 20. נרנך Narnaka = Λάρναξ near Lapēthos, cf. Nicosia = Leucosia. לי לארן אש לי A more solemn and emphatic expression than לארני; contrast לארני (?) l. 11.

L. 10. Owing to the condition of the stone, the text and meaning of the first half of the line are quite uncertain. None of the restorations are satisfactory. Cl.-Gan. reads ומזבח קמח זמ ומזבח קמח זמ ומזבח קמח זמ and takes the general sense to be *and I made over the produce of these animals to the service of* (lit. *as serving*, ptc. fem.) *this QMT, and sacrificed* (Pual ptc.) *to Melqarth*. But the Qal of שח, though occasionally used in Hebr. with a trans. sense (e.g. שח שבת and Ps. 85 5. Is. 52 8 &c.), could hardly be used of *applying* a gift; if שח=שח it must mean *produce* of the earth, not *offspring* of cattle. Landau improves on this by reading מעלת for מעלת, and the offerings of this foundation (?) and the altars to Melqarth (Beitr. z. Altertumsk. d. Or. ii 47). Berger's reading עם חקמת a rising of the people has little probability.

L. 11. על חיי ועל חי נרעי The formula which occurs frequently in the Palm. inscr. is very similar, e.g. על חינחי חיי בנחזי 185 4. 187 2. &c.; cf. 70 4. 95 2. ירח מדי ירח day by day as ירח מדי ירח month by month in the next line. מדי is prob. the same as the Hebr. מדי lit. *out of the abundance of*, hence *as often as*, e.g. 1 S. 7 16 שנה בשנה מדי. Ia. 66 23 מדי חדש בחדש ומדי שנה בשנה Apparently *and to the legitimate offspring*; for this fig. sense of צמח shoot cf. Jer. 23 5 צמח צדיק and 33 15 צדיק here may be either an adj. צדיק or more likely a noun צדיק. As they stand these words are untranslatable. See note below.

L. 12. [בחד] שם ולבנאם The words thus restored and read prob. mean *on the new-moons and on the full-moons* i.e. at the beginning and the middle of the month; cf. Ps. 81 4 ליום חקעו בחדש שומר בבמה ליום חקעו Perhaps *as formerly*, cf. Jer. 30 20. Lam. 5 21.

M. Clermont-Ganneau (l.c.) makes a brilliant suggestion as to the meaning of the obscure expression in L. 11. לצמח צדיק ולאשרו ולאדמי. His argument is as follows: (1) The ל in these words must have a different meaning from על in the same line, i.e. these words must denote not those for whose benefit (על) Yathan-ba'al made his offering, but those to whom religious service is due, like למלקרת in ll. 9. 10. (2) In the case of the great god Melqarth the sacrifice is to be offered daily (ים מדי), but in the second case fortnightly, every month (בחדש ונו). There is, therefore, a difference of dignity between the objects of religious service. (3) The words ולאשרו ולאדמי do not suggest any names of gods; but they may represent the names of some members of the Ptolemaic dynasty to whom divine honours were paid (27 2 n.), and the provision of the fortnightly sacrifice to them is in accordance with the Egyptian custom of celebrating a solemnity in honour of the reigning monarch on a fixed day over a month, called in Gk. and Rom. times 'the king's day.' The similarity of the letters in Phoen. makes it possible to read בלאשרו for ולאשרו, supposing a mason's error of ו for ר (though this is perhaps hardly necessary); and if a similar error of כ for נ may be admitted in the foll. word, we have the reading ולאדמי. Thus the whole phrase will mean *And to the legitimate offspring* (lit. *shoot of righteousness*) *of Cleopatra and to my lord*. Two sets of historical conditions may be found to account for this remarkable and significant expression. (a) The inscr. may belong to the period when Ptolemy vii (vi) Philometor was engaged in a bitter struggle for power with his brother, afterwards Ptolemy ix (vii) Euergetes ii or Physkon, a struggle

which considerably affected Cyprus<sup>1</sup>. Their mother Cleopatra, the wife of Ptolemy v Epiphanes, was regent for her eldest son from 181 to her death in 174. Yathan-ba'al thus protests his loyalty to the claims of the eldest son, *the legitimate offspring of Cleopatra* and his lawful sovereign (לְאֹרֶנִי), Ptolemy vii (vi). The 11th year of this king will give 171-170 as the date of the inscr., and 203 B.C. as the era of Lapēthos. (δ) A later period offers an even more suitable occasion. After the death of Ptolemy ix (vii) Evergetes ii or Physkon, his wife and niece Cleopatra iii attempted to secure the succession for her younger son Alexander, but the people refused to acknowledge him. Thereupon she sent him for safety to Cyprus, and had him appointed independent king of the island (B.C. 114). Later on, his elder brother Ptolemy x (viii) Soter ii or Lathyros was expelled by an insurrection at Alexandria instigated by his mother, and took refuge in Cyprus (B.C. 107). The situation in Cyprus at this period must have been embarrassing enough, especially for public officials like the רַב אֶרֶץ at Lapēthos; and it may well be that political prudence suggested to Yathan-ba'al the equivocal expression *to the legitimate offspring of Cleopatra and to my lord*. In this case the 11th year of Ptolemy will be 107-106, and the era of Lapēthos will begin with 139 B.C. Cl.-Gan.'s correction and historical elucidation of the text are, of course, only conjectural; but the conjecture is a most suggestive one, and it is sufficiently supported to make it plausible.

L. 12. וּמִדֹּלֶת הַנְּחֹשֶׁת might mean *and from the bronze doors*; for the construction see § 4 n. The first word, however, is uncertain. Cl.-Gan. reads דֹּלֶת=δέλτος *tablet*, and takes כְּדֹרִים with this sentence; but his attempt to make sense of the passage is unsuccessful.

L. 13. At the beginning of the line Cl.-Ganneau restores אֲשֶׁר כָּתַבְתִּי *which I have written*. The next words he takes to be וּסְמַרְתָּ בְּקֵרַי *and I have nailed on the wall*, comparing the Hebr. מִסְמָר nail, Arab. مِسْمَار (prob. a loan-word from Aram., Fränkel *Aram. Fremdw.* 89). Lidzb. reads וּסְמַרְתָּ בְּ=וְעַל יֶזְעַר *and a yoke of oxen*, which agrees better with the donation of sacrificial animals in l. 9 f. בְּנֵי מִנְחַת חֲנִי. Perhaps *part of the offerings of my grace*, the prep. בְּ being written בַּ before another ב, see § 3 n. Cl.-Ganneau takes בְּ אֲשֶׁר as=

<sup>1</sup> Thus Polybius, enlarging on Ptolemy's clemency towards his brother and rival, says ἐπειτα, δόξας ἐκτεσεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὰδελφοῦ, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ λαβὼν κατ' αὐτοῦ καιρὸν ὁμολογούμενον, ἀμνησιμόλητον ἐποθέσατο τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, πάλιν ἐπιβουλεύσας τῇ Κύπρῳ, κέρως γενόμενος ἐν Λασιθίῳ τοῦ σώματος ἅμα καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ, τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε τοῦ κολάζειν ὡς ἐχθρὸν, ὥστε καὶ θυρεὸς προσέθηκε κ.τ.λ. xl 12.



וּמַעֲלָה on which (is) the offering. For מנחה see 7 i n. וּמַעֲלָה  
Pf. i sing. The fourth section of the inscr. begins here—the dedication  
of some metal object.

L. 14. The first part of the line cannot be understood. בכסף  
of silver like בנחשת of bronze in l. 7. משקל will then be in apposition  
to the following word denoting weight, Driver *Tenses* § 192 (1); cf.  
40 i מוכה נחשת משקל למרם מאת 1. The text has כר, but this is  
a corn or fluid measure. It is possible that כר is an abbreviation for  
כבר *talent*, CIS i 171 2. 4; but the value of 102 talents of silver by  
the Attic standard would amount to over £2480 of our money, too  
large a sum to be likely. However, we do not know the value of Phoen.  
weights and money sufficiently well to make us reject this explanation  
altogether.

L. 15. מפת Meaning unknown; *profil* has been suggested, from  
Aram. נפק *go forth*, but this is very doubtful. וְיִצְרָאֵל = וְיִסְכֵּרן  
the suff. cf. 4 וְתִרְנֵן 7.

L. 16. The last words give no suitable sense.

30. Tamassos. Date 363 B. C. Brit. Mus., Cyprus Room no. 252.

1 סמל אז אש יתן וימנ  
2 א · מנחם · בן בנחדש בן מנ  
3 חם בן ערק לאדני לרשף  
4 אליית בירח אתנם בשנת  
5 שלשם א · למלך מלכיתן · מלך  
6 בתי ואדיל · כ שמע קל · יברך

Cypriote:

*to na ti ri a ta ne to nu · e to ke ne*  
*ka se · o ne te ke ne · ma na se se*  
*o no me ni o ne · to i ti o i*  
*to i a pe i lo ni · to i e le i*  
*ta i · i tu ka i*

i. e. in Greek :

Τὸν ἀ[ν]δριά[ν]ταν τό[ν] νυ ἔδωκεν  
 καὶς ὀνέθηκεν Μανασῆς  
 ὁ Νωμηνίων τῷ θιῷ  
 τῷ Ἀπειλῶνι τῷ Ἐλεί  
 ται ἔ[ν] τύχαι

This statue (is that) which Menaḥem, son of Ben-hodesh, son of Menaḥem, son of 'Araq, gave and set up to his lord Reshef of Eliyath, in the month Ethanim in the thirtieth year, 30, of king Milk-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion, because he heard (his) voice : may he bless !

This inscr. was found in 1885 on the site of the ancient Tamassos, between Lapēthos and Idalion. A sanctuary of Apollo has been discovered (1889) outside the town, and recent excavations at Frángissa, some 3 miles to the west, have revealed another sanctuary of the same god; Myres *Cypr. Mus. Catal.* 12. The inscr. may be compared with 12 and 13 from Kition, and with 23-26 from Idalion.

L. 2. מנחם Cf. 21 2; Cypr. *ma-na-se-se*, perhaps for *ma-na-he-se* (Menaḥem) or *m'-na-se-se* = Μνασέας, the nearest Gk. equivalent for the Phoen. Menaḥem; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 186 f. שרנננ See 17 3 n.

L. 3. נרע Perhaps נרע like נרע &c. This pr. n. possibly may be connected with the ancient Phoen. clan נרע Gen. 10 17. 1 Ch. 1 15, i. e. the men of 'Arqa (Jos. *Ant.* i 6 2), at the foot of Lebanon, still called Tell 'Arqa, 12 m. N. of Tripoli. See further Schrader *COT* 104; Tell-el-Amarna letters 78 12.

L. 4. תיחא השר Cypr. תיחא השר τῷ Ἐλείται *Apollo of Helos*, either Helos in Lacedaemon or a Cyprian city of the same name. Hesychius, *Lexicon* s. v. Zeus in Cyprus, quotes several forms which resemble Ἐλείται here, thus Εἰλητι: Ζεὺς ἐν Κύπρῳ. Ἐλαθς: Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ &c. In Tam. 2 4 f. תיחא השר = Cypr. Ἀπό[λ]λωνι τῷ Ἀλασιώται, a Phoen. transcription of what is prob. the name of another Gk. town. In the bilingual inscr. CIS i 89 a third designation of the god occurs, תיחא השר Cypr. τῷ Ἀπολῶνι τῷ Ἀμυκλωῖ *Apollo of Amyclae*; see 12 3 n. 24 2 n. תיחא See 20 A 1 n.

L. 5. תיחא השר See 23 1 n.

## EGYPT

81. Abydos. CIS i 102. Circ. iv cent. In situ.

*a*

1 אנך פעלאבסת בן צדיתן בן גר־עד הצרי ישב רכי  
2 באן מצרם בפמרת ברמנקצת ה . נ .

*b*

אנך בעל[ח] בן מנקצת . יח . . .

*c*

אנך מגן בן ברא . הפצבעל מנפ .

*d*

1 אנך עבראבסת בן צדיתן  
2 באנהנברצ || לירח חיר

*a*

I am Pa'ala-ubast, son of Şed-yathon, son of Ger-şed, the Tyrian, dwelling here (?), in On of Egypt, after the departure (? ?) of Bod-MNQŞTH, the man of On (?).

*b*

I am Ba'al-[yahon], son of MNQŞTH . . .

*c*

I am Magon, son of Bodo, . Hefeş-ba'al . . .

*d*

I am 'Abd-ubast, son of Şed-yathon . . . . 2, in the month Ḥiyyar.

These inscrs. are a selection from those found on the walls of the temple of Osiris at Abydos (Egypt). Like the inscr. on the colossus at Ipsambul (CIS i 111-113), and on the rocks beside the caravan-routes in the Sinaitic peninsula (103-109), they give the names, and occasionally the designations, of travellers.

a. L. 1. *פעלמבסת* *Bast has made*; for Bast see *d* and 20 B 6 n., and for the compound name with *פעל* cf. *פעלעשחרת* in the inscr. discovered at Memphis in 1900, given below<sup>1</sup>, *פעלעל* NPun. 94 2, *עלמלעל* on coins from Byblus (149 B 9) and in 1 Ch. 8 11 ff.; cf. *עשחאל* 2 S. 2 18 &c. *צדיתן בן נרצד* Cf. *d* and *יתנצד* CIS i 184 4 f. *עבדצד* 236 5 &c. *צד* (cf. Hebr. *ציד* *hunting*, *ציד* *hunter*) is clearly the name of a deity, perhaps the god of the chase; but it is found only in compound pr. nn.<sup>2</sup> The deity was associated with Melqarth and Tanith at Carthage, e. g. *צדמלקרת* CIS i 256, *צדחנת* 249. It is possible that the originals of the Phoen. gods *Ἀγρεύς* and *Ἀλιεύς* mentioned by Philo of Bybl., *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 566, were *צד וצחן* i. e. *Hunter and Fisher*. The name of the city *צדן* is perhaps related to that of the god *צד*, who is supposed by some to be the Phoen. Poseidon; see Cl.-Gan. *Et.* i 154. For *נרצד* cf. *נרמלקרת* 17 2 n.; Lidzb., however, reads *ברצד*. *ישוב רכי* Derenbourg's rendering (*Rev. d'Assyr.* i 93), *I dwell, crushed (with grief)*, is most improbable. *רכי* has been taken as a demonstrative adv., *here*, cf. Aram. *רִכִּי*, *ille*; but in Phoen. the demonstr. is *י*, not *ר*. The reading *רכי* is possible; this may be an adv. of place, cf. *לִסְרָא*, and see 4 4 n., where according to Hoffmann *מ* is a demonstr. particle.

L. 2. *באן סצרים* On, Egypt. *Αη*, = Heliopolis in Lower Egypt; cf. Gen. 41 45 (LXX *Ἡλίου πόλις*). Eze. 30 17; it was celebrated for the worship of the sun-god, Ra. *בפמרת* Possibly *after the departure*, i. e. *the decease, of B*. *פמרת* has the sense *depart, escape*, e. g. 1 S. 19 10, and in post-bibl. Hebr. frequently occurs, in the Nifal, with the meaning *depart out of this life*, e. g. Talm. *Berakoth* 17 a *נפמרת*

- 1 חסמטא [י] יסנ[מא] אק פועלשחרת בן עבדמלח בן נבעל בן עבדמלח בן נבעל
- 2 בן עבדמלח[ת] על א[ח]תמסרמלח לנדח לאם אדחח אס אס עשחרת ולאם אס
- 3 אל[י] יך א[ח]י וחיח ב[י] עבדמסר ונבעל ועבדמסר ועלעשחרת וחיח אסמנ ועשחרת
- 4 [י]ן לם חן וחיח לען אסמנ וכן אס

i. e. 'This erection I erected, I Pa'ala-'ashtart &c., 'son of 'Abd-malkath, . . . . to my mistress, the mighty god Isis, the god 'Ashtart, and to the (other) gods who 'are (here?). May they bless [him and his] sons, 'Abd-osir &c., and their mother Hanni-'ashtart, 'and give them favour and life in the eyes of the gods and the sons of men.' In l. 2 Lidzb. suggests *על אלוז פקור מלכי* *on account of the protection of my journey*, supposing that *מלך* = *מלך* = *מלך* see 33 6 n.; l. 3 א perhaps the fragment of an adv., like the Hebr. *ואלח*, *ואלח*; the restoration *א[ח]י וחיח ב[י]* is uncertain; l. 4 cf. 8 10 n. *Rép.* i nos. 1. 58; Lidzb. *Exp.* i 152.

<sup>2</sup> The names *Θήπων* (a Tyrian, Michel 424) and *Ἀψήγρος* (gen.) in Gr. inscr. may be the one a translation of *צד*, the other a transcription of *עבדצד*; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 187-192.

בשם מוב מן העולם. The commemoration of the dead was customary at the temple of Osiris; but this explanation of *במזרח* cannot be regarded as certain. The reading of the word following is doubtful; the Corp. gives *עברמנקרת*; Derenbourg l.c., Lidzb. *ברמנקרת*, cf. *מנקרת* in *δ*. For *ה.נ.ז* the Corp. restores *האני* *the man of On*; Renan *האנרכי*, a gentile noun, taking *רכי* from the end of l. 1.

*δ. . . ה.נ.ז* i. e. prob. *בעל-הזן*, cf. *יחנבעל* 46 *z* and *הנבעל*. *מנקרת יח. . .* So Lidzb. The first word is uncertain and its etymology unknown; Derenbourg regards it as = *ברמנקרת* in *a*, and reads the next word as a gentile form *החני* or *החני*. Corp. *מנקרתח[מ]* *Menqarth* (i. e. *Melqarth*) *protects*; cf. *יחסי* perhaps = *יחסי* *may Yah protect* 1 Ch. 7 *z*; Arab. *حني*.

*c. מן* Cf. 33 *z* & c., a common Phoen. name. *ברא* See 12 *n*. *המנבעל* *pleasure of Ba'al*; the name of another person. *מנפ* may contain the name *נפ Memphis*, Eze. 30 13, of *Nof* *פנף*. It is doubtful whether the full form was *מנפי*, for this would require the art., as *הצרי* in *a*.

*d. L. 1*. For the two pr. nn. cf. *a*. The text followed is that of Derenbourg l.c.

*L. 2*. The meaning of the first group of letters is unknown. For *ירח חיר* cf. 27 *i n*.

## ATTICA

32. Athens. CIS i 115. Perhaps iv cent. B.C. Athens.

Ἀντίπατρος Ἀφροδισίου Ἀσκαλ[ωνίτης]

Δομσάλως Δομανῶ Σιδώνιος ἀνέθηκε

יְהוֹנָתָן בֶּן עֲבִיָּה שֶׁשׁ 1

שֶׁאֵין תָּאֵן בֶּן עֲבִיָּה שֶׁשׁ 2

Μηθεὶς ἀνθρώπων θαυμάζετω εἰκόνα τήνδε,  
ὥς περὶ μὲν μελέων, περὶ δὲγ πρῶρ' (ἐ)γκτετάνυσται.

ἦλθε γὰρ εἰχθρολέων τὰμὰ θέλων σποράσαι·  
ἀλλὰ φίλοι τ' ἤμυναν καὶ μοι κτέρισαν τάφον οὗτ[η],  
οὗς ἔβελον φιλέων, ἱερᾶς ἀπὸ νηὸς ἰόντες.  
φοινίκην δὲ λιπ(ὠ)ν τεῖδε χθονὶ σῶμα κέκρυνμαι.

I am šm., son of 'Abd-'ashtart, an Ashqelonite. (This is that) which I D'om-šillah, son of D'om-ḥanno, a Sidonian, set up.

This bilingual inscr. is written on a gravestone now preserved in the *Κεντρικὸν Μουσεῖον* in Athens. Underneath the Phoen. lines is carved a representation of the incident alluded to in the Gk. verses below. A corpse lies upon a bier; on the left a lion is leaping up to devour the body, on the right is a human figure with the prow of a ship in the place of the head and shoulders; it seems to be defending the corpse from the lion. The scene is perhaps intended for an allegory; the lion representing the god of the underworld eager to snatch the body, the prow or 'holy ship' (apparently personified) being possibly connected with funeral rites, which protect the dead from violation. See Wolters in *Millh. Arch. Instituts*, Athenische Abth. xiii (1888) 310 ff. On account of the form of the Gk. letters the Corp. dates the inscr. in the second cent. B.C., Lidzb. in the fourth (?).

L. 1. יְהוֹנָתָן In this inscr. both the person commemorated and the donor of the memorial speak in the first person; see 16 i n. .שֶׁשׁ There appears to be the fragment of a letter after שֶׁ; but the full name cannot now be read. The Gk. equivalent is Ἀντίπατρος, a name specially common in the family of Herod.

L. 2. דעמחנא בן דעמחנא Δομσάλης Δομανῶ; for the deity דעם see 8 4 n. דעמחנא cf. בעלחנא 39 1 f. In the latter name, חנא seems to be the Perf. of חנן with the suff. of 3rd m. sing. This form of the verbal suff. is usual in NPun., e.g. מעלא 57 11, ברמא (= שמעא) &c.; it occurs also earlier, in Pun., e.g. רפא 40 2. Cf. the nominal suff. in נ in the frequent קלא.

38. Piræus. Date 96 B.C. Louvre.

- 1 ביסווללמחח בשת → ווולל לעם צדן תם בר צדנים בנאספת לעטר  
 2 אית שמעבעל בן מנן אש נשא חנו על בת אלם ועל מבנת חצר  
 בת אלם  
 3 עטרת חרץ בדרכנם למחח כ בן אית חצר בת אלם ופעל אית כל  
 4 אש עלתי משרת אית רעת ו לכתב הארמם אש נשאם לן על בת  
 5 אלם עלת מצבת חרץ ויטנאי בערפת בת אלם ען אש לכנת נו  
 6 ערב עלת מצבת ו ישאן בכסף אלם בעלצדן רכמנם למחח  
 7 לכן ידע הצדנים כ ידע חנו לשלם חלפת אית ארמם א. ש פעל  
 8 משרת את פן נו

Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σιδωνίων Διοπεΐθ(η)ν Σιδώνιον

On the 4th day of the Marzeah (?), in the 15th year of the people of Sidon, the community of the Sidonians resolved in assembly:—to crown <sup>2</sup> Shama'-ba'al, son of Magon, who (has been) president of the corporation in charge of the temple and the building of the temple court, <sup>3</sup> with a golden crown of 20 drachmae sterling, because he built the court of the temple and did all <sup>4</sup> the service (?) he was charged with:—that the men who are our presidents in charge of the temple write this (our) intention upon a golden stele, and set it up in the portico of the temple before men's eyes:—that the corporation be designated as surety (for it). For this stele let them bring 20 drachmae sterling of the money of the god the Ba'al of Sidon: <sup>7</sup> thereby the Sidonians shall know that the

corporation knows how to requite the men who have done  
 a service before the corporation.

The Sidonian colony, settled at the port of Athens, is referred to or implied in 34. 35. CIS i 116 לעבדחנת . . . הצדני, prob. also in 32. It was no doubt a community of merchants and ship-masters, maintaining in the land of their adoption the religion and organization of their native city (see 34. 35). This inscr. shows, however, that they had adapted themselves to the Greek civilization in the midst of which they lived; in characteristic Greek fashion they vote a crown and monument to a deserving officer, and they record their resolution in the recognized forms used in Greek inscr. from the fifth cent. downwards. In fact, this inscr. almost seems to be a translation from a Greek original; see CIA ii 1 b=Michel 80; CIA ii 589=M 145; CIA ii 603=M 968; CIA ii 621=M 984.

L. 1. מרזח Generally taken to be the name of a month, but the unparalleled omission of ירח before it is noticeable. Cl.-Gan. suggests that it was the name of the annual מרזח=*a solemn festival*, perhaps lasting five days (*Rec.* ii 390 n. iv 344); see 42 16 n. בשח See 6 1 n. לעם צדן The era of Sidon began when the city became autonomous in 111 B.C. This will give 96 B.C. as the date of the inscr., 9 years before Athens was taken by Sulla<sup>1</sup>. תם Pf. 3 m. sing., lit. *be complete*, here *has decided, resolved*. The verb governs the infins. לעטר l. 1 and לכתב l. 4, prob. also לבנת l. 5. בר צדנים must have some such meaning as *the community of the Sidonians*. In Hebr. צדנים denotes *parts* of the body i.e. members (Job 18 13), or *parts* of a vine i.e. branches (Eze. 17 6). In Phoen. the sing. בר is used to describe a worshipper as a *member* of his deity, as in the pr. nn. ברעשתרת, ברמלקרת, or a stranger as a *member* of a household; see 6 2 n. It is but an extension of this usage when בר is applied not to an individual but to a community; the Sidonian μέτοικοι at the Piræus could describe themselves as בר צדנים *the Sidonian protected aliens* (Lidzb. 134 n.). G. Hoffmann, *Über einige Phön. Inscr.* 5 f., takes בר as a prep. בר lit. *for the satisfaction of, for*; but this does not admit of a satisfactory construction for תם, nor does it give a natural explanation of בר in pr. nn. A Gk. inscr. from Delos illustrates this part of the text; ἡ σύνοδος τῶν Τυρίων ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων στεφανοῖ Πατρωνα κ.τ.λ. CIG 2271=M 998. תם The Nif. ptc. of תם used as a noun, *gathering*,

<sup>1</sup> Köhler, CIA ii Suppl. 1335 b, thinks that the Gk. form of this inscr. is much older, about the second half of the third cent. B.C.; in which case the inscr. must be dated from some Sidonian era now lost to us. If the dynasty of Eahmun-azar ceased in 275 B.C. (p. 38), the era may have started then: Meyer *Ency. Bibl.* 3763.



*assembly*; it corresponds to the Gk. epigraphical formula  $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\alpha\iota$   $\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\iota$  CIA ii 585 = M 152. לעטר Followed by a double accus. as in Ps. 8 6. 103 4. The corresponding Gk. phrase is στεφανῶσαι (αὐτὸν) χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ . . . δραχμῶν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα, e.g. CIA iv 2 169 b = M 105 and often.

L. 2. שמעבעל i.e. *Ba'al hears*. The Gk. equivalent Διοσιβητης i.e. *obeying Zeus* is founded on a misunderstanding of the Phoen. נשא i.e. *chief*, cf. נשיאי העדה Ex. 16 22. Josh. 9 15 &c. His term of office had elapsed, and he now receives from his late colleagues this expression of their gratitude. נג is etymologically connected with the Hebr. נג *nation*, Aram. ܢܓ, Sabaean 𐩍 community, cf. Job 30 5 יגרשו יג they are driven far from folk, where יג should be pointed יג, unless יג be read; in Gk. inscr. 𐤍 kousón. Cf. 𐤍 15-18 מבת, and see L. 6 n. For מ' על cf. 𐤍 על חקדושם 46 1 n. מבנה A verbal noun, *building*; in Hebr. מִבְנָה = *structure* Eze. 40 2.

L. 3. בדרכנם The prep. is ב of material; cf. 2 Ch. 9 18 (בזהב). Ex. 38 8. דרכנם is prob. an error for דרכמנם L. 6. In both places דרכמנם must be taken to represent *drachmae*; for in Gk. inscr. of this class the sums voted are given in δραχμαί (i.e. silver drachmae), a larger sum for the crown and a smaller one for the stele. In this inscr., however, the sum specified in both cases is the same; and as 20 silver drachmae would be too small an amount either for the עזרת חרץ or for the מצבת חרץ, we must take דרכמנם to be *gold* drachmae. A gold drachma represented about 9s. 1d., a silver drachma about 9d. Hoffmann l.c. renders חרץ l. 5 not *gold* but *decision*; he is therefore compelled to take דרכנם l. 3 as gold drachmae and דרכמנם l. 6 as silver drachmae; but this is unnecessary and unnatural. On account of the form דרכנם, Meyer, *Entstehung d. Judenthums* 196 f., understands *darics* to be meant; *darics*, however, do not occur in Gk. inscr. in this connexion, and it is Gk. usage (above) which is closely followed here. The fact that דרכמנם in this case is the Phoen. form of δραχμαί throws a valuable light on the disputed meaning of דרכמונים in Ezr. 2 69. Neh. 7 70-72 and of מדרענים in 1 Ch. 29 7. Ezr. 8 27<sup>1</sup>. Both words are generally translated *darics* (R.V.); but this inscr. shows that דרכמנם was the recognized Semitic transcription of δραχμαί, as Lucian knew, for in the passages quoted he invariably

<sup>1</sup> The form מדרענים is open to suspicion. In 1 Ch. 29 7 מ' רצו is prob. a gloss, for the gold offering has been mentioned just before; in Ezr. (LXX 2 Esdr.) 8 27 דרכמנם is the better reading, testified by LXX A δδοσχαμασιν, and prob. implied by the reading of B δδοσχαμασιν. In the biblical passages 'ר refers not to money but to weight; a δραχμή among the Gks. was one-hundredth part of a λίτρον.

renders *δραχμῆς*. Moreover, the form *רַב־מִנִּים* corresponds with *δραχμῶν* and not with *δρακμῶν*. See Kennedy, art. Money in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible* iii 421. לִמְחָה l. 6. The context requires the

meaning of *full weight*, standard current coin. The most plausible etymology of the word is that given by Hoffmann. He connects it with *מחה* *wipe off*, and supposes that it was used in the first place of corn-measures, 'to wipe off into the measure' i.e. 'to fill up to the full weight.' In the Babyl. dialect of the Talmud the *Ethpaal* of *מחה* is used in the sense *approved*, e.g. *Shabbath* 61 b *ואיתמוזי* *the man* (i.e. *the physician*) *is approved and the amulet is approved*; similarly *מטמיה קמץ מומחה* *a tested amulet* ib. 61 a. In Syr. *ܠܡܚܫܐ* is used of *testing* a weight or measure, e.g. Epiphanius *de Mensur. et Pond.* in *Vet. Test. ab Origene recens. fragm.* ed. Lagarde p. 48, l. 32; p. 58, l. 67; p. 51, l. 7 *מרתחמיה ומתחמיה* (cited by Hoffmann). Hence *לִמְחָה* will mean *by the tested weight, of full weight*; the prep. is ל of norm or standard.

L. 4. *אש עלתי* *which was incumbent upon him*; for *על* in this sense cf. Num. 7 9 *עלום* *עלום*. Ezr. 10 4. 12. 1 Ch. 9 27 &c. The construction of the words which follow is not very clear. In l. 8 *משרת* is certainly a noun, *service*, from *שרת* *to minister*, and possibly it may be a noun here, *all the service which was laid upon him*; so Lidzb. In such a sentence the natural order would be *אש כל (ה)משרת* *אש עלתי*; but as *כל* in Hebr. often stands before a relative clause containing a *verb*, which is strictly its genitive (e.g. *אח כל אשר עשה* Gen. 1 31), so here the relative clause *אש עלתי*, though it contains a *noun*, may be regarded as the genitive after *כל*. It must be admitted, however, that this is not easy grammar. Hoffmann takes *משרת* as an infin. with *מן* i.e. *מִשְׁרַת*, governing *אית רעת* *because (he) administered this . . .*; but the infin. would require a suffix in this case, e.g. *מִשְׁרַתִּי* Is. 48 4. If *משרת* be a verb, it is better to take it as a ptc. i.e. *מִשְׁרַת* dependent on the suffix in *עלתי*, *while he administered this . . .*, an imitation of Gk. idiom, but cf. 1 K. 14 6 *באה קול רנליה באה* and Ps. 69 4 (?). *אית רעת* The word *רעת* may be explained in two ways. (1) It may come from the Aram. *רעא* *to be favourably disposed towards a person* (in Targ. *רַעְיָא*, Bibl. Aram. *רַעִית* Ezr. 5 17. 7 18) = Arab. *رَعي* *to be pleased, satisfied with* = Hebr. *רצה*; and we may render *this (our) good pleasure*. It is not necessary, however, to assume such a strong Aramaism here; for (2) *רעת* may come from the same root as the Arab. *رعى* *to watch, regard, be mindful of* = Syr. *ܪܥܝܐ* *to observe, concern oneself with* (*ܪܥܝܐ*, *ܪܥܝܐ*) *meditation, thought*; Targ. *רַעִי* *desire*, Ps. 107 30 = Hebr. *רעה*, cf. Ps. 37 3. Pr. 15 14. Hos. 2 2 (?).

and רעַת in Qoh. 1 14 &c. Hence רעַת may be rendered *intention*, *wish*, either governed by the preceding משרת, or placed for emphasis before its verb לכתב<sup>1</sup>. To connect ר' with לכתב is in accordance with the Gk. formula ἀναγράφαι τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα, e.g. CIA ii 311=M 124, CIA ii 176=M 109 and often, but it involves an unusual construction for משרת . . כל (supr.). לכתב האדום The infin. is governed by תם l. 1 and האדום is its subject. Its object must be understood, 'this decree,' if משרת רעַת be taken with משרת. משרת ל' על ב' א' i.e. the present curators of the temple. These officials may be compared with the νεωτοῖαι in Asiatic sanctuaries, e.g. CIG 2656=M 453 (Halicarnassus), M 835 (ib.), CIG 2671=M 462 (Iasus).

L. 5. מַצְבַּת חָרִיץ a pillar of gold, i.e. prob. a gilded stele, cf. 24 1 n. On the Gk. inscr. it is always ἐν στήλαι λαμβάνει, e.g. CIA ii 613=M 977 and often; but here, contrary to Gk. practice, the same amount is voted both for the stele and the crown, and as the latter is specified as golden (l. 3), so the stele is to be golden (or prob. gilded) too. It is true that we do not hear of a gilded מַצְבַּת elsewhere, but such an object is not impossible in itself, and the language of the inscr. seems to demand it. Hoffmann takes חָרִיץ as = *decision*, *decree* (cf. חָרִיץ Joel 4 14. נחיצה Is. 10 23 &c.), and as the object of לכתב. If חָרִיץ does not mean *gold* it is simpler to give it the primary meaning of *engraving*, and to take it as the genit. after מַצְבַּת, a stele of engraving i.e. an inscribed stele (cf. 8 4. 5?).

יִמְנָא Ifl impf. 3 plur. with suff. 3 fem. sing. i.e. יִמְנָא. עֶרְמַת portico, see 3 6 n. It corresponds to the πρόστυχον (CIA ii 613=M 977) or open pillared hall at the entrance of the temple. The custom was to place these monuments ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ θεοῦ M 977, or πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ M 982, or ἐν τῷ προνάῳ M 546, ἐν τῇ ἀλλεῖ τοῦ ἱεροῦ M 985, ἐν τῷ ἐπιστάντι προπύλαι τῷ τοῦ τεμένους M 476 &c.

שׁ אִישׁ = שׁ עַן אִישׁ; for the accus. instead of the prep. ל cf. מִלֵּם 42 13. 48 8. The corresponding Gk. phrase is ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοπῷ M 992, or ἐν ἱερῷ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς φαίνεσθαι M 468.

לִבְנַת נָ עֶרֶב to designate the corporation as surety (for it). לִבְנַת Piel inf., governed prob. by תם l. 1, and followed by two accusatives. כִּנָּה lit. give a title or cognomen as in Aram. כִּנָּה, Arab. كُنَى, Hebr. Is. 45 4; so in a general sense to

<sup>1</sup> The above characterization of the root רעַת = רָעַת is based upon Barth's study in *Wortuntersuchungen* (1902) 46 ff. He suggests that the primitive meaning was *to keep* (sheep). It must be noted, however, that the origin of the sense which רעַת has in Ps. 37 3 &c. is far from clear. Besides the two roots above, Barth distinguishes a third, viz. رَعَى (ر) to bind together, attack, whence Hebr. רָעַ friend.

*designate*. The infin. of בן *to be* is לֵבֵן 10 10, not לִבְנָה, for which there is no analogy in 'y verbs.

L. 6. ערב A noun, prob. of participial form, *surety*. In Hebr. the vb. ערב *be surety for* is followed by the accus. (Gen. 43 9. 44 32. Ps. 119 122), once by ל (Pr. 6 1); so it is better to take וְעַלְתָּ מִצְבַּת as dependent, not on ערב, but on the verb which follows; and this is more in accordance with the Gk. formula *Εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι* . . . M 118 and often. יִשְׂאֵן i. e. יִשְׂאֵן, the subj. being the members of the corporation. For נִשְׂא in the sense of *bringing* (an offering) cf. in Pun. CIS i 411 3 נִשְׂא עֲבֹרָאשְׁתִּין, and Ps. 96 8. 1 Ch. 16 29; hence מִשְׂמַח *payment, tax* 42 3. 43 1 &c. בְּכֶפֶץ The prep. כ= Gk. *ἀπό*; it is not כ of material as in בְּדִרְכָנִים l. 3. אֱלֹהִים This is a clear instance of the plur. of אֱלֹהִים being used to denote *god*, like the Heb. אֱלֹהִים; we may conclude that אֱלֹהִים ll. 2. 5 is also sing. in meaning. Cf. 85 2 אֱלֹהִים נִרְגַּל. 59 A 4 אֱלֹהִים וְקִדְשׁ, and the inscr. lately found at Memphis אֱלֹהִים אִמַּרְתָּ אִמַּרְתָּ (p. 91 n. 1), where אֱלֹהִים is connected with a female deity, and even with a fem. adj.; the plur. אֱלֹהִים is used similarly, 49 3 n. In the following cases, אֱלֹהִים פִּנְתָּ 42 13. 43 8, עֲבֹרָאֵל, 9 1 f., מִתְנַאֵל, CIS i 194 1 f. (cf. מִתְנַאֵל 406 3), אֱלֹהִים נִלְבַּ 257 4 &c., אֱלֹהִים אִמַּח 378 3, the sing. meaning is most probable. Contrast the use of אֱלֹהִים *gods*; see 8 10 n. The plur. אֱלֹהִים denotes a more abstract conception than the sing. אֱלֹהִים, *godhead* as distinct from *god*: it sums up the various characteristics of the particular אֱלֹהִים (Hoffm.); cf. the abstract plurals וְקִדְשִׁים, וְקִדְשִׁים (Ges. § 124 d). For the Ba'al of Sidon see 5 18. The order to defray the cost out of the temple treasury finds several parallels in the Gk. inscr., e. g. τὰν δὲ γενομένων δαπάνων ἐς τὰν ἀναγραφὰν τεισάντων τοὶ ναποῖαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τοῖς θεοῖς χρημάτων M 1003; ἐῖς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δότω ὁ ἀρχων Ἀδείμαντος Δ δραχμὰς ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων M 968.

L. 7. לְכֵן *accordingly*. יִדַּע i. e. יָדַע. 'שְׁלֵם חֲלֶפֶת מִיָּת א' For the two accusatives after שְׁלֵם cf. 1 S. 24 20. Pr. 13 21. חֲלֶפֶת *equivalent, return*, χάριτας ἀξίας, cf. Num. 18 21. 31 וְחֲלֶפֶת עֲבָדָתָם; in Aram. the verb has the meaning *substitute* (lit. *change*), e. g. *Julian Ap.* ed. Hoffm. 105 25 וְחֲלֶפֶת עֲבָדָתָם, and the frequent וְחֲלֶפֶת *instead of*.

L. 8. מִשְׁרָת Here a noun, *service*, cf. πῶσαν λειτουργίαν καὶ ὑπηρεσίαν ἐκτελεκόντα CIG 2786. אִתְּ אִתְּ i. e. אִתְּ אִתְּ lit. *with the presence, before*; אִתְּ is the prep. *with*, cf. Gen. 19 27. 1 S. 2 18 אִתְּ מִשְׁרָת אִתְּ &c. The last two lines correspond closely with the Gk. inscr., e. g. ὅπως ἀν εἰδῶσι πάντες, ὅτι ἐπίστανται Πειραιεὺς χάριτας ἀξίας ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς φιλοτιμουμένοις εἰς αὐτούς M 145 and often.

84. *Piræus*. CIS i 118. Date prob. ii-i cent. B.C. *Piræus*.

מוֹבַח זֶ אֵשׁ יִנָּה בְּנִחְדֵּשׁ בֶּן בַּעֲלִיתָן הַשֹּׁפֵט בֶּן עַבְדֵּאֲשֻׁמֶן  
הַחֹתֵם לְאַסְכֵּן אֲדָרִי בֶרֶךְ

This altar (is that) which Ben-hodesh, son of Ba'al-yathon the judge, son of 'Abd-eshmun the sealer, erected to Askunadar. May he bless!

מוֹבַח Cf. 3 4. 12 2. 28 4. יִנָּה Ifl pf. of נָחַ = Hebr. הָיִץ  
הַשֹּׁפֵט 2 K. 17 29; in Gk. ἀναθεῖναι. See 17 3 n. בְּנִחְדֵּשׁ  
i. e. the head of the Phoenician colony at the Piræus, corresponding to  
our 'consul,' not *suffete* in the Carthaginian sense, 42 1 n. חֹתֵם  
Either a maker of seals, or an official who seals. אֲסָכֵן No doubt  
the same as סָכֵן, the deity who appears in the pr. nn. Σαγχοῦνιάδων =  
סַכְנִיתָן Hadr. 8 (Euting *Carth.*, Anhang Taf. 6), עֲבֵרֶסְכֵן CIS i 112 a.  
נֶרְסֵכֵן 46. וְרֶסְכֵן 52 4 f. The name was pronounced *Sakun*, as the form  
אֲסָכֵן implies, or *Sakkun* (Secchun CIL viii 5099), and means 'one  
who cares for' (cf. Assy. *sakānu*, Tell-el-Am. 179 38. 180. 13 &c.),  
the 'friend' or 'helper' of men; cf. the sense of סָכֵן in Hebr., *profit*,  
*benefit*, e.g. Job 15 3. 22 2. 34 9 &c. and 1 K. 1 2. 4. *Sakun* was  
the Phoen. counterpart to the Gk. *Hermes* (Schröder 197 n.); the  
two Gk. inscr. found near to this, one containing a dedication to  
*Hermes*, the other to Διὶ σωτήρι, apparently refer to this altar. אֲדָרִי  
is prob. an epithet, *glorious* 5 9 n.; cf. the pr. nn. אֲדָרִיבַעַל CIS i 157  
1 &c., אֲדָרִימֶלֶךְ on a coin of Byblus, Babelon *Pers. Ach.* 1354, רֶשֶׁאֲדָר  
the name of a town, Rusadir, also on coins (Lidzb. 370). There is  
not sufficient evidence that אֲדָרִי was the name of a deity.

85. *Piræus*. CIS i 119. Prob. iii cent. B.C. *Piræus*.

Ἀσεπτῇ Ἐσσυμσελήμων Σιδωνία

1 אֲנִי אֲסַפְתָּ בַּת אֶשְׁמֻנ־שִׁלֵּם צִדְנַת אֵשׁ יִמְנָא לִי  
2 יְתַנְבֵּל בֶּן אֶשְׁמֻנ־צִלָּח רַב כְּהֵנָם אֱלֹם נֶרְגַּל

I am Asepta, daughter of Eshmun-shillem, a Sidonian.  
(This is that) which Yathan-bel, son of Eshmun-shilleh, chief-  
priest of the god Nergal, set up to me.

For this form of inscr., in which the deceased speaks in the first person and the monument is set up by some one else, cf. 32.

L. 1. **אמא** Perhaps the fem. of **אמא**, with a *segholate* termination **אמא**, pronounced **אמא**, as the transcription shows. **אשמשלם**  
Cf. **שלם** 28 3 n. In the Gk. *Ἐσσυμελήμων* the reduplication of the intensive stem (**שלם**) is not marked, cf. *Δομσάλως* and *Δομανῶ* 32; but *Βασιλλήχ* = **שלך** 38 6, Balsillec CIL viii 1249. **צדני** i.e. **צדני**.  
For the omission of the art. cf. **אשקלני** 32.

L. 2. **יתנבל** = **יתנבל** (?); the *y* is frequently dropped in NPun. pr. nn., e.g. **יתנבל** NPun. 22 3. **יתנבל** ib. 13 1 f. **יתנבל** ib. 102 2. Perhaps, however, **בל** is the Babyl. *bel*, not the Phoen. *ba'al*; cf. **עברבל** CIS i 287, and **נרנל** below. **אשמשלם** See 7 2 n. **רב כהנא** *ἀρχιερεύς*, cf. 45 8 (Carthage), a title almost equivalent to a pr. n., and therefore apparently **רב כהנא** is not in the constr. st. before the following gen.; see König *Syntax* § 285 h. The usage is, however, hardly paralleled elsewhere; it may be due partly to carelessness, and partly to the unconscious recollection of the title *ἀρχιερεύς* in current Gk. speech. Contrast the constructions **כהן שבעלשם** CIS i 379, and **כהן לאל עליון** Gen. 14 18. **אלם** Cf. **אלם** 33 6 n. It is remarkable to find the Assy. god Nergal (see 2 K. 17 30 and Zimmern *KAT* 414), the god of battle and pestilence and the dead, worshipped by Phoenicians at the Piraeus. The Phoen. colony there was evidently eclectic in its tastes; in 34 the worship of **אמא** is referred to; and in the pr. nn. we find devotees of the Arabian (?) D'om (32), the Babylonian Shamash and Bel, and the Carthaginian Tanith (CIS i 116 **לעברתנת** (בן עברשמש).

# PHOENICIAN: PUNIC

## MALTA

86. **Malta.** CIS i 122. Date ii cent. B.C. Louvre.

1 לאדנן למלקרת בעל צר אש נדר  
2 עבדך עבראמר ואחי אפרשמר  
3 שן בן אפרשמר בן עבראמר כ שמע  
4 קלם יברכם

Διονύσιος καὶ Σαραπίων οἱ  
Σαραπίωνος Τύριοι  
Ἡρακλεῖ ἀρχηγέτει

To our lord Melqarth, the Ba'al of Tyre, which thy servant 'Abd-osir and his brother Osir-shamar, the two sons of Osir-shamar, son of 'Abd-osir, vowed, because he heard their voice. May he bless them!

This inscr. is repeated in the same words on two pedestals, one at Valetta, the other in the Louvre, each supporting a small pillar. The two pillars dedicated to Melqarth (Herakles) recall the *στήλαι δύο* which Herodotus saw in the temple of Herakles at Tyre (ii 44); cf. also Philo Byb., who says that at Tyre *ἀνιερωσαι δι δύο στήλας πυρὶ καὶ πνεύματι, καὶ προσκυνῆσαι*, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 566. The letters of this inscr. resemble the Tyrian and Sidonian type.

L. 1. צר אש נדר See 23 3 n.; similarly in Sabaeen inscr., אום אלמקה בעל אום 'Ilmaqah, lord of Awwam' CIS iv 126 16, cf. 155 5. 240 5. עתתר בעל מרבא 160 3 &c. חאלב רימם בעל שצום 276 4. רמן בעל עלמן 140 2 f.; and see 8 2 n. With the Gk. equivalent, Ἡρακλεῖ ἀρχηγέτει, cf. an inscr. from Delos, dated at the beginning of the second cent. B.C., where the *σύνεδρος τῶν Τυρίων ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων* use a similar designation of Herakles, ἀρχηγοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπάρχοντος (CIG 2271 = M 998).

L. 2. עבראסר The same words in CIS i 9; for עבראסר see 14 2 n. The Gk. equivalent is Διόνυσος, implying that Osiris was regarded as the counterpart of Διόνυσος. The Gk. name of אסרשסר was Σαραπίων; in this case Osiris is confused with Serapis (= Osiris-Apis), in Aram. written אסר חסר 72 (from Memphis). It is said that about 180 B.C., in the time of Ptolemy Philometor, the name of Serapis was first accepted for Osiris (CIG 2753 n.).

L. 3. שני בני ל. e. שני בני; see 23 6 n.

37. Malta. CIS i 123 a. Date uncertain. Malta.

1 נצב מלך  
2 בעל אש ש  
3 ם נחם לב  
4 על חמן א  
5 דן כ שמע  
6 קל דברי

Pillar of Milk-Ba'al, which Naḥum placed to Ba'al-ḥammān (the) lord, because he heard the voice of his words.

The letters are of an archaic type; the W and WJ ll. 1. 3. 5 (but 4) resemble the forms in 1. 11. 41. Lidzbarski (p. 177) considers that this points to a date before the sixth cent.; but in an isolated colony the writing may have kept a rude and undeveloped character, and therefore furnishes no sure criterion of early date.

L. 1. נצב cippus or pillar, cf. Gen. 19 26 נציב מלח. The word occurs in the companion inscr. CIS i 123 b מלכאסר, in 39 נצב מלכבעל לאון לבעל חמן . . . כ שמע קל [רב] [י] 147, נצבם (Sardinia), 194 and 380 מלכבעל 'נ (Carthage), מלכבעל (Hadrumetum 9, Euting *Carth. Anhang* T. 6); in Old Aram. 61 1. 14. 62 1. 20 (with שם); and in Sabaeen, e.g. Mordtmann u. Müller *Sab. Denkm.* 95. The word is identical with the Arab. اَلْأَصَابُ pl. كَعَبَات, an idol-stone to which worship was paid, e.g. *Qur.* v 92; see Wellhausen



*Reste Arab. Heident.* 101 f. The נצב in Phoen. was something of this kind, here a pillar of Milk-Ba'al, whose name occurs after נצב in each of the examples just given (except 30)<sup>1</sup>; it is thus distinguished from מצבת, which as a rule is a funeral monument. מלכבעל A deity formed out of the attributes of Milk and Ba'al in combination, cf. מלכאמר CIS i 123 b, מלכעשתרת 10 3 n.; the Palm. מלכבל 112 4 Μαλάβηλος, Malagbelus, is a different name. It is curious that the pillar of one deity should be dedicated to another; but Milk-ba'al and Ba'al-hammān were prob. only different aspects of the same god.

L. 2. שם Cf. Gen. 28 22. 2 K. 21 7. Jer. 7 30.

L. 4. חמן בעל In the formula חמן לבעל חמן ולאחזן לבעל חמן this title of Ba'al occurs more than 2000 times on the votive tablets from Carthage; see also the inscr. quoted above on l. 1. It corresponds to Hammoni J(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) on a Lat. inscr. from Mauretania Caesariensis, CIL viii 9018. לחמן is found alone in CIS i 404. 405, prob. for לבעל חמן; cf. עבדחמן NPun. 67 (Schröder p. 271), Ἀβδήμωνος Jos. c. Ap. i 17. The signification of the title is uncertain, but חמן is prob. a derivative of חם *be hot*, whence חֶמֶן *heat, sun* Is. 24 23. Ps. 19 7. Analogy is in favour of taking חמן as a noun in the genit.; but it can hardly be the name of a place, for the deity of Ḥammon (אל חמן) is Milk-ashtart (CIS i 8) or 'Ashtart (10 4), nor a 'sun-pillar,' for the O. T. חֲמָנִים are best explained as images of Ba'al-hammān<sup>2</sup>. Hence, as no suitable meaning can be obtained from a genit. noun, it is probable that חמן is an adj., *the glowing Ba'al*, cf. בעל מרפא *the healing B.* (CIS i 41), the article which Hebr. would require being dispensed with in Phoen. (see 3 2 n.). The title, thus explained, does not necessarily imply that Ba'al was regarded as a sun-god—a doubtful hypothesis (see Robertson Smith, art. Baal in *Ency. Bibl.*), but it describes him as the god of fertilizing warmth, an attribute which is quite in accordance with his usual character. חמן is in a very unusual position; cf. NPun. 31 אלם חמן לבעל.

L. 6. קל דברי Cf. Dt. 5 25. Dan. 10 9. דברי i. e. דְּבָרִי, following the Hebr. form; or possibly דְּבָרִי, after the Aram. מְלִכְוָי = מְלִכְוָי, ܡܠܟܘܝܐ; Wright *Comp. Gr.* 159. Cf. קרני 42 5.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Νίσσις . . . Σημαίνει δέ, ὡς φησι Φίλων, Νέσις τὰς στήλας, ὡς δὲ Οὐράνιος, νέσις, φησί, σημαίνει τῇ φουνίᾳ φανῆ λίθου συγκείμενοι καὶ συμφορητοί *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 526.

<sup>2</sup> In the Palm. inscr. 136 we find a חמן dedicated to שמש the sun-god. But this instance can hardly decide the original meaning of the ancient חֲמָנִים of the O. T. The Ἀμμωνεῖς of the Phoen. temples, mentioned by Philo Byb. as inscribed ἀποκρίφους γράμμασι (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 564), were probably חֲמָנִים.

38. Malta (Gaulus-Gozo). CIS i 132. iii-ii cent. Malta.

- 1 פעל וחדש עם גול אית שלש ...  
 2 מקדש בת צדמבעל ואית מןקדש ...  
 3 מקדש בת עשתרת ואית מקדש ...  
 4 בעת ר אדר ערבת ארש בן יאל ...  
 5 שפט בן זיבקם בן עבדאשמן בן יאל ...  
 6 זבה בעלשלך בן חנא בן עבדאשמן ...  
 7 בלא בן כלם בן יעזר שמר מחצב י ...  
 8 עם גול

The people of Gaulus made and renovated the three(?)...<sup>2</sup>the sanctuary of the temple of Šadam-ba'al, and the sa[nctuary ...<sup>3</sup>the sanctuary of the temple of 'Ashtart, and the sanctu[ary ...<sup>4</sup>in the time of (our) l(ord) of noble worth (?), Arish, son of Ya'el ...<sup>5</sup>judge (?), son of Zibaqam, son of 'Abd-eshmun, son of Ya'e[ ...<sup>6</sup>sacrificer Ba'al-shillek, son of Ḥanno, son of 'Abd-eshmu[n ...<sup>7</sup>BL', son of KLM, son of Ya'azor, keeper of the quarry ...<sup>8</sup>(of) the people of Gaulus.

The inscr., though found at Malta, was prob. carried there from the neighbouring island of Gaulus, now Gozo. The writing is clear and well formed, and Carthaginian in character. The date of the inscr. is uncertain, because we do not know the era, prob. referred to in the missing portion of l. 7, from which the independence of Gaulus was reckoned. The date can hardly be later than 150 B.C., and may be earlier.

L. 1. חדש See 23 2 n. גול Plebs Gaulitana, CIL x 7508 f. גול was pronounced with a diphthong; in Gk. Γαυδος. שלש As the stone is broken off at this point, and it is uncertain how much of the lines is missing, we cannot tell what שלש refers to, or whether the word is complete. There are four, not three, sanctuaries mentioned in ll. 2-3.

L. 2. מקדש The inner sanctuary of the temple (בת, cf. 5 15 f.); cf. 20 3. 7. Eze. 48 21. Jer. 51 51. צדמבעל is generally taken as

= זלםבעל *likeness of Ba'al*, cf. זלם בעל 48 1 &c., זלם שם 5 18, a goddess known to the Greeks as Σαλαμβώ or Σαλάμβας, in Lat. Salambo, and identified with Aphrodite<sup>1</sup>, who had a temple in Gaulus, the remains of which still exist. For זלם = זלם cf. Γαῦδος = Gaulus, e.g. Strabo p. 230 ed. Müll. There is more probability, however, in the view of Hoffmann (*ZA* xi 244 f.) that זלם was a male deity whose name appears in the inscr. from Têma 69 3 ff. 70 3, perhaps the deity of the planet Saturn, *kakkubu Šalmu* 'the dark' (ظلم), Delitzsch *Assyr. HWB.* 569. Hoffmann considers that זלם was associated with the sun-god among Phoenicians, and only by Greeks identified with 'Ashtart-Aphrodite. Possibly זלם, זלם, a village near Edessa, contains the name of the deity, P. Smith *Thes.* col. 3410.

L. 4. זלם בעל Cf. 42 1. זלם is an abbreviation of זלם רב or זלם רב; cf. זלם רב in CIS i 229-235 and זלם רב 20 2. 6. The reference here, as in the case of the other officials mentioned in ll. 5? 6. 7, is not to a definite year named after the chief magistrate (... בשנת ששסס 40 2 n.), but to the period (זמן) when these persons were engaged in the active duties of their office; so Lidzb. 113 n. זלם רב Meaning uncertain. In 5 9. 10 6 זלם רב = *great, powerful*; זלם רב has been explained by the Hebr. זלם רב a *valuation* paid for a commuted vow or due, Lev. 27 2 ff.; hence זלם רב is taken by the Corp. to denote *chief of the taxes, or assessments, a revenue officer, or 'superintendent of public works,'* cf. Aram. and Rabb. זלם רב magistracy (Wright *ZDMG* xxviii 143). But זלם רב is not a suitable word to be used as a noun for *chief*; and זלם רב may be taken as a gen. of quality, in a figurative sense, *of noble worth*; for the construction cf. זלם רב לבב ואמץ כח Job 9 4. זלם רב חסד ואמת Ex. 34 6 &c. It must be admitted, however, that an expression of this kind is not customary in Phoen. inscr. Note that זלם רב is fem., while in Hebr. זלם רב is mas., and not used in the plural. זלם רב See 21 1 n. זלם רב is a divine name, as appears from זלם רב Altib. 2 2<sup>2</sup>. Etymologically it may be identified with the Arab. زِلَّة lit. *asylum* from زَلَّ, *take refuge*, the god of the Arab tribe Bakr-Wâil; Wellhausen *Reste Arab. Heidentums* 64. This name occurs in Nabat. and Sin. as a pr. n. in the form זלם רב and זלם רב, e.g. CIS ii 214 2. 80 1. 90 2. 105, and often; in Gk. inscr. from Hauran Οὐάελος &c. Wadd. 2496<sup>3</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Σαλαμβὴ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη παρὰ Βαβυλωνίους, Hesych. *Lex.* s. v.; Σαλάμβας ἡ δαίμων [ἡ]... περιέρχεται θρησκεία τὸν Ἄδωνιν, *Etym. magn.*; Salambonem omni planctu et jactatione syriaci cultus exhibuit (Heliogabalus), Lamprid. *vit. Heliog.* vii in *Scr. Hist. Aug.*

<sup>2</sup> Berger *JA* ix (1887) 466 ff.

<sup>3</sup> In Polybius *Ἰόλαος*; the treaty between Hannibal and Philip was ratified

in Himyar. 𐩧𐩣 CIS iv 159 n.; cf. also the name of a N. Arabian king Ya'lu on Asarhaddon's cylinder, col. iii 19, Schrader *COT* 25. 208. On Edessene coins (163-167 A.D.) 𐩦𐩣 is the name of a king of Edessa; CIS ii p. 179. Perhaps the O.T. 𐩧𐩣 is to be explained in this way, though the above names belong to Arab. rather than to Hebr. See Rob. Smith *Kinship* 194. 301; Gray *Hebr. Pr. Names* 153; Driver *Studia Bibl.* i 5 n.

L. 5. 𐩧𐩣 Either another official (*the*) judge, supposing that l. 4 contained *son of . . . the*, or a pr. n. *Shafat*, common in N. Africa.

𐩧𐩣 The name occurs in Punic and Neo-Punic, e.g. CIS i 251. 423 &c. and 22 2 n.; perhaps it is of Libyan or Numidian, rather than Phoen. origin, and equivalent to Syphax (on coins 𐩧𐩣). The rest of the line prob. ran *and in the time of . . . the*.

L. 6. 𐩧𐩣 The chief officiating priest, *ιεροθύτης* CIG 5752 = Mich. 554, a Maltese inscr. circa 210 B.C. For the year, or period, dated by the name of this official cf. 55 5 𐩧𐩣 𐩧𐩣 (from Altibururus).

𐩧𐩣 Transcribed Βασιλλήχ, *balsillec* CIL viii 1249; see 35 1 n. The significance of 𐩧𐩣, found also in the name 𐩧𐩣 CIS i 50 1. 197 4, is obscure. It is not probable that 𐩧𐩣 = 𐩧𐩣, for 𐩧 is a soft guttural in Phoen., and therefore not interchangeable with 𐩧; see 40 1 n. Cl.-Gan. explains 𐩧𐩣 by the vulgar Arab. 𐩧𐩣, which in the dialect of Algiers = *save, deliver*, *Rec.* i 165 f. 𐩧𐩣 39 2 and often; perhaps shortened from 𐩧𐩣 or 𐩧𐩣.

L. 7. 𐩧𐩣 . . 𐩧𐩣 d. 𐩧. These names belong either to the genealogy of 𐩧𐩣(𐩧), or to another official whose name stood in the missing part of l. 6.

𐩧𐩣 Short for 𐩧𐩣. 𐩧𐩣 Qal ptc., *manager, overseer, επιμελητής*; the third, or, if 𐩧𐩣 = *judge* l. 5, the fourth official named.

𐩧𐩣 The form of the noun points to the meaning *quarry*; cf. 𐩧𐩣 2 4. 6. 1 K. 5 29. It is conjectured that the end of the line furnished the date from which the 𐩧𐩣 (cf. 9 5 f. 27 2 &c.) reckoned their independence. The date is unknown; but in the second Punic war Malta, and presumably Gaulus too, severed its connexion with Carthage, Livy xxi 51.

ἱερῶν δαίμονος Καρχηδονίαν καὶ Ἑρακλίου καὶ Ἰολίου vii 9. 2; cf. also Diod. Sic. iv 29. Perhaps the pr. nn. *Ialnoati* CIL viii 280, *Iolitana* ib. 9241, *Iolitana* (us) ib. 9767 contain the name of the god; Nöld. *ZDMG* xlii 471.

## SARDINIA

39. Caralis (Cagliari). CIS i 139. iii–ii cent. B.C. Cagliari.

1 לאין לבעשם באינצם נצבם וחנזם שם || אש נדר בע  
 2 לחנא שבדמלקרת בן חנא בן אשמנעם בן מררבעל  
 3 בן אתש

To the lord Ba'a(l)-shamem in the Isle of Hawks: (these are the) pillars and two 2 ? which Ba'al-hanno, (son) of Bod-melqarth, son of Hanno, son of Eshmun-'amas, son of Mahar-ba'al, son of Athash, vowed.

L. 1. בעשם i.e. בעלשם, see 9 1 n. For the quiescence of ל cf. in Nab. בעשמן CIS ii 163, לבעשמן ib. 176, in Palm. בנא 112 2 n., and in Pun. בעחנא CIS i 869 2, Ἀντίβα-ς=חנבעל, Bomilcar=בעלמלקרת, Μάκαρ=מלקרת &c.; see Schröder 100. The construction לבעשם as in 24 2 n. אינצם='Ιεράων νῆσος, mentioned by Ptolemaeus in his description of the islands round Sardinia, *Geogr.* iii 3, ed. Müll. p. 387; in the LXX Ἱεραξ is the usual rendering of נץ, e.g. Lev. 11 16 b. Dt. 14 14 a. Job 39 26. The Phoen. name is preserved by Pliny, Habet (Sardinia) et a Gorditano promontorio duas insulas, quae vocantur Herculis: a Sulcensi, Enosin: a Caralitano, Ficariam, *Hist. Nat.* iii 13. The island is now called San Pietro. נצבם See 37 1 n. וחנזם Meaning obscure; but evidently objects connected with the cult of the deity. In Hebr. חנז means *to embalm*, but this gives no suitable sense here. Renan (in Corp.) explains the word by the Gk. χωνευτά, used in the LXX for *molten images*, e.g. 1 K. 14 9 ὁ θεὸς ἐτίπους χωνευτά.

L. 2. בעלחנא 47, cf. בעלחנא, מלקרתחנא 82 2 n. שבדמלקרת The rel. ש is here used, like ל in late Hebr. and ד in Aram., to express the genitival relation, in this case instead of בן; cf. 41 2 f. רש שנגר. For ש elsewhere in Phoen. see 40 1 ? 41 3. 52. CIS i 133 מסלח בן מעורבעל (see 64 1 n.). 315 שמנעם. 316 ארש. 317 (similarly). 379 שבעלשם. It is worth noticing that the form אש occurs along with ש in many of these inscrs. referred to; see 45 4 n. אשמנעם *Eshmun carries*, cf. בעלעם CIS i 169, and עמסח 2 Ch. 17 16; see 5 6 n. מררבעל A common

Pun. name, in Gk. Μέγβαλος a Tyrian king, Jos. c. Ap. i 21. מִרְּבָּ is generally explained as *gift*, Hebr. מִרְּבָּ the purchase *price* of a wife, Gen. 34 12 &c.; this explanation, however, is not convincing.

40. Pauli Gerrei (Santuiaci). CIS i 143. ii cent. B. C.  
Turin Mus.

*Cleon salari(us) soc(iorum) s(ervus) Aescolapio Merre  
donum dedit lubens merito merente.*

Ἀσκληπίῳ Μηρρῇ ἀνάθεμα βωμὸν ἔστησε Κλέων ὁ ἐπὶ  
τῶν ἀλῶν κατὰ πρόσταγμα.

1 לארן לאשמן מארח מובח נחשת משקל לטרם מאת א אש  
נדר אכלין שחסגם אש בממלדת שם[ע]  
2 [ק]לא רפ'א בשת שפטם חמלכת ועבראשמן בן חמלך

To the lord Eshmun Merre:—the altar of bronze, in weight a hundred 100 pounds, which Cleon of ḤSGM, who is over the salt-mines (?), vowed; he heard his voice (and) healed him. In the year of the suffetes Ḥimilkath and 'Abd-eshmun, son of Ḥimilk.

L. 1. לאשמן See 5 17 n. There is a mineral spring near to the place where the inscr. was found. מארח A title of Eshmun, explained by Nöldeke as the Piel ptcp. מִאֲרַח (note the doubled and radical in the transcriptions *merre*, *μηρρη*) of אֲרַח *wander, travel*, with the meaning *leader, guide*, cf. Eth. warēha *lead*; ZDMG xlii 472. Lidzbarski, p. 305, suggests the Ifil ptcp. of אֲרַח, cf. Hebr. 1 S. 16 23 אֲרַח לְשֹׂאֵל. Job 32 20; in Aram. (Ethpa.) *alleviatus est*, e. g. 2 Macc. 13 11 = ἀναψύχουθαι, *convalescit a morbo*; so מארח *he who alleviates, healer*, a suitable epithet for Eshmun-Aesculapius. In this case, however, the נ is difficult to account for, unless it be merely euphonic. Hoffmann, ZA xi 238, takes מארח *Merre* as a diminutive of מלְקַח, which sometimes takes the form of מר, מרי, Μαρκω, Μαρνας &c.; see 19 3 n. The Corp. regards מארח as = מארך scil. חיים, but in Phoen. n is not a strong guttural, as appears from the transcriptions מארח

*merre*, חמלכת *himilco*, *imilco*, חמסלך *otmilc*, חנבעל *hannibal* &c.; see 38 6. On the whole the first explanation seems to be the most plausible. See 28 4 n. למרם See 29 14 n. Plur. of the Gk. weight *λίτρα*. The form of the symbol for 100 may be contrasted with that in 9 4 f. 29 14. 42 6. אמלן = Cleon, with א prosthetic, as often in foreign names; Wright *Comp. Gr.* 45 f. שחסנא The ש is perhaps the rel. particle introducing the genit., either *son of* (see 39 2 n.), or possibly *servant of* (so Corp.). The significance of חסנא is unknown; it may be a (Sardinian) pr. n., or the title of an office; possibly a transliteration of *servus sociorum*, Hoffmann l. c. Cf. 59 B 4. במסלחת אש δ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλῶν, *who is over the salt mines*, though strictly this requires על instead of ב; the Corp. therefore renders *who is in the salt business*. מסלחת must be a dialectical form of מסלחת; for מ' cf. מחצב 38 7.

L. 2. קלא i. e. קלל; for the form of suff. cf. 48 5 and often. רמא Pf. 3 sing. m. with suff. = רמא; cf. חברמא 48 5 and often. The רמא is here treated as רל, the י of the root being retained before the suff., as occasionally in Hebr., e. g. הַיְיִי K. 20 35. חידה Hab. 3 2, more frequently in the pausal forms חַיִּי Dt. 32 37. יאחיה Job 16 22 (Ges. § 75 u, mm). בשח שחמם For the year reckoned by the suffetes cf. 42 1 n. (Marseilles-Carthage). CIS i 170 (Carthage). 45 5 f. (ib.). 46 1 (ib.). 55 5 f. (Altiburus). חמלכ... חמלך For 'אח, see 11 n., and l. 1 n. above. It has been proposed to read בן as בנ, making the suffetes brothers, and providing both with a brief genealogy; but this is improbable and unnecessary (see 45 5). The inscr. dates from after the first Punic war, when Sardinia was severed from Carthage and passed under the rule of Rome. The suffetes, therefore, were not Carthaginian; they belonged prob. to Caralis (39), the chief city in the neighbourhood. The form of the Latin letters is said to point to a date about 180 B.C.

41. Nora (Pula). CIS i 144. 2 vi cent. Cagliari.

[מצ] 1

בת רש ש 2

נגר שהא 3

בשרדן ש 4

למה אש ל 5

6 נצבא מ

7 לכתן בן ר

8 ש בן נגר

9 לפסי

Pillar of Rosh, (son) of Nagid, who (dwelt) in Sardinia ; Milk-(ya)thon, son of Rosh, son of Nagid, (the) Liphsite, completed it (?), (even that) which (was required) for setting it up.

The character is of an archaic type, which perhaps points to a date not later than the sixth cent. (Lidzb. 177); cf. 87 n. The ancient form of ח, X, occurs here.

L. 2. רש Perhaps = ראש. In Gen. 46 21 this pr. n. is corrupt. ש נגר See 89 2 n.

L. 3. נגר Prob. a pr. n.; so in Aram. CIS ii 112 (גר?).

L. 4. שחא בשרון It is uncommon to find the dwelling-place mentioned; cf. 31 א מצרים ישב דכי באן מצרים. Euting *Sin. Inschr.* 551 פ' די עמר באילת.

L. 5. שלמה Piel pf. 3 sing. mas. The ה is possibly the suff. 3 sing. fem., anticipating the object in the relat. clause; to refer it to מצבת makes the construction more difficult. The subject of the vb. is מלכתן l. 6 f. שלם complete, perhaps with the thought of fulfilling a vow.

L. 6. לנצבא appears to be the inf. with suff. 3 sing. fem. of נצב; cf. Old Aram. 61 10 לנצב, Nab. 99 2 נצב pf., also in Palm. מלכתן For מלכתן 12 2 &c.

L. 9. לפסי A gentilic form of the name of a city (unknown).



## GAUL

42. *Marseilles*. CIS i 165. Circ. iv cent. B. C. *Marseilles Museum*.

- 1 בת בעל[. . .] ב[עת המש]אתת אש טנ[א האשם ש על המשא]תת  
 עת [ר חלצ]בעל השפט בן ברתנת בן בד[אשמן וחלצבעל]  
 2 השפט בן בראשמן בן חלצבעל וח[ברנם]  
 3 באלף כלל אם צועת אם שלם כלל לכהנם כסף עשרת — באחד  
 ובכלל יכן לם עלת פן המשאת ז ש[אר משקל שלשת מאת III ש]  
 4 ובצועת קצרת ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבם והפעמם ואחרי השאר  
 לבעל הזבח  
 5 בעגל אש קרני למבמחטר באמומטא אם באיל כלל אם צועת] אם  
 שלם כלל לכהנם כסף חמשת III] III באחד ובכלל יכן לם על]  
 6 ת פן המשאת ז שאר משקל מאת וחמשם ש z z — ובצועת קצרת  
 ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבם והפעמם ואחרי השאר לבעל הזבח]  
 7 ביבל אם בעז כלל אם צועת אם שלם כלל לכהנם כסף שקל I זר II  
 באחד ובצועת יכן לם עלת פן המשאת ז קצרת]  
 8 ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבם והפעמם ואחרי השאר לבעל הזבח  
 9 באמר אם בגדא אם בצרב איל כלל אם צועת אם שלם כ[ל]ל  
 לכהנם כסף רבע שלשת זר . . . [באחד ובצועת יכן לם על  
 10 ת] פן המשאת ז קצרת ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבם והפעמם ואחרי  
 השאר לבעל [הזבח  
 11 בצ]פר אנגן אם צין שלם כל[ל] אם שצף אם חזת לכהנם כסף רבע  
 שלשת זר II באחד וכן הש[אר לבעל הזבח]  
 12 [ע]ל צפר אם קדמת קרשת אם זבח צד אם זבח שמן לכהנם כסף  
 א[נרת] — לבאחד . . . . .  
 13 [ב]כל צועת אש יעמם פנת אלם יכן לכהנם קצרת ויצלת  
 [ב]צועת . . . . .

14 [ע]ל בלל ועל חלב ועל חלב ועל כל זבח אש אדם לזבח  
במנח[ת] י . . . .

15 בכל זבח אש זבח דל מקנא אם דל צפר בל יכן לכהנם מנם]

16 כל מזרח וכל שפח וכל מרח אלם וכל אדםם אש זבח . .

17 האדםם המת משאת על זבח אחד כמדת שת בכתב[ת] . . .

18 [כ]ל משאת אש איבל שת בפם ו ונתן לפי הכתבת אש [כתב] . . . .

האשם אש על המשאתת עת ר חלצבעל בן בדתנ]

19 ת וחלצבעל בן בראשמן וחברנם

20 כל כהן אש יקח משאת ברץ לאש שת בפם ו ונענש . . . .

21 פל בעל זבח אש איבל יתן את כ . . [ע]ל המשאת אש . . . .

Temple of Ba'al-[ ]. Ta[riff of pay]ments e[rected by the  
overseers of pay]ments in the time of [the lord Hilleš-]ba'al  
the suffete, son of Bod-tanith, son of Bod-[eshmun, and of  
Hilleš-ba'al] <sup>3</sup>the suffete, son of Bod-eshmun, son of Hilleš-  
ba'al, and their col[leagues].

<sup>3</sup> For an ox, whole-offering or prayer-offering (?) or whole  
thank-offering, the priests shall have ten 10 silver (shekels)  
for each; and for a whole-offering they shall have, besides  
this payment, f[lesh weighing three hundred 300 (shekels)];  
<sup>4</sup> and for a prayer-offering (?), the ? and the ?; but the skin  
and the ? and the feet and the rest of the flesh shall belong  
to the person offering the sacrifice.

<sup>5</sup> For a calf whose horns are wanting (?) ?, or for a hart,  
whole-offering or pray[er]-offering (?) or whole thank-offering,  
the priests shall have five [5] silver (shekels) [for each; and  
for a whole-offering they shall have, besid]es this payment,  
flesh weighing a hundred and fifty 150 (shekels); and for  
a prayer-offering (?) the ? and the ?; but the skin and ? and  
the fe[et and the rest of the flesh shall belong to the person  
offering the sacrifice].

<sup>7</sup> For a ram or for a goat, a whole-offering or a prayer-  
offering (?) or a whole thank-offering, the priests shall have

1 silver shekel 2 *sars* for each; and for a prayer-offering (?) they shall h[ave, besides this payment, the ?] <sup>8</sup> and the ?; but the skin and the ? and the feet and the rest of the flesh shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice.

<sup>9</sup> For a lamb or for a kid or for the young of a (?) hart, a whole-offering or a prayer-offering (?) or a whole thank-offering, the priests (shall have) three quarters of a silver (shekel) . . . *sars* [for each, and for a prayer-offering (?) they shall have, besides] <sup>10</sup> this payment, the ? and the ?; but the skin and the ? and the feet and the rest of the flesh shall belong to the person offering [the sacrifice].

<sup>11</sup> For a bird, domestic (?) or wild (?), a whole thank-offering or a ? or a ?, the priests (shall have) three quarters of a silver (shekel) 2 *sars* for each; but the fle[sh shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice].

<sup>12</sup> For a bird (?) or sacred first-fruits or sacrifice of game (?) or sacrifice of oil, the priests (shall have) 10 silver *a[gōrāks* (?) for each . . . .

<sup>13</sup> In every prayer-offering (?), which is carried before the gods, the priests shall have the ? and the ?; and for a prayer-offering (?) . . . .

<sup>14</sup> For a cake, for milk and for fat and for every sacrifice which a man is disposed to sacrifice for a meal-offering, . . . shall . . .

<sup>15</sup> For every sacrifice which a man may sacrifice who is poor in cattle or in birds, the priests shall have nothing [of them].

<sup>16</sup> Every *misrah* and every ? and every religious guild, and all men who shall sacrifice . . . ., <sup>17</sup> such men (shall give) a payment for each sacrifice, according as is set down in the document . . . .

<sup>18</sup> Every payment which is not set down on this table shall be given according to the document which [. . . the overseers of payments drew up in the time of the lord Hilleš-ba'al, son of Bod-tan<sup>19</sup>jith, and of Hilleš-ba'al, son of Bod-eshmun, and their colleagues.

<sup>20</sup> Every priest who shall receive a payment other (?) than that which is set down on this tablet, shall be fin[ed . . .].

<sup>21</sup> Every person offering a sacrifice, who shall not give . . . for the payment which . . . <sup>1</sup>.

The stone, though found at Marseilles, must have come originally from the quarries near Carthage, as its geological formation shows. In style and contents the inscr. closely resembles the group 43. 44. CIS i 170, which belongs to Carthage; so it is probable, but not certain, that the stone was already inscribed before it travelled to Marseilles.

L. 1. בַּעַל The Corp. conjectures צָמֵן after בַּעַל, cf. עֲבָדָם CIS i 265. בָּרָצָן 108. אַחַת [בַּעַל הַמַּשׁ] Cf. 43 1. CIS i 171 7. The missing parts of the inscr. may be restored from 43, and from other lines of the inscr. itself. The context shows that בַּעַל = *tariff*, but the etymology is doubtful. The word may be explained by the Arab. باع *make a covenant, stipulate*, مَبَايَعَةٌ *contract for buying or selling*, بَيْع *buying or selling*, and the meaning be *agreement*; or the meaning *demand* may be obtained from the Arab. بَغَى, Aram. בַּעַל *seek*. מַשְׁאָחַת = Hebr. מַשְׁחָה *dues, taxes*, 2 Ch. 24 6. 9. Eze. 20 40. מַנָּה 43 1, usually of *setting up* a statue on a pedestal (13 2 n.), or *fixing* a pillar in the ground (16 2 &c.). הָא' ש' עַל הַמ' Cf. 46 1. 38 2. 55 5. עַתָּה Cf. CIS i 170 1 and 38 4. חֲלָבֵל i.e. *B. delivers* (piel); cf. אֲשַׁמְטוּלָךְ CIS i 168 2. 777 5 &c. חֲשַׁמֵּם Even if the inscr. did not come originally from Carthage, it gives us some information about the Carthaginian constitution, for the colony at Marseilles would be organized on the model of the mother-state. (1) At the head of the state in Carthage were two *suffetes* (ll. 1-2. 18-19) or chief magistrates; cf. 45 5. 6. 46 1 (?). CIS i 170 1. 179 6f. 196 4f. By Gk. and Lat. writers they are called βασιλῆῖς and *reges*, and they are generally given as two, being compared with the Roman consuls<sup>2</sup>. Similarly in Lat. inscr. from N. African cities two are named, CIL viii 797. 5306; in the NPun. inscr. from Altiburus and Maktar there are three, 55 5 f. 59 B 4 ff. (2) The *suffetes* give their names to the period (עַתָּה CIS i 170, cf. 38 4), or more usually to the year (שָׁנָה 46 1,

<sup>1</sup> The above translation is based upon that given by Dr. Driver in *Authority and Archaeology* 77 f.

<sup>2</sup> Livy xxx 7 5 Senatū itaque sufetes, quod velut consulare imperium apud eos erat, vocaverunt. Nepos Hann. vii 4 Ut enim Romae consules, sic Carthagine quotannis annui bini reges creabantur. In historical narratives, it is true, one 'king' is generally mentioned; but perhaps one was often away on distant duties, or one of the two may have been in some sense inferior to the other. At any rate, the comparison with the consuls is decisive.

cf. 40 2), during which they held office. As the expression שפטים suggests, the appointment was an annual one (see 45 5 n.)<sup>1</sup>; the series of votive tablets, CIS i 199–228, were dedicated by suffetes prob. during their year of office. These tablets show that although the office was not hereditary, yet it tended to become associated with a limited number of families, of long-descended and honourable race.<sup>2</sup> (3) The name שפט implies that the office was magisterial, not hierarchical; thus in 45 8 the 'chief priest' is mentioned beside the suffetes; cf. 55 6 f. (4) Connected with the two chief magistrates were the חברים *colleagues*, who formed their council (Il. 2. 19, cf. 55 4 and חבר היהודים 149 C). Whether these *colleagues* correspond to the *γερονσία* of 100 (or 104), the 'centum iudices,' or to the executive committee of 30 chosen from the 100, we cannot tell. It may be assumed that the two suffetes presided over this senate (but see 45 6 n.); they certainly summoned it and conducted its business.<sup>3</sup> (5) The office and title of *suffete* were characteristic of Carthage and of the Carth. colonies. In the latter, of course, the suffetes would not have the same importance, and prob. not exactly the same functions, as in the mother-state; they would be little more than local magistrates. They are met with in Sardinia 40, Sicily CIS i 135, Malta ib. 124, Altiburus 55, and in a number of N. African cities, CIL viii 7. 765. 797. 5306. 10525. The title *Judices*, given to governors or petty kings in Spain and Sardinia (Cagliari) in the Middle Ages, may be a survival from Punic times; see Ducange s. v. At the Piraeus there was a שפט, but prob. not in the Carth. sense, 34 n., and cf. 8 3 n. 17 2. The chief of a Phoen. city in Phoenicia itself, or in Cyprus, was called not שפט but שר, e.g. 8 1. 4 1. 5 1. 12 2 &c.

<sup>1</sup> Nepos l. c.; Zonaras, *Annal.* viii 8 τὸν γὰρ βασιλεὺς ταυτοῖς ἐλθὼν ἐτησίῳ ἀρχῇ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ χρόνῳ δυναστεῖα προβάλλοντο. Aristotle, *Pol.* ii 11, in his parallel with the Spartan kings, who ruled for life, does not notice this point of difference; perhaps he did not believe in it. Cicero, *Rep.* ii 23, seems to imply that the Carth. *reges* were elected for life ('perpetua potestas').

<sup>2</sup> From any family of full civic rights, not, as in Sparta, from one family and by hereditary dignity, Aristotle l. c.; but the text is uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Polybius iii 38 3. Beside the *γερονσία*, Polyb. mentions the *σύγκλητος*, x 18 1; xxxvi 2 6. The latter was probably a general assembly of the people (vi 51 6), who took a real share in the government, Arist. l. c. The *γερονσία* of Arist. is perhaps to be identified with the *σύγκλητος* of Polyb.; see Henderson *Journ. Phil.* xiv (1896) 119 ff. Under special circumstances a military command seems to have been bestowed upon a suffete by decree of the senate, but this was exceptional; the *βασιλεία* and the *στρατηγία* are distinguished by Arist. The word now *judex* is in itself ambiguous; for the 104 were also called *judices*.

Ll. 3-14. A Table of Sacrifices and Dues. It appears that the sacrificial institutions of the Phoenicians had a good deal in common with those of the Hebrews, and gave expression to the same general religious ideas. Thus the chief types of sacrifice in both systems are analogous, the whole-offering, the thank-offering, the meal-offering. The Hebr. חטאת and אשם *sin- and guilt-offering*, however, are absent, unless something of the kind was intended by the obscure צוֹת, which is doubtful. The materials of sacrifice are generally alike, but in some respects the details differ: the Hebrews sacrificed domestic animals only, but the Phoenicians offered as well deer (אֵיל), young (?) deer (צֶרֶב אֵיל), wild-birds (צִיץ?), game (צֶד), and included milk (חלב) and fat (חלב) in the מנחה. It is to be noticed that in this inscr. oxen, sheep and goats, birds, produce are mentioned in the same order as in Lev. 1-2. Certain parts of the sacrifice are assigned to the priests and to the worshipper, as in Lev. 6 19. 7 8. 15-19. 31-34. Dt. 18 3. 4 &c.; while the relief allowed to the poor man (l. 15) may be illustrated by Lev. 5 7. 11. 12 8. 14 21 (אִם רָל הוּא). The resemblance, however, between the two systems is a general one. Many of the sacrificial terms in Phoenician are obscure in meaning, and those which are identical with the Hebr. (e.g. בָּלֵל, שָׁלֵם) may have denoted different things; at any rate they acquired different shades of meaning in the course of their separate history. See Driver *Authority and Archaeology* 78 f.

L. 3. בָּאֵל The prep. here is *beth* of reference; cf. the use of ב in Arab. (Wright *Ar. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> ii § 55 c); there is no exact parallel in Hebr. אֵלֵךְ, as in Assyr. *alpu*; in Hebr. the word is rare, and only used in the plur., e.g. Pr. 14 4. Is. 30 24. Ps. 8 8. Dt. 7 13. 28 4 ff. בָּלֵל 48 5 prob. = בָּלֵל *holocaust*, a word which in Hebr. hardly belongs to the ordinary terminology of sacrifice. It is used as a descriptive synonym of עֹלָה, Dt. 33 10. 1 S. 7 9. Ps. 51 21; twice of the priests' מנחה, Lev. 6 15 f.; and figuratively in Dt. 13 17. Among the Phoenicians בָּלֵל was apparently the equivalent of the O.T. עֹלָה. It was not wholly burned upon the altar<sup>1</sup>, because part of the flesh was assigned to the priests. אִם . . . אִם See 5 7 n. צוֹת 48 4 f. may be connected with the same root as the Eth. ዳወፀ: (צוֹת) *cry out, invoke*, hence צוֹת was perhaps a sacrifice accompanied by *prayer*; it is highly precarious to make the Ethiopic root correspond to צוֹת, אֵלֵךְ, as Wright does, *Comp. Gr.* 60. The Eth. ዳወፀ: (ዳወፀ),

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ex. 20 24, which orders the עֹלָה to be slaughtered (וְהִקְרַבְתָּ) upon the altar, but says nothing about its being wholly burned upon it; Rob. Smith *Rel. of Sem.* 358 n.

whence **𐤌𐤕𐤓**: *sacrifice*, is again prob. a different root. **שלם** **כלל** may be rendered 'a **שלם** of (i.e. *accompanying*) a **כלל**' or 'a whole **שלם**.' It is probably incorrect to regard the 'כ' **ש** as a third kind of sacrifice, for in the second part of each direction only the **כלל** and the **צות** are repeated. This implies that two, and not three, distinct species of sacrifice are contemplated, in which case the 'כ' **ש** will be a subordinate kind of **כלל**. Robertson Smith regards it as an ordinary sacrifice accompanying a **כלל**, *Rel. of Sem.* 219 n. It must remain uncertain what exactly the 'כ' **ש** was. The word **שלם** is of course the same as the Hebr. for *thank- or peace-offering*. **כסם עשרת** For the order cf. 2 S. 24 24. Neh. 5 15. 1 Ch. 22 13; **כסם** is in apposition to **שליש** understood, cf. Gen. 20 16. 37 28 &c., and nominative to **י** which must be supplied before **לכונן**; see Driver *Tenses* § 192 (1), König *Syntax* § 314 h. The money payments to the priests may be illustrated by CIL vi 820 pro sanguine . . et corium . . si holocaustum **XX**. **על פן** lit. *over*, here *over and above, besides*; similarly perhaps Ex. 20 3 **על פני**. **שש** **שש** **שש** lit. *flesh, a weight of 300 (shekels)*; see Driver l.c.; **שש** is in apposition to **שש**, and prob. in the constr. state, as in 1 Ch. 21 25 **שש** **שש**; for **שש** understood after **שש** cf. Num. 7 13 ff. The restoration is based on l. 6, the amount for an ox would be double of that for a calf. For **שש** = Hebr. **בשר** see 8 4 n.

L. 4. **צרת ויצלת** 48 8 evidently certain parts of the victim assigned to the worshipper, as the **שש** was to the priests. The practice is illustrated by Lev. 7 15-19. 19 6 &c., and by a Gk. inscr. from Miletus (end of the fourth cent. B.C.) λαμβάνειν δὲ τὰ δέρματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα γέρεα ἦν ἐν θύγῃ, λάβεται γλώσσαν, ἐσφύν, δασέαν, ὠρήν κ.τ.λ. Michel 726. The meaning of **צרת ויצלת** is unknown. **צרת** has been rendered *cuttings, prosecta*, from **צר** *cut*; **יצלת** may be connected with the root **יצל**, and the Hebr. **מזלזל** *joints*. The breast and right shoulder were the perquisites of the priests in the Levitical law, Lev. 7 31 f. **וכן** ll. 6. 8. 10 f. 48 4 bis. 5. Here we have an instance of the waw conversive in Phoen. It is used with the perfect to introduce the predicate, as it is in Hebr. (Driver *Tenses* §§ 122. 123 a), i. when the subject follows the verb and intervenes between it and the clause introduced by **ל** (**לכעל חוכה**); if the subject does not intervene the simple imperfect occurs, **לם** **י** ll. 3. 7. **י** **לכונן** 13. 15: ii. when the subject precedes the verb, the sentence having commenced with the casus pendens, l. 18 **ותן** . . . **שש** **שש** 48 11. l. 20 **תענש** . . . **שש** **שש**. So far as is known at present, the idiom is found only in the small group of related inscr., 42. 48 and

CIS i 170 (rest.). The sister idiom, the imperfect with waw conversive, has not been discovered in Phoenician; 5 ויטפננ 19 cannot safely be taken as an instance. The normal tense for continuing a narrative of finished acts is the perf. with weak waw, e.g. 13 2 &c. מעל חורש 38 1. 46 1; and this construction occurs where in Hebr. the impf. with strong waw would be natural, e.g. 3 8. 5 16. 17 וישבני 17 בנן. 28 5 ופקד 29 13. 14. 33 3. The material is very limited both in extent and character, but, so far as it goes, it suggests the conclusion that the waw conversive was not used in ordinary Phoen. speech and writing. Yet it was not entirely unknown, and the few instances of its occurrence with the perf., preserved in the Carthaginian dialect, are perhaps survivals of what was once more common. The later biblical and post-biblical Hebr. shows that there was a tendency to drop the use of the waw conv., and that at last it was abandoned altogether. The same thing may have happened in Phoen., though it is not likely that at any period the idiom reached such a full development in Phoen. as in Hebrew.

הערת 43 2 f., i.e. הערת. In Hebr. עור is mas. with a fem. ending in the plur. The עור העלה is given to the priests in Lev. 7 8; in the case of the sin-offering it was burned, Ex. 29 14. Lev. 8 17. Num. 19 5. In 43 4 and CIS i 170 2 אשלבה, *fatty parts*, cf. מלכל (only in the glossaries) *the fat of the hinder parts of birds*. In 1 K. 7 28 f. שלקים may = *cross-bars, ribs*; the exact meaning is obscure. CIS i 170 2; see 3 4 n. אחרי prob. = Hebr. אחרי; see 10 9 n. בעל חובב 43 2 f., lit. *owner of the sacrifice*; for בעל as a noun of relation cf. 45 9 חורש, and in Hebr. Gen. 37 19 חולמות ב' 2 K. 1 8. Gen. 14 13 ברית בעלי 2 S. 1 6 &c.

L. 5. קרני i.e. קרני; see 37 6 n. למבמחור lit. *yet in want*, cf. Dt. 15 8. Jud. 18 10 &c.; for the accumulated preps. see 18 2 n. (of time). This is simpler than to take לם as = לו, an isolated example of this form of the sing. suff. (König *Lehrgr.* ii 446 n. 2). באמחמא is obviously a foreign word, Gk. or Berber. Its meaning is unknown. The Corp. suggests ἀστρομῆρος for ἀστρομῆρος *not castrated*. איל Perhaps איל *hart* rather than איל *ram*, because the latter belongs to the class specified further on, l. 7. The sacrifice of wild animals is surprising, but it seems to be implied in this Table (p. 117). The restoration of the number is based on l. 3.

L. 6. שאר משקל See l. 3 n. For the form of the symbol for 100 see 40 1 n.

L. 7. יבל i.e. יבל *ram*; in the O.T. only of the ram's-horn trumpet



and of the 'year of the ram('s horn),' Ex. 19 13. Josh. 6 5. Lev. 25 13 &c. **48 7** a small coin, less than the quarter of a shekel l. 11. The Hebr. **נָר** *border moulding* Ex. 25 11 ff., lit. 'that which presses, binds,' Aram. **נָר** *necklace*, **נָר** *crown*, may possibly be connected; the **נָר**=lit. *press down*.

L. 9. **אֶמֶר** *lamb*, Aram. **אֶמֶר**, Palm. **אֶמֶר** (plur.) 147 ii a 41, Arab. **إمَر** from the Aram., Fränkel *Ar. Fremdw.* 107 f. **נָר** = Hebr. **נָר**. **48 5** **צֶרֶב** = Aram. **צֶרֶב** *sheep*, Nöldeke *ZDMG* xl (1886) 737; cf. pr. n. **צֶרֶב** CIS i 380 4. The context refers to the young of sheep and goats, so **צֶרֶב** is prob. the young of deer, **אֶמֶל** l. 5. A gazelle could be sacrificed by heathen Arabs, but only as a poor substitute for a sheep; Wellhausen *Reste Ar. Heidenth.* 115.

L. 11. **בְּצֶפֶר** Cf. Lev. 1 14 **הַעֹפָּה**. **48 7** **אֶמֶן אֶמֶן** meaning very uncertain. **אֶמֶן** is rendered *enclosure*, cf. **נָנ**, **נָנ** &c., **נָנ** *surround, protect*; so *birds of enclosure* i.e. domestic birds. **צֶן** may = **צֶן** *wing*, Jer. 48 9 (? text), Targ. **צֶן** Dt. 14 9. 10. Ps. 139 9 &c., Sam. Targ. Gen. 15 9 **צֶן** = **נָנ**; so perhaps *birds of wing*, i.e. wild birds. According to Athenaeus ix 47 the quail was offered to the Tyrian Baal<sup>1</sup>. The Hebrews as a rule offered doves and pigeons for the **עֹלָה** (Lev. 1 14 cf. Gen. 15 9 JE), and **חֲסִמָּה** (Lev. 12 6. 8), or 'birds,' of a kind not specified (Vulg. *passeres*), for purification from leprosy (Lev. 14 4). **שְׁנֵי חֲסִמָּה** Two species of sacrifice; but of what nature is unknown. **שְׁנֵי** cannot be explained by Is. 54 8 (see Duham or Marti in loc.); possibly **שְׁנֵי חֲסִמָּה** may have been a sacrifice in connexion with auspices, **חֲסִמָּה**, **חֲסִמָּה** *vision*, cf. Is. 28 15. 18 (perhaps of a *vision* by necromancy). See Rob. Smith *Rel. of Sem.* 202.

L. 12. **עַל צֶפֶר** The repetition of **צֶפֶר** and the change of preposition are to be noted; contrast **48 7-8**. Perhaps **צֶפֶר** here means some other kind of bird than **צֶפֶר** l. 11 or it may = **צֶפֶר** *he-goat*, Ezr. 8 35. Dan. 8 5 &c.; or the words **אֶמֶן צֶפֶר** may be due to a sculptor's error. **48 9** **קִרְמָה קִרְמָה** 3 = Hebr. **קִרְמָה**, **קִרְמָה** Lev. 2 12 f. Num. 18 12 and Dt. 18 4 &c. **צֶד** **48 9** = Hebr. **צֶד** *hunting* Gen. 10 9, *game* Gen. 25 28, or *food* Josh. 9 5. 14. Neh. 13 15. The latter may be intended here. **נָח** **48 9** **נָח**, properly

<sup>1</sup> So far as date goes, there is no reason why the common domestic fowl should not have been sanctified at Carthage. It was first introduced into W. Asia by the Persians, too late to be included in the sacrificial lists of Lev. 1; but it may have reached N. Africa by the fourth or third cent. Egyptian wall-paintings represent only ducks and geese among domesticated poultry (Peters *New World* viii 36). **צֶפֶר**, in Phoen. 'birds for sacrifice,' has a wider sense than in Hebr. and Aram.; cf. **צֶפֶר** l. 15.



esp. one in honour of a false god<sup>1</sup>; perhaps מרזח in 33 1 may denote the period of the annual מרזח. An interesting parallel to the מרזח בית מרזח of Jer. 16 5 (though the sense is different) has been found recently in the mosaic of Mâdebâ; a place called Βητομαρσεα ἢ καὶ Μαουμας<sup>2</sup> is mentioned on the E. of the Dead Sea, no doubt a transcription of 'ב' מ', and the scene of licentious festivals; Cl.-Gan. Rec. iv 276. 339-345 = PEFQS (1901) 239. 369. 372 f. The word occurs also in Palm., מרזח בני מרזח members of the *thiasus* 140 A 2.

L. 17. כמדת See 5 19 n. למדת. שח 43 11, ptc. pass., cf. in Hebr. סל circumcised, סלח 1 S. 21 10; König *Lehrg.* i 445.

L. 18. איבל l. 21. 43 11 a negative compounded of אי (4 4 n.) and בל l. 15. פס l. 20. 43 11 tablet, from פסס expand; in the Talm. פס = plank, palisade (Schröder 23 n. 3); here it is the stone which bears the inscription. ונתן Nif. pf. 3 sing. mas. of יתן with waw conv. (see l. 4 n.). לפי according to the tenor of, ל of norm; cf. in Hebr. Num. 26 54 איש לפי מקדו &c. כתבה A different document from the פס bearing the inscription. The remainder of the line is restored from l. 1.

L. 20. ברץ Meaning unknown; ב is prob. the prep., with רץ cf. the Arab. دأى turn aside; so ברץ perhaps in deviation from, Ball *Light from the East* 253. ונענש Nif. perf. with waw conv. (see l. 4 n.); cf. Ex. 21 22 E. Dt. 22 19.

L. 21. כל An error for אל. מר Usually מר; see 3 3 n. על above, beyond; cf. Ex. 16 5. In l. 3 עלת מן 3.

<sup>1</sup> A good illustration is found in *Siphra* ed. Friedmann 47 b; the context speaks of the daughters of Moab tempting the apostate Israelites להם לעשות להם ואלהים מרזחים היו קוראים להם ואלהים בית המקדש דרב ושע חו Midr. Rab. *Esther* 4 יושב ושע מרזחין (of Ahasuerus).

<sup>2</sup> Lit. the house of the Marzeah (i. e. orgiastic festival) which is also the Majumas-feast. The Gk. word Μαουμας occurs several times in the Midrashim as קיקס a great feast, so called after the feast held by the pagan inhabitants of the city Majuma in Syria; Levy *NHWB* iii 99. It has been suggested that Betomarsea-Majumas was the traditional scene of the event recorded in Num. 25 1 ff.; *Rev. Bibl.* xi (1902) 150. For מרזח see further Berger *Grande inscr. d'Éph. à Maktar* (1899) 16 ff.; Lidzb. *Eph.* i 47. 343 f.

## NORTH AFRICA

43. Carthage. CIS i 167. iv-iii cent. B.C. Brit. Mus., Semitic Room no. 490.

- 1 בעת המשאתת אש מנא [האשם אש על המשאתת]  
 2 [באלף כללם אם צועת וכן הערת לכהנם ותברת לבעל  
 הזבח . . . . .  
 3 [בעגל כללם אם צועת וכן הערת לכהנם ותברת לבעל הזבח  
 א . . . . .  
 4 [ביבל אם בעז כללם אם] צועת וכן ערת העזם לכהנם וכן האשל[בם  
 והפעמם].  
 5 [באמר אם בגדא אם ב]צרב איל כללם אם צועת וכן הערת  
 לכה[נם]  
 6 [בכל זבח אש זב]ח דל מקנא בל יכן לכהן מנם  
 7 [בצפר אננן אם] בצץ כסף זר ו על אחד  
 8 [בכל צועת א]ש יעמם בנת אלם כן לכהן קצרת ונ'יצלת . . . . .  
 9 [על כל קדמת] קדשת ועל זבח צד ועל זבח שמן . . . . .  
 10 [על בלל ו]על חלב ועל זבח במנחת ועל [כל זבח אש אדם  
 לזבח . . .  
 11 [כל משאת אש] איבל שת בפס ו ונתנן] . . . . .

Tariff of payments erected by [the overseers of payments].

<sup>2</sup> [For an ox, whole-offerings or prayer-offering (?), the skin shall go] to the priests, but the ? shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice.

<sup>3</sup> [For a calf, whole-offerings or prayer-offering (?), the skin shall go] to the priests, but the ? shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice. . . . .

<sup>4</sup> [For a ram or for a goat, whole-offerings or] prayer-

offering (?), the skin of the goats shall go to the priests, but the ? [and the feet] shall go . . . . .

<sup>5</sup> [For a lamb or for a kid or for] the young (?) of a hart, whole-offerings or prayer-offering (?), the skin shall go to the pries[ts].

<sup>6</sup> [For every sacrifice which one may sacrific]e who is poor in cattle, nothing of them shall go to the priest.

<sup>7</sup> [For a bird, a domestic (?) or] for a wild (?) one, 2 silver sars for each.

<sup>8</sup> [For every prayer-offering (?) wh]ich is carried before the gods there goes to the priest the ? and [the ? . . . .

<sup>9</sup> [For all] sacred [first-fruits], and for a sacrifice of game (?) and for a sacrifice of oil . . . .

<sup>10</sup> [For a cake and] for milk and for a sacrifice for a meal-offering, and for [every sacrifice which a man is disposed to sacrifice . . . .

<sup>11</sup> [Every payment which] is not set down on this table shall be give[n . . . .

The lacunae are supplied from 42, which this inscr. closely resembles. An excellent facsimile is given by Ball, *Light from the East*, opp. p. 250.

L. 1. See 42 1.

L. 2. See 42 3 f. In contrast to 42 the שלם כלל is not mentioned here; and, instead of a money payment, the skin, which in 42 goes to the worshipper, is assigned to the priests, cf. Lev. 7 8. חברת l. 3 some part of the victim, ? cuttings, cf. the Arab. قَطَّرَ cut up, بَرَأَ cut out.

L. 3. See 42 5 f.

L. 4. See 42 7 f. צועת 42 2. וכן 42 4. So אשלכם

L. 5. See 42 9 f. כללם Plur.; in 42 always כלל.

L. 6. See 42 15.

L. 7. See 42 11. כסף In apposition to זר (42 7), cf. 1 Ch. 22 13 זרובב ; see 42 3 n. חבית מנחם אלה

L. 8. See 42 13. בנת An error for פנת. כן For the usual וכן or יכן. קצרת 42 4.

L. 9. See 42 12.

L. 10. See 42 14. על זבח במנחת An abbreviated form of אש אדם לזבח במנחת.

L. 11. See 42 18.

## 44. Carthage. CIS i 166. iv-iii cent. B.C.

ים הארבעי	1
שח פר יא הקדש	2
הקדש בחדרת ולחם קט[רת].	3
הקדשת יבן הלחם הא ורב	4
ותין יא לבן לקחת תשקר	5
וקמרת לבנת דקת שבע כמ	6
ים החמשי	7
לשת עלת החדרת נפת ע	8
בנם מאתם וכמ	9
ט חמשת	10
1	The fourth day.
2 . . . . . [cak]es	plants of fair fruit, the sacred . .
3 . . . . . first-fruits	the sacred, in the chamber, and bread, inc[ense] . . . . .
4 . . . . . veil (?) upon (?)	the sacred, that bread shall be, and . . . . .
5 . . . . . which is fair and rich	and figs, fair (and) white, thou shalt be careful to fetch . . .
6 . . . fine linen and a covering be[low ?]	and incense, fine frankincense, seven . . . . .
7 . . . cakes and first-fruits.	The fifth day:
8	to set upon (?) the chamber, honey (?) . . . . .
9	? two hundred, and . . . . .
10	. . . five . . . . .

An obscure and fragmentary list of religious offerings for the days of the week, perhaps during the spring festival (קדמת &c.). It may be compared with the sacrificial calendar from Cos, M. 716-718 (iii cent. B.C.); see Hicks *Journ. Hell. St.* ix (1888) 323 ff.

L. 1. ים הארבעי Cf. Hebr. יום הששי Gen. 1 31; Driver *Tenses* § 209.

L. 2. בלל See 42 14 n. שח Prob. = Hebr. שִׁרֹּץ *shrub* Gen.

2 5 &c. פֶּרִי = פֶּרִי 5 12; cf. Lev. 23 40. יֵאֵ 1. 5 = Aram. יֵאֵ, *fitting, fair*, Targ. Gen. 39 6 יֵאֵ בְּהוֹנָא. Pesh. Ps. 33 1 יֵאֵ = יֵאֵ. In Jer. 10 7 יֵאֵתָה לֹא is an Aramaism. חֲרֹשֶׁת 1. 3. חֲרֹשֶׁת 1. 4. These forms can hardly be verbs in (H)ifil, for the (H)if. of חֲרֹשֶׁת in Phoen. is חֲרֹשֶׁת 28 4. They must be adjs. with the art.; but their construction is not apparent.

L. 3. קִרְמָת See 42 12 n. חֲדָרָה 1. 8 *the chamber*, i.e. of the temple, like the Hebr. חֲדָרָה, רִבְרִי חֲרֹשֶׁת; cf. 47 לְרֵבֶת לְבַעֲלַת הַחֲדָרָה and CIS i 124 חֲדָרָה *a sepulchral chamber*. The Hebr. חֲדָרָה has neither of these special meanings. חֲרֹשֶׁת וְלֶחֶם קִרְמָת Either *δουρδέρως, bread (and) incense*, or *bread of incense* (Corp.), incense in the form of a wafer. קִרְמָת lit. *smoke* of offerings made by fire, then the *incense-offering* (Ex. 30 8), and then, as here, the material used in this offering (Lev. 10 1 &c.). The word occurs again in CIS i 334 חֲרֹשֶׁת *the seller of incense*. Various substances used for incense are mentioned in Sabaeen inscrr.; see Mordtmann u. Müller *Sab. Inscr.* 78. 81 f.

L. 4. מִוִּית Meaning uncertain; מִוִּיתָה *curtain, veil* = Hebr. מִוִּיתָה Ex. 34 34 P. עֲלָה Perhaps prep. *upon* 1. 8. The rendering of the Corp. *upper chamber*, i.e. עֲלָה (Dan. 6 11) = עֲלָה, is not probable. חֲרֹשֶׁת 1. 2 n. 42 12 n. The adj. here is fem., sing. or plur.

L. 5. מֶחַ *fat*, מֶחַח, whence Hebr. מֶחַ (plur. only) Is. 5 17. Ps. 66 15. In Talm. מֶחַח is used figuratively of *choice flour*. חֲרֹשֶׁת Perhaps = Arab. نَجِيح, Hebr. חֲרֹשֶׁת. *White figs* are mentioned in Jer. Talm. *Terumoth* 43 חֲרֹשֶׁת שְׁחֹרֹת. חֲרֹשֶׁת For this use of the inf. with ל cf. Is. 5 2 חֲרֹשֶׁת לְעֵשׂוֹת; Driver *Tenses* § 207. The inf. of חֲרֹשֶׁת takes the same form in Phoen. as in Hebr.; for other parts of the vb. cf. 20 B 7 חֲרֹשֶׁת. 42 20 חֲרֹשֶׁת. חֲרֹשֶׁת lit. *watch, be wakeful*, Jer. 1 12. 31 27 &c.

L. 6. בִּרְזָה *byssus*, fine Egyptian linen, written *plene* because a foreign word. In Hebr. the word is met with only in late literature; its origin is uncertain. מֶכַח Acc. to Corp. = מֶכַח (cf. מֶכַח = מֶכַח 42 15) *covering*; cf. كِسْوَة the *covering* of the Ka'aba at Mekka. חֲרֹשֶׁת Possibly to be completed [חֲרֹשֶׁת] לבִּנְתָּה *לבִּנְתָּה*, so called from its *while* appearance. For דָּקָה cf. Lev. 16 12 דָּקָה. חֲרֹשֶׁת is restored by Corp. כֹּהֲנִים *priests*, 55 7 and (Aram.) 64 1. 69 23 (rest.).

L. 8. לְשֹׁחַ i.e. לְשֹׁחַ. The significance of the prep. עֲלָה is not clear in this context. לְשֹׁחַ = Hebr. לְשֹׁחַ Pr. 24 13.

L. 9. בְּנֵי may mean *among them* 5 9; '200 sons' for sacrifice (!) could not be mentioned in this way.

45. Carthage. iii-ii cent. B.C. Discovered 1898. Carthage Mus.

- 1 לרבת לעשתרת ולתנת בלבנן מקדשם חדשם כם כל אש בנ  
 2 והחרטית אש במקדשם אל ודל מלכת החרץ ודל כל מנם א[ש]  
 3 ודל כל מנם במאזנם המקדשם אל ודל העלם אש על פן המקדשם  
 ... אל  
 4 אש יבא עלת החרז שמקדשם אל כמש חגר השמרת להר הא  
 5 אדרנם ועד צערנם למבירה חיד שפטם עבדמלקרת ו  
 6 י שפטם שפט וחנא בן אדנבעל ורב עבדמלקרת בן מנן בן  
 7 תן בן עבדלאי בן בעליתן בן אשמנפלים ועבדארש בן עבד  
 8 נ עבדמלקרת הרב ורב כהנם עזרבעל בן שפט רב כהנם  
 9 לשלך רב כהנם ובעל חרש עבברם הפלם בן חנבעל

To the ladies 'Ashtart and Tanith in Lebanon. New sanctuaries as well as all that . . . built (?) . . .<sup>2</sup> and the sculptures which are in these sanctuaries and ? the gold-work, and ? all vessels wh[ich] ?<sup>3</sup> and ? all vessels in ? these sanctuaries, and ? the ? which is over against [these] sanctuaries . . .<sup>4</sup> which approaches the ? of these sanctuaries; as also the fence enclosing (?) that hill . . .<sup>5</sup> the greatest of them even to the least of them: from the month Ḥiyyar, the suffetes (being) 'Abd-melqarth and . . .<sup>6</sup> the suffetes (being) Shafaṭ and Ḥanno, son of Idniba'al, and the Rab (being) 'Abd-melqarth, son of Magon, so[n . . . Ba'al-ya]ṭhon, son of 'Abd-lai, son of Ba'al-yathon, son of Eshmun-pilles, and 'Abd-arish, son of 'Abd- . . . [so]n<sup>8</sup> of 'Abd-melqarth the Rab, and the chief-priest (being) 'Azru-ba'al, son of Shafaṭ the chief-prie[st . . . Ba'al]-<sup>9</sup>shillek the chief-priest; and the master-workman (was) 'Akboram the surveyor, son of Ḥanni-ba'al.

L. 1. לרבת Sing. or plur.; see 8 2 n. לעשתרת ולתנת The combination is remarkable. Cl.-Gan., *Rec.* iii 186 ff., considers that



it points to a mythological connexion between the two goddesses, borrowed from the cult of Demeter and Persephone. It is possible that Tanith was associated with this cult (47. 48); but 'Ashtart, usually identified with Aphrodite (4 1 n.), seems at first sight foreign to it. 'Ashtart, however, absorbed a great variety of local types, and at Carthage she may have assumed the characteristics of Demeter. In later times a temple dedicated to Ceres and Proserpine appears to have stood on or near the site of these sanctuaries<sup>1</sup>; but this later dedication hardly proves Cl.-Ganneau's view, for it may have been due merely to a reminiscence of the earlier sanctuaries of 'Ashtart and Tanith.

בלבן Not the Lebanon in Syria, but an eminence in Carthage, prob. so called from the *white* colour of its stone (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 21); cf. the name *Λευκος* given to the city of Τύνις (Tunis) in Diod. xx 8. For the place-name with ב see 24 2 n.

כח כל אש Prob. = כחאש (כח אש) + כל, cf. כחש l. 4 and 3 7 n. either בן they built or בנם in them. Cl.-Gan., l. c. § 2, adopting the latter, continues with מעל עם קרת חרשת, as 38 1.

L. 2. חרמית Prob. plur., חרמית or חרמית; √חרם = *cul, carve*, Aram. *ḥrm*, Arab. *ḥrṣ* peel off, in modern usage *turn wood*. Here prob. the meaning is *sculptures*. אל See 5 22 n. דל Meaning uncertain.

Cl.-Gan.'s translation *conjunctim, item, lit. depending*, rests upon a questionable application of the √דלה, Arab. *ḥl* hang down. Lidzb., l. c., renders with more probability *that which is damaged*, lit. *weak, poor*, supposing that repairs as well as new buildings are commemorated (38. 46); this may be the meaning of דל מעטם 46 1 *ruinous as to its steps*; elsewhere, however, in Phoen. (42 15) and in Hebr. דל is used of persons. מלכת For מלכת 20 A 6. חרץ Perhaps *trench*, cf. חרץ Dan. 9 25 (? text) and חרץ in Mishnah; so Halévy *Rev. Sév.* ix (1901) 79 ff. מנח See 4 5 n.

L. 3. מאונח Meaning unknown; *armoury* lit. *place of weapons* has been proposed (*Rép.* i 16), connecting the word with און (√און) *implements* Dt. 23 14; cf. Targ. אונח *arms* in בית אונח *quiver* Is. 49 2, און *weapons* (√און). But the construction is not evident, and און may be the suff. with מאון (? sense), or a ptcpl. plur. העלם Some fixed object *in front of* על מן (3 5) the temple; Cl.-Gan. renders *steps*, cf. עולח Eze. 40 26.

L. 4. יבא Sing. or plur. If העלם is the subj., יבא עלת may mean *comes (up) upon, ascends*, cf. Ex. 18 23. 2 Ch. 20 24. חרץ Possibly connected with חרץ *string together*, חרצים *strings of beads* Cant. 1 10; here perhaps *the circle* round the precincts; so Halévy. כחש =

<sup>1</sup> Delattre *Bull. et mém. soc. nat. des antiquaires de France* lviii (1899) 1-26.

כמאש l. 1, as in 10 9 introducing a further item of the dedication. In this inscr. ש is the relat. with the noun, אש with the predicate; חנר therefore must be a noun, not a verb. It means perhaps *enclosure*; the חנר=restrain, gird, in Arab. حَنْزَر the wall enclosing the Ka'aba, Assyr. igaru 'wall.' שמרת Perhaps watch-tower, or defence. Lidzb. suggests a connexion with שִׁמְרֵי, שִׁמְרֵי thorn-hedge, in which case חנר חנרת will be the fence hedging the sanctuaries. לבנן i.e. לחר הא l. 1. Cf. 2 Ch. 33 14. After הא Halévy proposes [יִקְדֹּשׁ בָּ] they have consecrated.

L. 5. אורנמ ועד צערנמ Cf. Jer. 14 3. Jon. 3 5. The suffixes refer to the temples and their furnishings. למבירה חיר during or from the month *Ḥiyyar*, cf. למבחי 18 למבחוטר 42 5 (Lidzb.); for חיר see 27 1 n. Cl.-Gan. is prob. right in explaining the double mention of the reigning suffetes as an indication of a twofold date: 'when 'Abd-melqarth and . . . were suffetes [the work was begun, and lasted to the month . . .] when Shafaṭ and Ḥanno were suffetes.' The suffetes (42 1 n.) are mentioned without full genealogies, as in 40 2 n. CIS i 135 6. 179 6 f.

L. 6. The י at the beginning is prob. the last letter of the name of the month, the missing sentence prob. being in the same form as the preceding one. ארנבעל is transcribed Idnibal in 80. The constitutional position of the רב at Carthage is unknown. In 42 1 (restored from CIS i 170) ר i.e. רִבִּי is merely a title of the suffete; but in this inscr. רב, who comes after the שפמם, is a distinct official; the same must be the case with הרב in CIS i 229-235 &c. An inscr. from Tyre, lately discovered, reads עברבעל רב מאת (Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 294 ff.); but whatever this may have meant at Tyre, it does not imply that the Rab was president of the 100 at Carthage (42 1 n. (4)). May the title have been given to an ex-suffete when his term of office was over, or to the members of the executive cabinet of 30 chosen from the 100? In 7 1 f. (Sidon). 28 2. 6 (Cyprus). 38 4 (Gaulus) the office was that of a district governor.

L. 7. עברלאי In form resembles the Aram. אמחלאי=אמחלאי the mother of Abraham, *Baba Bathra* 91 a; but the Western and Punic עברלאי cannot=עברלאי (Lidzb.). It may be a Numidian or Berber name. עברארש Apparently another official; his title and the name of his colleague prob. stood at the end of l. 6. עברארש occurs in CIS i 537. 805, cf. 52 2 עברארש. The prefixed עבר seems to imply that ארש was a deity, ? *Ἀρῆς*; for the name ארש see 21 1.

L. 8. רב כהנמ Cf. 35 2 (Piraeus); evidently the office was hereditary.

L. 9. ובעל חרש Prob. *master of the workmen* (coll.), *contractor*.

As in the foregoing lines the office precedes the name. With בעל cf. חובח 42 4; חרש 20 A 13. עכבר i.e. *mouse*, cf. עכבר CIS i 178. 239 &c. Gen. 36 38 &c. חפלים i.e. *leveller*, i.e. *surveyor, architect*; cf. Lat. *librator*. The חפלים=lit. weigh (piel); so אשכנפלים l. 7 *whom E. weighs*; in the O. T. of levelling a path, e.g. Ps. 78 50. Is. 26 7.

46. Carthage. CIS i 175. Brit. Mus., Semitic Room.

1 חרש ופעל אית המטבח ז דל פעמם עשרת האשם אש על המקדשם  
אש בן בשת ש . . . .  
2 גרסכן וגרעשתרת בן יחנבעל בן עורבעל בן שפט וברעשתרת בן . . . .

The Decemvirs in charge of the sanctuaries renovated and made this slaughter-house (?) ? steps : which was in the year of the s[uffetes . . .] Ger-sakun and Ger-'ashtart, son of Yahon-ba'al, son of 'Azru-ba'al, son of Shafat, and Bod-'ashtart, son . . . .

L. 1. חרש ופעל Plur.; cf. 38 1. 23 2. מטבח Possibly the place where animals were slaughtered before they were sacrificed; cf. the title המבח CIS i 237 ff. 376. The word occurs in Is. 14 21 מטבח. דל פעמם Possibly *ruinous as to (its) steps*; see 45 2 n. The words might mean *twice* (i.e. פעמים) *ruined*, G. Hoffmann quot. by Lidzb. *Eph.* i 22 n. חרש חרש א' על המ' Cf. 55 5. 42 1. אש בן Cf. 40 2. The name of the first of the suffetes is lost; the second is Ger-'ashtart, and apparently Bod-'ashtart is the third (Corp.). But this would be very unusual (42 1 n. (1)); possibly Bod-'ashtart had a different title, given at the end of the line.

L. 2. גרסכן See 17 2 n. 84 n. יחנבעל Again Euting *Carth.* 230 5 f. &c.; usually חנבעל; cf. עורבל and עורבל, in Hebr. פריה and יפריה. ברעשתרת See 6 3 n.

47. Carthage. CIS i 177.

לרבת לאמא ולרבת לבעלת החדרת אש פעל חמלר בן בעלחנא

To the lady Amma, and to the lady, mistress of the inner shrine (?) : which חמלר, son of Ba'al-ḥanno, made.

The mention of two goddesses is significant; see 45 i n. מִמָּן is evidently the title of a deity worshipped as *Mother*, such as Rhea or Demeter; cf. Hesychius *Etym. magn.* s. v. Ἀμμῶς . . . καὶ ἡ μήτηρ, καὶ ἡ Πῆα, καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ. Demeter, rather than Rhea, is prob. to be looked for here, for the worship of Demeter and Persephone was introduced μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητος into Carthage from Sicily as a reparation for the pillaging of their temple by Himilco during his disastrous campaign in 396 B.C.; Diodorus xiv 77. The Carthaginians would naturally adapt the new worship to their own religion, and it seems likely that the Carth. goddess Tanith (48 i) assumed some of the attributes of Demeter; at any rate she is called *mother* in CIS i 195 לִרְבַּת לִתְנַת and 380 לִרְבַּת לִמָּן. Perhaps this accounts for the head of Demeter (= Tanith?) figured on the coins of Carthage; see Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 149 ff. For the form מִמָּן cf. Plaut. *Poen.* iii 22 amma = מִמָּן; in 14 3 'Ashtar(?) is called *mother*. If מִמָּן is Demeter, the other goddess is prob. Persephone, who was certainly worshipped at Carthage; a characteristic figure of her surmounts the inscr. CIS i 176, though she is not mentioned by name. The exact meaning of בעלת חדרת is obscure (see 44 3 n.), possibly *mistress of the inner shrine*; cf. אֱלֹהֵי אֶדְוֶן to the god of the sanctuary Costa 31 (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 39). It is prob. that חדרת corresponds to the Gk. μέγαρον *adytum* = מַעְרָה *cave*; the 'dark inner chamber, found in many temples both among the Semites and in Greece, was almost certainly in its origin a cave' (Rob. Smith *R. of S.* 183); and in the worship of Demeter and Persephone the μέγαρον had a special significance. The title מַעְרָה given to Sed-tanith in CIS i 249 עֲדַחְנַת מַעְרָה, though it is generally explained as a topographical title *Megarensis*, may well denote the goddess of the sacred cave. For בעלת see 8 2 n. חִמְלֵר Cf. חִמְלֵר CIS i 597. 787, for חִמְלֵר = חִמְלֵר, 40 2 n.; either an error or a peculiarity of spelling. See 89 2 n.

48. Carthage. CIS i 181. Brit. Mus., Semitic Room.

- 1 לִרְבַּת לִתְנַת פֶּן בַּעַל
- 2 וְלֹאֲדָן לְבַעַל חִמְן אֵשׁ
- 3 נִדְרֵי בְּדִמְלֻקְרַת בֶּן עֲבֵד
- 4 מְלֻקְרַת בֶּן חִמְלַת כִּי שֵׁם
- 5 עֵ קֵלָא יִבְרַח

To the lady Tanith, Face of Ba'al, and to the lord Ba'al-hammān: which Bod-melqarth, son of 'Abd-melqarth, son of Hamilkath, vowed, because he heard his voice: may he bless him!

More than 2000 votive tablets of this character have been unearthed on the site of ancient Carthage, in the neighbourhood of what was once the citadel (Byrsa). The stones are often inscribed with symbols of the two deities, and the formula of dedication is in nearly all cases the same. Judging from the style of the letters, the earliest tablets belong to the same period as the sacrificial tariffs 42-44; the latest of them must have been inscribed before the destruction of Carthage by the Romans in 146 B.C. They cover, therefore, a period of about 200 years.

L. 1. לרינת See 8 2 n.; in CIS i 401 ff. לאון (possibly by accident). תנת A female deity, as appears from the title ננת which is found occasionally (p. 131). The vast number of these tablets proves that her worship was popular, though not necessarily predominant, at Carthage; it is to be noted that she always takes precedence of Ba'al-hammān in the formula of dedication<sup>1</sup>; but we cannot say for certain that she was the chief deity of Carthage, the δαίμων Καρχηδονίων (Polyb. vii 9 2). The etymology of the name is unknown; prob. it is to be looked for in Libyan or N. African, rather than in Phoenician. Nor is the pronunciation certain; *Tanith* is on the whole most likely<sup>2</sup>, but it may have been *Tun(i)th* if Τύνης, the town near Carthage, was named after the goddess. Outside Carthage and its dependencies in N. Africa she is not found; the Sidonian called עברחנת in an inscr. from Athens (CIS i 116) prob. had some connexion with Carthage. Tanith is never mentioned alone; in 45 1 בלבנן follows, elsewhere פן בעל. The latter title is generally taken to mean *the face of Ba'al*, a mythic phrase perhaps denoting the self-revelation of the divine nature, cf. Ex. 33 14 and מלאך פניו Is. 63 9; the *manifestation* of Ba'al, we may suppose, came to be regarded as a distinct deity, cf. שם בעל 5 18 n. On the other hand, Rob. Smith explains *Tanith with the Ba'al face*, i.e. the bearded, androgynous goddess, and quotes in support the title לאון beside לרינת noticed above (*R. of S.* 459). The combinations Milk-ashtart, Eshmun-ashtart, Šed-tanith may

<sup>1</sup> In several inscrs. from Cirta (Constantine), e.g. those given in Corp. pp. 296 and 365 and in Lidzb. *Epik.* i pp. 40 f., Ba'al-hammān comes before Tanith.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. TAINTIAA, said to have been found on a stone at Carthage, Corp. p. 288.

imply the same idea<sup>1</sup>. The character and attributes of Tanith are obscure. Some of the symbols on these tablets seem to connect her with 'Ashtart, the crescent surmounting the full moon (very common), the star, the dove, the dolphin. Two tablets (CIS i 398. 419) show the figure of a sheep, which was sacred to 'Ashtart. The commonest symbol of all, the triangle crowned by a circle with horns bent outwards, may belong either to Tanith or to Ba'al-ḥammān; Rob. Smith (l. c.) thinks that the horns are sheep-horns, pointing to 'Ashtart again<sup>2</sup>. We have seen that Tanith is occasionally called *Mother*, and that she was prob. assimilated to Demeter (47 n.); but Cl-Ganneau seems to go too far when he alleges, on this ground, that the worship of Tanith was of foreign and Sicilian origin (*Ét.* i 149 ff.). Tanith, it is true, was rarely used in the composition of pr. names; צרתנת 42 i ברתנת CIS i 247-249. עברתנת ib. 116 are almost all the instances; and she has not yet been found in Carth. names transcribed into Gk. and Lat.; but this does not necessarily imply that her cult was foreign. The evidence, so far as it goes, suggests that Tanith was a native, possibly a pre-Carthaginian, deity, who, in the process of religious syncretism, so characteristic of the Semitic genius, was identified with various goddesses according to circumstances, with 'Ashtart, with Demeter, and with Artemis (CIS i 116 עברתנת = Ἀρτεμιδος, from Athens). After the overthrow of Carthage, the Romans introduced the worship of Juno Coelestis (Virgo Coelestis, Coelestis) into the ruined city; but we do not know that they intended thereby to identify Juno or Coelestis with Tanith<sup>3</sup>; see 4 i n.

L. 2. בעל חזן Prob. *the glowing B.*, see 37 4 n. In these inscr. he is always the ἀράπερος of Tanith.

L. 5. קלא יברכא For the suff. 3 sing. m. cf. 40 2 n.

<sup>1</sup> Meyer, *Ency. Bibl.* 3747, after Halévy, explains טן בעל as the name of a place, like טנא in Gen. 82 32, 'TNT of Pne-ba'al,' and supports his view by CIS i 880 לרצא לטנא 'to the mother, the mistress of Pne-ba'al' (see p. 131). But the instance of טנא seems to be too isolated to justify the inference, and analogy favours treating טן בעל as in appos. לרצא, rather than as a genit. On the whole the first explanation given above is to be preferred provisionally.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sanchuniathon ap. Phil. Bybl. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 568 Κρόνη δὲ ἐγένοντο ἀπὸ Ἀσάρτης θυγατρὸς ἐκ τῶν Τεταρίδων (? Tetrarides) ἢ Ἀρτέμιδος. The Persian or Babyl. 'Aratris mentioned by Strabo pp. 439. 456 (codd. Tetrarides). 479 &c. ed. Müll., by Berosus *Fr. Hist. Gr.* ii 498, and other writers, was prob. the Babyl. Anatum rather than the Carth. Tanith.

<sup>3</sup> In CIL viii 999 *Dianae cael. aug.* the Virgo Coelestis is identified with Diana, cf. Tanith-Artemis; in iii 998 *Caelesti Augustae et Aesculapio Augusto et genio Carthaginiensis et genio Daciaronum*, she is distinguished from the *genius* of Carthage, if that was Tanith.

49. Carthage. CIS i 269. Bibl. Nat., Paris.

1 לרבח לתנת פן בעל ולאח

2 לבעל חמן אש נדר בעלח

3 נא אש צדן בר אדני בר

4 אשמניתן

5 עם קרתחדשת

Render ll. 2-5 'which Ba'al-hanno of Sidon, client of his lord, client of Eshmun-yathon, vowed. The people of Carthage.'

Twenty-four inscr. of this type are given in the Corp., nos. 269-287. 288-293.

L. 2. בעלחנא As a rule the usual genealogy of the donor is not given in these inscr., except in 271. '3 f. '7. '87. '91, where the father is mentioned. It appears that among the Semites, as among the Greeks and Romans, a slave was not allowed to have a genealogy, e.g. CIS i 236 'עבר פ' and 'בר חרי פ' *freed-man, -woman* in Nab. and Palm. inscr. (147 ii b 12; p. 250 n. 1), cf. 'עבר אין לו חיים Talm. B. *Qiddushin* 69 a; the same must have been the case with the 'dependent foreigner' (בר אדני) of these inscr.; Lidzb. 133 f.

L. 3. אש צדן Not אש but the relat. אש, because in four inscr. (273. '9. '80. '81) a woman dedicates the tablet. All the tablets of this group are offered by Sidonians, who prob. occupied a subordinate position in Carth. households. For בר see 6 a n. With suff. 3 sing. m.; in 276. 293 אדנא, which must be the honorific plur. (cf. אלם 33 6 n.), as only one 'lord' is mentioned.

L. 5. The expression 'people of Carthage,' occurring here without any verbal connexion, is to be accounted for by the full term לם ק' יעמם which is found elsewhere in this group, 270 ff. The meaning of the phrase is not certain, but it may be rendered 'let not the people of Carthage carry (it, i.e. the stone) away'—for building purposes. For the prohibitive לם cf. 5 a 1, and for יעמם carry cf. 5 6. Another explanation is suggested by Cl.-Gan., who renders ἀρελῆς i.e. 'free from public burdens,' cf. *immunis perpetuus* CIL viii 2714, taking יעמם as pass.; Rec. iii 2. This certainly suits such a case as 274 שפם אחרש אש צדן למיעמם בן שפם i.e. 'Shafat the artisan, the Sidonian, tax-free (?), the son of Shisifam.'

50. Carthage. iii–ii cent. B. C. Discovered 1899.

1 רבת חות מלכת שיסכהא  
 2 אתך אנכי מצלח אית אמע[ש]תר  
 3 ואית עמרת ואית כל אש לא כא  
 4 עלצא עלתי בבספ (אש) אברחת שלם  
 5 אם אית כל אדם אש עלץ עלתי  
 6 בר . ת הבספ ז כמ?ת יסך אעפרת

O ladies Ḥawwath, Elath, Milkath . . ! <sup>2</sup> I, Maṣliaḥ, bind Am-'ashtart <sup>3</sup> and 'MRTH and all who belong to her; for <sup>4</sup> she exulted (?) over me in the matter of the money which I discharged (??) in full; <sup>5</sup> or every man who has exulted (?) over me <sup>6</sup> in . . . of this money, according to . . . the lead.

This inscr., found in the necropolis of Duimes at Carthage in 1899, is written on a small sheet of lead. It was intended, like the Gk. and Roman *tabellae devotionis*<sup>1</sup>, to be a missive to the gods of the underworld, and to act as a spell or imprecation against the writer's enemies. These *tabellae* were rolled up and dropped down a tube, which was used also for libations to the dii inferi, into the sepulchre below. See Berger *CR* (1899) 173. 179–186; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii 304–319; iv 87–97; Lidzb. *Éph.* i 26–34 (with facsimile); *Rép.* i no. 18. See also Deissmann *Bible Studies* 273 ff. for a Jewish-Greek specimen of the third cent. A.D.

L. 1. חות Cf. O.T. חַיָּה *Eve*, which according to Nöldeke and Wellhausen (see *Oxf. Hebr. Lex.* s. v.) meant originally *serpent*, cf. Arab. *سُحْرَان*, a suitable name for the goddess of the underworld. מלַת (see 60 3 n.) and מלכת (in pr. nn., e. g. חמלכת, עברמ' &c.) may be the names of infernal deities, forming with חות a triad; so Cl.-Gan., *Rec.* iv 90, who compares the *triple* Hecate. Lidzb. takes מלַת as epithets of חות, *goddess*, *queen*, and רבת as sing. שיסכהא After

<sup>1</sup> See Wünsch *Defixionum tabellae atticæ* (1897) in CIA appendix, and Michel nos. 1319–1325. The foll. is a specimen: Φερώνιος πρὸς τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν χθόνιον καὶ τὴν Ἑκάτην χθονίαν καταβείσθω· Γαλήνην, ἥτις Φερώνιον, καταβίω πρὸς Ἑρμῆν χθονιῶν καὶ Ἑκάτην χθονίαν καταβίω καὶ ὅς οὗτος ὁ βόλυβδος ἄτιμος καὶ ψυχρὸς, οὕτω ἐκείνους καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἄτιμα καὶ ψυχρὰ ἔστω καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνο ἂν περὶ ἐμὸ λόγιον καὶ βουλευσίῳ, Wünsch 107 = Michel 1324. Cf. Tacitus *Ann.* ii 69.





1 לארץ לבעל חמן ולדבת לתנת פענ בעל  
2 נדר אש נדר חמלכת בן בעשתרת  
3 בן נבל מלך אדם בשערם בתם  
4 כ שמע קלא ברכיא

L. 3. מלך אדם is evidently the title of a petty king or local chieftain; cf. Costa 100 מלך אדם בשער. The year of the king's reign is sometimes given, e.g. Costa 18 ... מתבעל עזרבעל; Villefosse 69 ... בחמש [שנת] למלכי; ib. 98 בחמש שנת למלכי; Villefosse 69 ... רבעת ארבע שנת למלכי. In some inscrs. מלך אדם is the title, not of the king, but of the deity, e.g. Costa 93 לאחז לבעל; Villefosse 69 מלך אדם בשער בתם; Altiburus 2 (JA viii t. 9. 467) מלך אדם [ד]. The meaning of אדם is obscure. It can hardly be 'lord,' a variant of אדון, because

<sup>2</sup> Note the variations in Coats 81 *למך למך למך* ; 16 *למך למך למך* ; 33 *למך למך למך* are not different deities, but divine names regarded as equivalents of *למך למך למך*. Berger l. c. 282.

this word occurs previously in the dedication. Perhaps מ' ארם = מ' ארץ, 'king of the land'; so Lidzb. l. c. בשערם בתם is clearly the name of a place, perhaps of Cirta, as the inscr. come from there, or of a city dependent on Cirta; besides the inscr. quoted above, cf. Costa 17 לבעל חמן בשרם בתם. A group of 13 inscr. from Carthage, CIS i 294-306, contains the expression in various forms, בשערם בתם, בשערם, בשר, בשער, בשרם, &c., used apparently of a native of Cirta (?) resident in Carthage, but what the words exactly mean is not known. The name שערם possibly = שערים *gates*<sup>1</sup>, and may refer to the ravines and passes of the hills in the neighbourhood of Cirta, which stood on the S. of the range which stretches across the country west of Carthage. This country was known to the Romans as the land of the Massylii, a Numidian kingdom, one of whose kings, Massinissa, figured prominently in the Second Punic War (218-201 B.C.), and died (148 B.C.) just before the destruction of Carthage. The seat of his kingdom was Cirta<sup>2</sup>; but that the מ' ארם of these inscr. was a predecessor of his we cannot say.

L. 4. An interesting variation of the formula occurs in Costa 6 3 f. ב' שמע קלא ברנא ב' נעם [אש] ב' ברך i.e. 'because he heard his voice (and) blessed him on a good day, on the day when he blessed'; cf. Is. 49 8.

52. Thugga. Brit. Mus., Semitic Room nos. 494-495.

- 1 [מ]צבת . שאמבן . בן . יפממת . בן . פלו
- 2 הבנם . שאבנם עבארש . בן . עברשתרת
- 3 זמר . בן אמבן . בן . יפממת . בן . פלו
- 4 מנני . בן . ורסכן
- 5 ובאזרת . שלא . . . . . וזי . וטמן . ורסכן
- 6 החרשם . שיר . מסרל . . . ננבסן . ואנבן . . . אשי
- 7 הנסכם שברחל . שפט . בן . כלל . ופפי . בן . בבי

<sup>1</sup> In a Lat. inscr. of 48-49 A.D. lately excavated at Thugga the sentence occurs: huic senatus et plebs ob merita patris omnium *portarum* sententis ornamento (enta) suffectis gratis decrevit. Possibly the Pun. for *portae* would be שערם, as in these inscr. from Cirta. Cl.-Gan. Rec. iii 325 n.; Lidzb. Eph. i 52.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo p. 706 ed. Müll. *Κίρτα τέ ἐστιν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ, τὸ Μασσηνῶσσαν καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς βασιλέων βασιλείαν, πόλις εὐφραϊστὰς καὶ κατασκευασμένη καλῶς τοῖς τοῦσι, καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ Μικίθα κ.τ.λ.* Polyb. xxxvii 3.

This inscr. is bilingual, Punic and Berber. It was written on the E. side of a mausoleum discovered among the ruins of the ancient city of Tucca (Thugga) in Eastern Numidia; see Schröd. 257. The Punic characters closely resemble those of 38. The monument was built evidently for a Numidian person of consequence, and the inscr. gives the names of the masons, carpenters (?), and iron-founders who erected it.

L. 1. מעשן עעמם For the relat. in this connexion cf. *מעשן עעמם* *the urn of the bones of Y.* Lidzb. 435; and in Palm. cf. 141 קברא דנה די עתנתן. The use of the relat. *ש* in this inscr. is remarkable; it has quite taken the place of the genit.; see 39 2 n. אמבן This and the other pr. nn. in the inscr. (exc. in ll. 2. 7) are Berber; their pronunciation and significance are unknown.

L. 2. הבנם שאבנם *the builders of the stones*, cf. 20 A 4. Three chief masons are mentioned in ll. 2-4 and their assistants in 1. 5. עברארת . . . עברארת . . . עברארת (45 7).

L. 4. ורסכן The prefix as in 55 7.

L. 5. ובאורת Prob. for ובעורת *and with the help of*, cf. האורת אם 14 3 n. (?) שלא The first letter is prob. the relat.

L. 6. החרשם *the workmen*, cf. 20 A 13. שיר Possibly = שיער *of wood*; cf. St. Aug. on Ps. 123 'quod Punici dicunt *iar*, non lignum, sed quando dubitant'; see Schröd. 19.

L. 7. הנסכם שברול *the mellers, founders, of iron*, cf. CIS i 67 4 f. נסך ברול, and ib. 327 ff. נסך החרץ. בלל Pr. n., as in 55 5.

## PHOENICIAN: NEO-PUNIC

The Neo-Punic inscrr. belong to the period extending from the destruction of Carthage (146 B.C.) prob. down to the first cent. A.D. They come from ancient sites in Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli, countries which were formerly under the dominion of Carthage or in alliance with her. The change from the Pun. to the NPun. writing began, no doubt, in Carthage itself; it was accelerated when the Pun. characters were adopted by neighbouring populations of a different race (e.g. the Numidians). Outside N. Africa, NPun. inscrr. have been found in Sardinia (60) and Sicily (CIS i 134). In appearance they are very different from the Punic inscrr. of the preceding age; the character of the writing and language shows how great had been the break with the past. So long as Carthage stood, national instinct cherished the preservation of the Phoen. mother-tongue; but under the domination of Rome there was not the same interest in keeping up the old tradition. A more cursive form of writing was adopted for greater ease and rapidity. A few letters, like מ, ס, ע, פ, are little changed; ב, ד, נ are as a rule indistinguishable, being represented by mere strokes; כ, ג, ח are generally much alike; while א, ה, ו, ז, ש become greatly debased. Thus the reading of these inscrr. is often uncertain and difficult, and the difficulty is increased by the arbitrary and irregular nature of the spelling. The use of א and ע as vowel-letters is a characteristic feature, ע = *e*, and א often = *i* or *a*, e.g. שַׁעֲנַת 58 2; these letters often take the place of ה and ח, e.g. אַקְבֵר for וַקְבֵר, עַעַ for חַא 58 7. 3; while there seems to have been a preference for ע over א, e.g. עַבֵן for אַבֵן, עַעַ for חַא 58, but אַשֵׁר for עַשֵׁר ib. The only inscr. which throws much light on contemporary history is that of Micipsa (57). How long the NPun. speech lasted is not exactly known; it was spoken by the common people in the time of St. Augustine (see Schröd. 36); but long before that Latin had taken its place for purposes of writing.

## TUNIS

58. Tunis. NPun. 123. CIL viii 793. Berlin.

*Dis manib[us] sacr[um]. Gadaeus Felicis fil[ius] pius  
vix[it] annis LXVI hic sit[us] est.*

*Secunda Secundi fil[ia] vixit a[nnis]  
Saturio et Gadaeus patri piissimo posuerunt.*

- 1 גע[ר]עי בן פלכש בן פחלען אקילא
- 2 עזה שענא[ת] ש[אש]ם ושאש ושהקנר
- 3 ע בת שקנרע אש[ת]י עזע שענת
- 4 פהלא לאבענהם מת קבר שעטרי וגרעי
- 5 ע. חכבערדמונ. אאפהעמערעק. .אאחם
- 6 בתהנמפהלאנגצתג עזע שת הנמ. .וברמשיח
- 7 הע. .ע. .שעטרי. .אקבר בשלם

Gadai, son of Felix, son of FHL'N Aquila (?), <sup>3</sup> lived sixty and six years. And Secundā, daughter of Secunda, his wife, lived        years. <sup>4</sup> Saturio and Gadai made it, a grave for their father deceased (?). <sup>5</sup> . . . <sup>6</sup> . . . lived . . . <sup>7</sup> . . . Saturio . . . the grave, in peace.

L. 1. גע[ר]עי Restored from the Latin; cf. the Pun. name גרי CIS i 300 5. פלכש Again CIS i 151 (Sardinia, NPun.). Cl-Gan. reads פלכס, cf. 54 2 n.

L. 2. שנת=שענא plur.; see 6 1 n.

L. 3. עזע Pf. 3 sing. m.=חזא. The number of years is left a blank, intended to be filled up after the mother's death.

L. 4. פהלא=פחלען, Euting *ZDMG* xxix (1875) 235 f. The termination of the 3 plur., however, is not usually written, and the א may be the suff. 3 sing. m., cf. 55 נדרא 57 מעלא 40 2 &c.; the suffix will then anticipate the obj. קבר. לאבענהם is apparently a unique form for the usual לאבנח; cf. the 3 plur. m. suff. with the verb

in Mandaic, לנאמינהן; Nöldeke *Mand. Gr.* § 203. מן May be ptcp. of מות, but the reading is perhaps מן.

L. 6. Euting l. c. reads at the beginning ברחנם מולא *their house* (i.e. grave) *they made*; but חנ' may be read ח.

54. Tunisia. NPun. 66.

1 טנא אבן ז לאחתמילכת בת בעמלק  
2 רת אשת יעצאחען בן שעלדיא בעל  
3 המכתערם וחוא שנת ששם וחמש  
4 הנבת עבנת תחת אבן זת קברת

This stone is set up to Aḥath-milkath, daughter of Bo'-melqarth, wife of Y'S'TH'N, son of She'lidi, the citizen of Makta'rim: and she lived sixty and five years. She is laid to rest (?) under this stone she is buried (?).

This is one of four inscr., NPun. 66. 67. 68. 69, which follow the same type. They are given by Schröd. 271 f.

L. 1. טנא Qal ptcp. pass. אוחתמילכת Again in NPun. 68 1; cf. the forms חתמלכת, חתמלכת, and see 40 2 n. ברמ' בעמלקרת for ב'רמ'; so in Pun., Euting *Carth.* no. 15, cf. ב'רמ' NPun. 86 (Schröd. 267).

L. 2. יעצאחען Cf. יעסחען 53 4. According to the facsimile, the א here is not quite in the usual form; it may be ב, in which case יעצאחען will be the same name as יעסכחען in NPun. 68 and the bilingual 69 = IASVCTA in the Lat. transcription. שעלדיא So NPun. 69, transcribed SELIDIV (genit.); in 59 B 2 f. סלדיא. Cl.-Gan., *Rec.* iii 333 n., reads ש here and ז in זת l. 4 as ס. בעל המכתערם So in NPun. 67. 69. For בעל *citizen* see 10 3 n. Under the Romans Maktar (now مکتار) appears as Colonia (or civitas) Aelia Aurelia Mactaris or Mactaritanorum, cf. CIL viii 677 (as rest.) &c. Maktar is in the neighbourhood of Thugga (52), and has yielded a good many NPun. inscr., see 59, and Schröd. 65 f.

L. 3. חוא וח' Cf. 53 2. 3.

L. 4. The words of this line are repeated with unimportant variations in each of the inscr. of this group. Their precise meaning is not clear. If the forms קברת עבנת ... קברת are verba, they may be pass. perf. 2 sing. fem. It is possible that הנבת may be connected with

✓ *rest*, cf. נח 16 2; the interchange of ח with כ, though questionable in Phoen. (38 6 n.), is less unlikely in NPun.; Schröd., 203, thus renders *thou art laid to rest* (חַכְכְּ Hof.). עבנת in NPun. would naturally be a variation of אבנת; Schröd. suggests that it is a denominative from אבן, *thou art covered with a stone* (אֲבִנָּה Pual). Another interpretation (Ewald) is *thou art shrouded, covered*, cf. the Arab. خُفِّنَ *fold or hide in a garment*, so خُفِّنَ جُودُ he is dead. This is very uncertain. קברת is explained as = קַבְרָה; but in each case it is doubtful how the form is to be taken. אבן or אבן זה Contrast אבן l. 1, and see p. 26, add. note ii.



## ALGIERS

55. Altiburus (Medéina). NPun. 124. Louvre.

- 1 לארן בעל חמן באלתברש נדר אש נדרא עבדמלקרת כנש בן  
כנסאען . . .
- 2 מעריש בן תברסן ושטמן בן יכסלתן ומסהבא בן לילעי וגם בן שסיעתו
- 3 מאנמע בן תברסן ויעצמוזר בן סבג ואדנבעל בן ילל וגור בן כנורמן  
ומעריש
- 4 בן לבוא וזעלגם בן שטוען ויעסתאן בן מסהבא וחברנם המזבח ו
- 5 נסמרן בנאת ואיספן עלת מקדשם בירח כרד שת בלל הזבח בן  
.. גטען ב
- 6 שפטם מסהבא בן זרם ועזרבעל בן ברך וס. כסלן בן זעזבל ומביו  
הצפ. אש
- 7 על כמר ניעטמן וכהן לבעל חמן ורוסן בן אריש כא שמע קלם ברכם
- 8 אש העלא [כ]א עלת או מ[נ]חת במקדש
- 9 אש [עבר]מלך [שם] נדרא

To the lord Ba'al-ḥammān in Altiburus: the vow made by 'Abd-melqarth KNŠ, son of KNS'N . . . <sup>2</sup> Ma'rish, son of TBR SN, and ŠT MN, son of YKSLTHN, and MSHB', son of LIL'I, and GGM, son of ŠSÍ'TH, and <sup>3</sup> M'GM', son of TBR SN, and Y'ŠMZGR, son of SBG, and Idni-ba'al, son of YLL, and GZR, son of KNZRMN, and Ma'rish, <sup>4</sup> son of LBU', and Z'LGM, son of ŠT W'N, and Y'ST'N, son of MSHB', and their colleagues—the [mis[r]ak]; and <sup>5</sup> NSMRN (?), son of 'TH (?), and 'ISFN were over the sanctuaries; in the month KRR, the year of Balal the sacrificer, son of . . . GṬ'N, under (?) <sup>6</sup> the suffetes MSHB', son of YZRM, and 'Azru-ba'al, son of Barik, and S. KSLN, son of Z'ZBL, and MBIU the augur, who <sup>7</sup> was over the priests of Neitman (?); and the priest of Ba'al-ḥammān (being) WRWSN, son of Arish; because he heard their voice and blessed them.

L. 1. בעל חמן בשרם בתם See 24 2 n., and cf. בעל חמן בשרם בתם Costa 17 (from Cirta). Altiburus is now Medéna, where the inscr. was found. The name occurs in different forms on Lat. monuments from the same place, e.g. municipium Althiburitanum, Altuburos &c. כנש coming between the pr. n. and the patronymic, is perhaps an official designation; cf. l. 5. 34. 45 9. Cl-Gan. suggests a transcription of the Lat. *cens.* = *censor*, though the title would be unusual; or an equivalent for *princeps (gentis)*, *magister (pagi)*, local officers mentioned in N. African inscr. (CIL viii p. 1100 f.); *Rec.* iii 31 n. In CIS i 417 כנש ? כנז is a pr. n.; and it may be only a surname here. כנמאנן This and most of the pr. nn. which follow are Libyan (Berber); their vocalization is unknown. Most of them end in ן (n), cf. מנמאן 57 1. For צ, formerly read in this inscr., we ought to write ס, which hitherto has not been identified in NPun. In the newly discovered inscr. from Maktar (59), however, the two letters are clearly distinct, ן=ס, ן=צ, and in this inscr. the letter is nearer to the first than to the second of these forms. So Cl-Gan. l. c. 333 n.

L. 2. מעריש l. 3, cf. מריש CIS i 390, perhaps = *Marissa* in Lat. inscr. from Numidia, CIL viii p. 1028; Berger *Journ. As.* (1887) 462. מסחבא In Lat. *Massiva*. לילעי ? = Lat. *Laelius*.

L. 3. ארנבעל See 60 1. סבנ Prob. same name as זיבס, זיבס 38 5 n., זינ CIS i 341. כנורמן looks like a name from Arabia, if כנז is the same as קנז Gen. 36 11. 15. 42, and רמן is the Arabian (Sabaeen) deity *Rammanu* (Hommel *Süd-Ar. Chrest.* 60), CIS iv p. 203.

L. 4. לבא Cf. לבא CIS i 147 5 and (?) Λεββαῖος Mt. 10 3; Sin. לבא Eut. 421. חבנרם See 42 1 n. The *colleagues* in this case, however, are different from the חברים who formed the council of the suffetes at Carthage; here they have no connexion with suffetes (l. 6). חמזכח gives a sense which is impossible in this context; we must read חמזרח (42 16. 59 A 1. 16), in appos. to the suff. in חבנרם (Cl-Gan.). The מדרח was an institution, prob. of pre-Roman and native origin, peculiar to N. Africa. Its character is not exactly known; most likely it partook of the nature of a religious confraternity or administrative council, possibly of an industrial guild. Cl-Gan. thinks its Roman equivalent was *curia*, frequently alluded to in N. African inscr. At any rate there is ample evidence that Altiburus had a municipal organization under the Romans (CIL viii 1824 municipium althiburitanum), and the מדרח may have had something to do with it. Twelve members are mentioned here by name, the

first with a title or special designation (כנש). These may correspond to the African *undecim primi*<sup>1</sup>, with a president; it is clear that the members of the מורה were superior to the חברים, who made up the rest of the corporation.

L. 5. תסמך בנאת ואיסם. It is uncertain whether these are the names (בן את = בנאת) of the commissioners in charge of the sanctuaries (cf. 46 1. 42 1), or verbs stating the manner in which the vow (l. 1) was carried out, e. g. by the restoration or embellishment of the temples. In the latter case, ואיסם may be Hif. (cf. איכרמא 59 A 13), and have the same meaning as the Hebr. וסם K. 7 7. Jer. 22 14; no meaning suggests itself for the other words. בלל בירח ברר Cf. 26 2.

Perhaps rather לל 1. 3, Cl.-Gan. הנה For the year reckoned by the name of the sacrificer cf. 38 6 n. and Costa 105 אנה ('son of Kenath the sacrificer'), Lidzb. *Eph.* i 40. At the end of the line, נ may be taken with שפסם, although the usual construction is 40 2. 46 1, or שפסם 45 5; perhaps it is the last letter of the preceding name. It is worth noticing that *three* suffetes are mentioned here, as in 59 B 4 ff.; see 42 1 n.

L. 6. ברך Often in Pun. inscr., e. g. CIS i 444 4. 597 4 &c. 59 B 2; in Lat. *baric, baricas, baricio* &c. CIL viii p. 1020 d. הנה or הנה According to Berger l. c. *the seer, augur* = Hebr. צפה *watchman*. Cl.-Gan. proposes [ר] חסם *the scribe*. There is a space between ח and the foll. א; no trace of a letter appears in the facsimile given by Euting *ZDMG* xxix (1875) 237.

L. 7. אש על כמר ניעמן. It may be rendered *who was over the priests of Neifman*, i. e. the Egyptian goddess Neith or Nht, a manifestation of Isis; כמר plur. constr. *priests*, as in Old Aram. 64 1 n., in Hebr. 2 K. 23 5 &c. The reading, however, is not certain, and the letters may be grouped differently. Cl.-Gan. proposes ניעמן כמר for the last two words, thus providing the patronymic of מריו after the name of his office (l. 1 n.), but suggests no definite sense for אש על כמר (l. c. 32 n.). בי = כמר The prefix 'ור' as in 52 4. ורסן

L. 8. This and the foll. line are written carelessly and in another hand; their connexion with the foregoing is not clear. אש העלא 'א burnt-offering or a meal-offering (42 14 &c.) in the sanctuary.' עלה = עלה? עלה

L. 9. Apparently 'which 'Abd-milk vowed there.' נרמא Pf. 3 sing. m. with suff. 3 sing. f.

<sup>1</sup> The functions of the *xi primi* (CIL viii p. 1101) are obscure. See for the above suggestions Cl.-Gan. l. c. 34 f.

56. Jol (Shershel 1). NPun. 130. Louvre.

- 1 סכר . . א לאשת נעמתמהרת מנא ת המנצבת רש בעת  
 2 עבדאשמן בן עזרבעל לאמא לחעונת אחר אש פעל ציוען  
 3 להחיים האש שלא עזרבעל הילד שחרבעל בען שקלן  
 4 אמא לשרת שנת חמשם באיחשבר לטהרת נכתבת  
 5 ונשמרא . אתמיקנא ואידרא לים . אם עשרת  
 6 כמשלם . . . עלא הנשכבת בת שמנם שת

The memorial . . . to the woman . . . . . The pillar was set up by Rosh, daughter <sup>2</sup> of 'Abd-eshmun, son of 'Azru-ba'al, to her mother T'WNTH, after that a monument (?) had been made <sup>3</sup> for the living by her husband 'Azru-ba'al . . . Shaḥar-ba'al, son of ŠQLN (?), <sup>4</sup> his (?) mother, to minister (?) fifty years in the island of Ḥashbar (?) . . . prescribed <sup>5</sup> and observed (?) . . . and the island of Dara (?) . . . ten (?) <sup>6</sup> . . . . . she who is laid to rest, being eighty years old.

L. 1. סכר See § 6 n. The word which follows may be ברא, but no suitable meaning can be found for it. נעמת Perhaps the good; the foll. letters may be read מוהרת (Derenbourg, *Comptes Rendus* (1875) 259 ff., translates *intelligent*, lit. *quick*=מְהִירָה), מחבת, or מצות. מנא Qal pf. 3 sing. fem. אית=ת Cf. 57 3. 60 3 f. מנצבת Cf. CIS i 159 1 מנצבת=15 רש Here fem.; in 41 a the name is mas. בת=בעת

L. 2. לאמא = לאמה. Qal pf. 3 sing. mas. ציוען Perhaps=ציון 2 K. 23 17; but the reading is uncertain.

L. 3. לחרבת=לחרבת. 57 7 לרעת=להרעת. cf. לחיים Apparently=לחיים. Subj. האש 18 1 מנצבת בחים. 60 3, for, i.e. among, the living, cf. 18 1 n. Reading חילן. 57 7. 9 f. (mas.). אשר לה=שלא. 1. 2. פעל and sense doubtful. שחרבעל whom B. seeks; cf. שחרבה 1 Ch. 8 26. בן=בען. שקלן Apparently a pr. n., as in NPun. 76 5.

L. 4. The meaning of this and the foll. lines cannot be made out. Neither Euting, *ZDMG* xxx (1876) 285 f., nor Derenbourg, l. c., has anything satisfactory to propose. אמא Apparently = אמא. לשרת? Piel inf.; לשכת may be read. באיחשבר, like אידרא l. 5, has been taken as the name of an island (אי); cf.

39 i. Derenbourg explains חשבר as = Ἑσπέρα, which he supposes was the name of a small island in the lake Tritonis with a temple of Aphrodite upon it, near the harbour of Hesperides in Cyrene, mentioned by Strabo p. 710, ed. Müll. לטוהר *for the cleansing* (Derenb.); but this meaning is doubtful. נכתב, like ונשמר l. 5 and הנשכבת l. 6, appears to be a Nif. form.

L. 5. Derenb. reads ונשמרא ראת מי קנא and translates *and she is kept from seeing the waters of Qana*; but ראת is uncertain, and מי קנא may = מקנה (Lidzb.). עשרת Meaning doubtful: *ten* does not suit the context.

L. 6. הנשכבת Cf. משכב of the *grave*, 5 4 n. שח is sing., שנה l. 4 plur.; see 6 i n.

# 57. Jol (Sherahel 2). Louvre.

- 1 מִקְדָּשׁ קִנְאָם חֵי חִים מִכְפּוֹן מֶלֶךְ מְשֻׁלִּים
- 2 הַמִּלֵּל מִיֶּשֶׁר אֶרֶצָת רַבַּת מִמְּלִכְאָת חֶשֶׁב נֶעַם
- 3 לֹא טָנָא ת הַמָּאֵשׁ זֹת . . הָאֲחַבְעֵלָא קִבְרָא יַעֲזֹם
- 4 בֶּן יִשְׁנֹנֹן בֶּן בְּנָאֵת בֶּן מִזְנוֹן מִיָּקָם אֵלִם
- 5 זֹכִי כִרְיִי עֲלִגְמָא . . . תִּמָּא אֲדִרְאֲכִמָּאֵת כִּנָּם
- 6 וְתִּאֲכַהֲנִים אֵשׁ עֲלָמִים כֹּלָא נְעֻזְכֵּלָא לִמְחִיָּא]
- 7 תִּנָּם עֲלָם עֵבֶר . . תִּלַּח . . אֵלָא . . לְהִדְרַעַת שְׁלָא . . .
- 8 וְשַׁעֲוֹתָם . . בַּעַל . . לֵאלֹהִים . . מָא הַשֵּׁם . . . .
- 9 רִבְאָ שְׁלָא בְּכָל חוֹת בְּנָא . [מִטְעָא . . .
- 10 רִצָּאֵת הַמַּחְקֵת שְׁלָא תִבְנֵם רַב . . .
- 11 מַעֲלָא אֶרֶשׁ בֶּן עֲבֵרָא . . .

L. 1. מִקְדָּשׁ קִנְאָם *sanctuary of QNM*; cf. the beginning of 42. מַעֲלָא . מַעֲקֵר הָרַעַץ לִקְנָאֵם . occurs again in NPun. 2 (Lidzb. 434) . מִקְדָּשׁ וְלִאֲחֵיָּא *Mōqar the sculptor (?) made (this) for QNM and for his brothers (or life?)*. Berger suggests that קִנְאָם is the Egypt. deity *Hnūm* (*Inscr. égypt. de Cherchell* (1889) 3 f.); but the opinion of Egyptologists is against the identification. חֵי חִים *the life of*

life; cf. לענת עז חים 28 1. *Mikipsan, king of the Massilians*, i. e. of Numidia; for the pr. n. in י' *dn* see 55 1 n. This can be none other than the Micipsa who appears in the history of the Roman occupation of Carthage. He was the third son of Massinissa (51 3 n.), and succeeded to the kingdom after the premature death of his two elder brothers. An illegitimate son of his was the notorious Jugurtha (John of Antioch *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 560; Diod. Sic. xxxiv 35). The seat of his kingdom was Cirta, but he was buried at or near Jol<sup>1</sup>, where this inscr. was found; it must have been set up shortly after his death in 118 B. C. This reference to a historical personage, whose date can be fixed, is unique among the NPun. inscrs. at present known. A specimen of Numidian coinage of this period, in the British Museum, bears on the obverse the letters מן, on the reverse הן, i. e. possibly *מכפון המלכה Mikipsan the king*<sup>2</sup>; so Berger, l. c. 10, who gives an illustration of the coin.

L. 2. המילל Lit. *who is to be extolled*, an epithet of the king, probably Pual ptc. מילל. In Hebr. ילל is used in Hif. *to howl*. מישר א' ר' *sovereign of broad lands*; Piel ptc. of מישר, or perhaps from שרר. ממלכת = מלכות *prince*; see 8 2 n. חשב נעם *who devises good*; cf. the Gk. title Εὐμένης.

L. 3. The previous clause from מכפון is a casus pendens, resumed by לא = לו: *Mikipsan . . . to him Ya'asam set up this statue*. אית = את 56 1 n. מאש Cf. 60 4, where the Lat. version gives *statuam*. מאמא CIS i 151 2 is apparently the same word; the etymology is unknown. קברא *his grave*. The three letters preceding are עלמ ? *over him*. The erection of a statue (if the rendering be correct) over a grave was unusual; Berger compares CIL viii 211 30 *statuam posuit* (over a mausoleum), but notices that the stone which bears the inscr. does not look as if it had once formed the base of a statue.

L. 4. Possibly the Pun. form of the name Massinissa, written מונן on coins. מיקם אלם A title found in CIS i 227. 260-262 & c. and in a new Carth. inscr., *Rép.* i no. 13; it is prob. the equivalent of *praetor sacrorum, praefectus sacrorum* in Lat. inscrs.

L. 5. In this and the foll. lines only a word here and there can be translated. תמא may = תמא which seems to be a pr. n. in CIS i 151 3.

<sup>1</sup> The burial-place of the Numidian princes was in the neighbourhood of Jol; Pomponius Mela i 6 30-1 Jol ad mare aliquando ignobilis, nunc quia Iubae regia fuit et quod Caesarea vocitatur illustris . . . ultra monumentum commune regiae gentis.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the legend on coins of יובא המלכה or יובאי המלכה, of Bocchus המלכה, and of Syphax המלכה (Berger l. c.).

L. 6. וזאת חכמים = וזאת אכזבים. קי לו = ? בלא למחיא  
*during his life-time* (Berger); but the form is uncertain.

L. 7. עלם ? eternity. להרעת Cf. 58 3 n., ? *for the good pleasure which was his*; see 38 4.

L. 9. רבא ? *his chief*. בבל חות בנא *during all the life of his son* (Berger).

L. 10. חמחק ? *the inscriptions*, from חקק.

L. 11. The name of the artist who *made it*.

58. Gelma. NPun. 24. Louvre.

- 1 עבן ז מענע לש  
 2 בלת בת מעלל עו  
 3 ע שענת אש  
 4 רם ועמש א  
 5 שת משיכעתן ב[ן]  
 6 בנריעל

This stone is set up to ŠBLTH, daughter of Ma'lal; she lived twenty-five years; wife of MŠIK'THN, son (?) of BNRI'L.

L. 1. עבן = אבן, see p. 140. מענע = מענא Qal. ptc. pass.

L. 2. שבלת Perhaps = *ear of wheat*, Gen. 41 5 ff. רוא = עו, cf. 58 3.

L. 4. עשרם וחמש = אשרם ועמש.

L. 5. משיכעתן ב[ן] So Lidzb.; but Schröder p. 270 reads משיכעתח, and shows ח in the facsimile, xvii 8.

L. 6. בנריעל If Schröder's reading is followed, this will be ריעל בן.

59. Maktar. Discovered 1892.

A

i

- 1 המורה אש לדרת אש בנא מקדש חצרת  
 2 פחנת קדשם מחות שתעת אל עמת

- 3 עטרת אדראת לא ולעמא ישב ארמת  
 4 לאלם הקירש לשאת אחת שמם בסוב  
 5 מלך חמר מיסכר חזן ימם בעל חרדת  
 6 על גברתם כעתבתי יתנתי שבעת

## ii

- 7 סמל מרנ... חסיד תם . לתא עלם עבר  
 8 ירד בעמק הלח ואחרסת... תעת אדרת  
 9 ראשא צלק אתם ליטא . דל עק. צב חפערות  
 10 ש חרץ דערכן ולנאחן יתן נכתחת  
 11 בילן באשרלב פעלן ביתן שבעת

## iii

- 12 שמאת המזרח אש  
 13 איכרמא תהמנחת  
 14 קרא לם מעלא מתא  
 15 למדתת . מעזרת

## v

## iv

- 16 רב מזרח סהלכני בן מאנומער  
 17 מעסיר בן פלכעי 20 סהלכני בן יסתען  
 18 בעלשמע בן מעסקלת 21 שעפרגם בן דבער  
 19 קערטא בן סלסמין 22 מתנבעל בן ברכבעל

## vi

- 23 רופא בן מעסתיבער  
 24 מתנבעל בן בעות  
 25 בעליתן בן בובע .  
 26 יעסכתען בן בע... ל.



viii	vii
כעשא בן בעליתן 33	יערכני בן ארש 27
לקי בן געלגסת 34	מתנבעל בן סלכני 28
עברמלקרת בן בעליתן 35	ראסת'סטא בן ר... 29
שעפרגם בן ברכבעל 36	א' .נע בן מערשמא 30
בעסא בן אורבעל 37	סלכני בן מעסקלת 31
רולני בן מעסיסען 38	א ... בן ארשא 32
x	ix
ראגעטא בן הבהנת 45	ברכבעל בן רבער 39
אורמען בן יסתענת 46	כס .פגל בן בעלשלך 40
עוזמוגער בן מעסירחן 47	יסכתען בן בעליתן 41
	בעלשמע בן מערוסא 42
	מעסקלת 43
	ברכבעל בן געגירת 44

## i

The *misrah* of . . . which built sanctuary, courts, <sup>2</sup> also a chamber (?) for the holy things, lights (?), these columns (?) at the side of (?) <sup>3</sup> a rich cornice (?), for themselves and their people (?) who dwell in the land :—<sup>4</sup> To the holy god . . . . .

<sup>5</sup> Milk-ḥaṭar-miskar, prince of the seas (?), lord of terror.

<sup>6</sup> Upon . . . I, Yathan- . . wrote it . . .

## ii

. . . . .

## iii

<sup>13</sup> Names of the *misrah* which <sup>13</sup> defrayed the offering.

<sup>14</sup> Read them from top to bottom (?) <sup>15</sup> . . . . help.

This and the two following inscrs., B and C, were discovered in 1892 on the walls of a temple at Maktar (54 2). They were first published by Berger *Mémoire sur la grande inscription dédicatoire* . . .

à *Maktar* (1899); they have been treated also by Lidzbarski *Eph. i* 45-52 (1900), by Cl.-Gan. *Rec. iii* § 57 and § 3 (1900), and by Halévy *Rev. Sémi. ix* (1901) 268-287. The great inscription (A) consists of ten columns, and falls into two parts: (1) Coll. i and ii, the dedication of the temple and its appurtenances, (2) Coll. iii-x, the names of those who took part in the dedication. The writing of this inscr. is, on the whole, clear and well preserved; but the meaning of Coll. i and ii is exceedingly obscure. It is noteworthy that the letters ב, ד, ר are written almost in their ancient form. Inscr. A probably belongs to an earlier date than B and C.

L. 1. חמורח ll. 12. 16. C 1. The word has been met with already in 42 16. 55 4. From this inscr. it is clear that the *misrah* or *masrah* was some kind of local council or association, in this case consisting of 32 members, including a president (רב מורח l. 16). It was certainly a native institution, no doubt tolerated under the Roman domination; Cl.-Gan. suggests that its nearest equivalent in Latin would be *curia* or *ordo decurionum*, terms which occur in the inscr. from N. Africa, l. c. § 3. In each instance the *misrah* is mentioned in connexion with some religious act; so it may have been a religious rather than a secular association. *אש לדת* of *DRTN*, perhaps a technical term describing the *misrah*, ? of the *habitations*, cf. Arab. *house*, Is. 38 12. If דרת were the name of a place (Lidzb. l. c., cf. 5 19), we should expect the simple prep. ב rather than ל *אש*; cf. 24 2 n. חצרת Prob. plur. abs. To construe חצרת as a genit. after מקדש would not make good sense; the two words are to be taken *doxodétes*. Cf. חצר 33 2 f.

L. 2. פוחת Lidzb. suggests that פ=פ, as ש=ש, and ת=ת in NPun. Then חנת (cf. p. 337) may = חנית, חנית cells Jer. 37 16, as having an *arched* or *curved* roof; cf. Aram. *vaulted room*, חנה = lit. *bend, curve*. Hence חנת קדש may mean *a vaulted chamber for the sacred vessels*. מחנה Perhaps = מחנה *light, window* 1 K. 7 4 f. As the previous words seem to denote parts of the sanctuary, Cl.-Gan. renders שחע *pillars*, Hebr. שחע, and אלעמח *porches, propyla*, cf. Hebr. אילם. In the case of the last word, however, the rendering is made doubtful by the fact that there is a space on the stone before and after אל (facsimile in Berger l. c.); hence Lidzb. renders מחוח שחע אל *a place for the auspices (?) of Tat, the god of the community*. He takes חע as = חנה rather than the Egypt. Thoth (Berger), and for עמח compares CIS i 263 עשתרת [=אש] 264 אש בעמ אש. בת מלקרת. It may be doubted whether חע could be substituted for

the familiar חנת. Taking שתעז as = *pillars*, it is possible that אל = *these* and עמז = *beside*, Hebr. לַעֲמֹז, cf. Ex. 25 27. 1 K. 7 20. Eze. 40 18. The deity to whom the dedication is made does not appear till l. 4.

L. 3. עמרת אדראת a *crown of splendour* or a *splendid cornice*; cf. 'cum ornamentis suis' in Lat. inscr. from this region. לא ולעמז  
The suffixes may refer to המזרח, *for themselves and their people*, cf. 'ad ornandam patriam' in N. African inscr., or to חנת אל עמז if these words contain the name of a goddess. ארץ In this connexion ארץ might be expected.

L. 4. לאלם הקדוש to the *holy god* = לאלהים הקדוש; the *god of the sanctuary* would be אלן המקדש, cf. אקדש אלן Costa 31 (Constantine) in Eph. i p. 39; see 33 6 n. No certain meaning can be given to the words which follow. שםם may = *heaven*. The last word of the line is prob. בסוכ. The distinction between ס and צ (חצות) l. 1. צ l. 9. חץ l. 10) is clear in this inscr.; see 55 1 n.

L. 5. מלך חמר מסכר The name of the deity to whom the sanctuary was dedicated. The deity seems to have been a compound one (cf. מלכעשתרת 10 3), formed out of Punic and Egyptian elements, *Milk-ḥaṭar-miskar*. The temple of חמר מסכר is mentioned in CIS i 253 f. חמר is the Egypt. god Hathor, and מסכר is either an Egypt. word or Punic; see 7 1 n. The epithets of the deity describe him as רון ים i. e. *ruler of the seas* or *days* (רון Jud. 5 3. Ps. 2 2 &c.) and בעל חרדת i. e. *lord of terror(s)*. A Lat. dedication to Saturn has been found in the temple near to this inscr.; and it is not unlikely that Milk-ḥaṭar-miskar was a deity with the same character and attributes as Saturn. A number of votive steles to Ba'al-ḥammān, found at Maktar, exhibit the fish in various forms, pointing to the worship of a marine deity.

L. 6. על נברתם ? meaning. After נ a letter has been erased on the stone. The words which follow may be a remark of the mason: שבעת prob. = בַּתְּבָרְתִי; יתנ . . . (יתנתי ?) is perhaps a pr. n. שבעת, as in l. 11, is separated by a space; its meaning is not apparent. Lidzb. suggests בעת + ש agreement, order; see 42 1 n.

Column ii is exceedingly obscure. It seems to specify the dedication of an image of the god.

L. 7. The first word is clearly סמל *image, statue*; Cl.-Gan., however, suggests that it = שמאל *on the left*. . . . מרנ Cf. the pr. nn. beginning with מר, מרברך, מריח 10 3 n. The next two words possibly = חסיד תם *kind, perfect*, a description of the god, to which עולם, or אעלם, *of the world*, may also belong. עבר is perhaps the first part

of a pr. n.; there seems to be a trace of letters after it in the facsimile. Lidzb. thinks that the particulars of the dedication of the סמל begin here; Cl.-Gan. reads על מעבר *on the west*.

L. 8. ירד Perhaps a verb, *brought down* (Ifil); בעמק *in the valley*; הלח = הלח? tablets of stone (Ex. 34 1 &c.), or planks of wood (Ex. 27 8 &c.), or plates of metal (1 K. 7 36), in a collective sense. Cl.-Gan. takes ירד as Qal ptc., and, following out his view of the general sense, thinks that ירד בעמק refers to a part of the temple which 'descended into the valley.' He makes a new clause begin with הלח. חורן? the same word as the obscure חרן 45 4, which is some part of a temple. חעת אדרת? = שחעת א' (l. 2) *splendid pillars* (?).

L. 9. ראש *his or her head, or capital?*

L. 10. Cl.-Gan. reads חת ערת ש חרץ, and supposes that the words refer to 'overlaying with gold.' He compares the biblical חפה 2 Ch. 3 5 ff., and ערת in 8 5. ח' דערבן The rendering *gold of the daric*, cf. דרכנא (for דרכמנא) 88 3, i.e. gold of standard quality, is pronounced impossible by experts in ancient coinage; see Lidzb. *Eph.* i 177.

L. 11. כילן ... מעלן? *we have finished* (Piel) ... *we have made*; Halévy renders 'we have finished our work with happiness of heart (באשר לב). By Yathon. Shib'ath.' ביתן The word בת *house* is not written with the vowel letter in Pun. שבעת l. 6 n.

L. 13. איכרמא Berger explains by the Arab. أكرم *largiri, they paid the cost of*; this makes good sense. אית חמנחת i.e. תחמנחת.

L. 14. קרא Prob. imperat. למ i.e. שמא l. 12; Hal. takes למ as לקח *what*. מעלא מוא Lit. *upwards, downwards* (?), מוא? = מוא? cf. 5 11 f. According to Hal. מוא = מאמא; he renders the line, 'Read what has been adduced (lit. brought) above.'

L. 15. למדת Lit. *according to the measure* (?). מעזרת Apparently a noun from עזר *help*.

Columns iv-x. A list of the members of the *misraḥ*, headed by the president (l. 16). The names are mostly Numidian; some are Punic, some Latin. The Latin names, it will be noticed, belong to the sons, the native ones to the fathers. This no doubt indicates that the younger generation was fast becoming latinized, a process which has become complete in other NPun. inscrr. from Maktar, where the Latin names are followed by a Latin genealogy, e.g. Marcus son of Gaius Canuleius, Publius son of Valerius Nobilis; these last belong, therefore, to a later age. With regard to the Numidian names, the pronunciation of which is in most cases

unknown, the sibilant *ṣ* is characteristic, and the endings *dn* and *ath*; the latter are not sounded in the Latin transcriptions, e. g. *Jasuktan* = *Jasucta*, *Galgusath* = *Gulussa*, &c. In the Punic forms of the Latin names *a* is represented by *y*, *e* and *o* by *ḥ*; the ending *us* becomes *ḥ*, *ius* is dropped (Berger 36).

L. 17. פִּלְכֵּי Cl.-Gan. conjectures *Felicus*, *Felicio*, *Felicius*.

L. 19. קַעֲרִטָּא = *Quartus*; or קַעֲפִטָּא = *Capito*.

L. 20. יִסְתַּעַן ? = *Istantius* (Algerian). Cl.-Gan. reads יִסְתַּעַת l. 46.

L. 23. רִוְפָא = *Rufus*.

L. 26. יַעֲסַחְתַּעַן Transcribed in Lat. *Jasucta* (NPun. 69, Schröd. p. 272).

L. 29. רִאֲסַחֲטִיטָּא = *Restitutus*.

L. 30. מַעֲרִשְׁטָא = *Mariscus*.

L. 31. מַעֲסַקְלָא ? *Maskulath*, cf. *Masculus*.

L. 32. For אֲרִשָּׁא Cl.-Gan. reads אֲרִשָּׁם.

L. 33. כַּעֲשָׂא ? = *Cassus*.

L. 34. לֻקִּי ? = *Lucius*. נַעֲלִנְטָא Transcr. *Gulussa*.

L. 45. רִאֲנַעֲטָא = *Rogatus*. הַכַּחַת ? the priestess.

## B

- 1 נבנא [כ]א המקדש ס לעטר מסכר
- 2 בניא יפתען בן יפשר וברך בן סלדי
- 3 א ומתנבעל בן ברך ומתנבעל בן בעליתן
- 4 חסגן ש המקם שפטם עומזגוער
- 5 בן תתעי ומנדסען בן שבעמן מסולי
- 6 ומסיגרען בן קפס' . . . . . שמע קלם

This sanctuary was built here to 'Aṭar-miskar. It was built by Ift'an, son of Ifshar, and Barik, son of Selidi', and Muttun-ba'al, son of Barik, and Muttun-ba'al, son of Ba'al-yathon ? . of the place; the suffetes being 'Umzgu'ar, son of Tat'ai, and Mnds'an, son of Shb'atn, ? and Msigr'an, son of Qfsi . . . . . heard their voice.

L. 1. נבנא is not distinct in the facsimile. ז=ס. עטר מסכר  
Cf. A 5.

L. 2. בניא Pf. 3 pl. with suff.; cf. 52 2. ברך See 55 6 n.  
א=סלדיא *Selidiu* NPun. 69 1 (Schröd. p. 272).

L. 4. חסנ Cf. חסנ 40 1 where it is possibly a transliteration of *sociorum*. שפסם Three suffetes are mentioned here, as in

55 6. עומזער Cf. A 47.

L. 5. מסולי Berger suggests that this is an ethnic form, meaning 'a man of Mascula' (in Numidia) CIL viii 2568 &c.; cf. חסלני 80 2. אשקלני 82 1 &c.

## C

המזרח אש . . . . 1

גד הימם נדער נדרא אש ל . . . . 2

שלא תתהא לאב ברכת מל[כ] . . . . 3

הנדער קלא שלא עזר . . . . 4

The *misrah* . . . . to Gad of the heavens (?) vowed their vow which . . . . his ? to the father of blessing, king (?) . . . . the vow; his voice helped . . . .

L. 1. המזרח A 1. אש ? = אש.

L. 2. גר הימם Perhaps rather השמם נד; for נד see 27 3 n. השמם corresponds with the N. African *Caelestis*. The whole expression finds a remarkable parallel in *Fortunae Caelestis sacrum* CIL viii 6943 from Cirta (Lidzb.). נדער נדרא The first is a verb, the second a noun with suff. 3 sing. m. agreeing with המזרח.

## SARDINIA

80. Sulci. CIS i 149. Museum of Cagliari.

*Himilconi Idnibalis . . . qui hanc aedem ex s[enatus]  
c[onsulto] fac[iundam] coeravit Himilco f[ilius] statuam  
[dedit].*

- 1 [ח] מלכת בן . אדנבעל . בן . חמלכת  
2 הפרט על . מי . טבארשא . השלכי  
3 לבנאת . תהמקדש זת . להרבת לאלת  
4 טינא תהמאש זת . בנא . חמלכת

Himilkath, son of Idni-ba'al, son of Himilkath . . . . . to  
build this sanctuary to the lady Elath: his son Himilkath  
dedicated this statue.

This inscr. probably belongs to the first cent. B. C.; it is among the  
earliest NPun. inscrs. known.

L. 1. חמלכת See 40 2 n. אדנבעל 45 6. 55 3, pronounced  
*Idnibal* (Lat. transcr.).

L. 2. The first four words prob. correspond to *qui ex senatus  
consulto curavit* in the Lat. version; but their exact meaning is  
unknown. טבארשא has a certain resemblance to *τοπαρχία*. השלכי  
Prob. *Sulcitanus*, the man of *Sulci*, cf. CIL 7518. The final letter  
is most likely י; for the form cf. הלוכי the man of *Lycia* CIS i 45, and  
the names בונתי *Βυζάντιον*, כתי *Κίτιον*.

L. 3. לבנאת=לכנאת, implying some word meaning *curavit* in  
l. 2. אלת Cf. להרבת לחים=לחיים 56 3 n.; for רבת see 8 2 n. אלת  
Cf. 50 1 n. CIS i 243. 244 אלת כחן; in Aram. *Ildt* or *Alldt*, see in  
Nab. 80 4 n. The Phoen. form אלת is the fem. of אל, or perhaps  
rather of אלן; in the latter case the vowel of the second syllable may  
have been long (Nöldeke *ZDMG* xlii 472)<sup>1</sup>.

L. 4. טינא looks like the Piel of טנא, cf. כילן (?) 59 A 11. מאש  
The Lat. version shows that this must mean *statue*; cf. 57 3. בנא=  
בנא.

<sup>1</sup> The identification of תא with Ἑλλάς—ἡ Εὐρώπη τὸ παλαιὸν ἑκαλείτο, ὅτι οἱ  
Φοίνικες τὴν Παρθένον Ἑλληνίαν καλοῦσι *Etym. Magn.* col. 332; Ἑλληνίς: Ἀθηναῖ  
ὅπως καλουμένη, *ἑτιμῶτο ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ ἰορτὴ Ἑλλασία* ib. 333—is rejected by  
Nöldeke l. c. The forms Ἑλληνίς, Ἑλλασία are prob. genuine Greek.

# ARAMAIC

## NORTH SYRIA

61. Zenjirli : Hadad. First half of viii cent. B. C. Berlin.

- 1 אנך פנמו · בר · קרל · מלך · יאדי · זי · הקמת · נצב · זן · להדד · בעלמי
- 2 קמו · עמי · אלהו · הדד · ואל · ורשף · ורכבאל · ושמש · ונתן · בירי ·  
הדד · ואל ·
- 3 ורכבאל · ושמש · ורשף · חמר · חלבבה · וקם · עמי · רשף · פמו · אחז ·
- 4 ביר ·...· הא · פלה ·...· ומו · אשא[ל · מן ·] אלהי · יתנו · לי · ושנם · חויו ·
- 5 ל · ארק · שערי · האל ·
- 6 ארק · חמי · וארק שמי ·
- 7 וארק ·...· אז · ב · רת ·...· ימי · ז ·...· יעבדו · ארק · ותרם ·
- 8 שם · יש[ב] ·...· ם · פנמו · גם · ישבת · על · משב · אבי · ונתן ·  
הדד · בירי ·
- 9 חמר · חל[בבה] ·...· ת · חרב · ולשן · מן · בית · אבי · ובימי · גם ·  
אכל · ושתא · יאדי ·
- 10 ובימי · יתמר ·...· קי · לנצב · קירת · ולנצב · זורי · ולבני · כפירי ·  
חלבב ·...· יקח ·
- 11 אש · רעיה · ויתר · הדד · [ן]אל · ורכבאל · ושמש · וארקרשף · וכבר ·  
נתנה · לי · ואמן · ברת ·
- 12 בי · ובימי · חלבת ·...· ת · יהב · לאלהי · ומת · יקחו · מן · ידי · ומה ·  
אשאל · מן · אלהי · מת · יתר ·
- 13 לי · וארקו · ו ·...· קרל · אלהי · מת · פלו · נתן · הדד · מת · ל ·...· תי ·  
קרני · לבנא · ובחלבבתי ·
- 14 נתן · מת · הו[ך] ·...· ל[בנא · פבנית · מת · ת[ה]קמת · נצב · הדד · זן ·  
ומקם · פנמו · בר · קרל · מלך ·



- 15 יאדי • עם • נצב • חר • מן • מן • בני • יאחז • חט[ר] • ושב • על • משבי •  
 וסעד • אברו • וזבח •
- 16 הדר • זן • י • י • י • נשי • וזבח • ס • א • זבח • הדר • וזכר •  
 אשם • הדר • או •
- 17 א • א • פא • יאמר • [תאכ] • ל • נבש • פנמו • עמך • ותש[תי] • נ[בש] • פנמו •  
 עמך • עד • זכר • נבש • פנמו • עם •
- 18 [ה] • ד • י • זבחה • זא • פתב • [י] • רקי • בה • שי • להדר • ולאל •  
 ולרכבאל • ולשמש •
- 19 ז • [פ] • נמו • ב • י • ק • זא • פב • ה • והושבת • בה •  
 אלהי • ובחלבבתה • חנאת •
- 20 נתנו • לי • זרע • חבא • י • אמ • בני • יאחז • חסר •  
 ושב • על • משבי • מלך •
- 21 על • יאדי • וסעד • אברו • וזבח • [הדר • זן • וזכ] • ר • אשם • פנמו •  
 יאמר • תאכל • נבש • [נ] • [מ] • [ו] •
- 22 עם • הדר • ותשתי • נבש • פנמו • עם • ה[דר] • ד • הא • ..... • חזק •  
 זבחה • ואל • ירקי • בה • ומו •
- 23 ישאל • אל • יתן • לה • הדר • והדר • חרא • ליתבה • ..... •  
 אל • יתן • לה • לאכל • ברנו •
- 24 שנה • למנע • מנה • בלילא • וזלח • נתן • לה • י • ..... • איח •  
 מודדי • מומת • תי •
- 25 יאחז • חסר • ביאד[י] • ושב • על • משבי • ומלך • ..... • ושלח • ידה •  
 בחרב • ב • ..... • תי • או •
- 26 חמם • אל • יהרג • או • ברנו • או • על • א • ..... • ל • י •  
 מומת • או • על • קשתה • או • על • אמרתה •
- 27 חה • ירשי • שחת • באשר • חר • איחיה • או •  
 באשר • חר • מודדיה • או • באשר •

- 28 חדה • איחתנה ..... ירשי • שחת • יגנב איחיה • זכרי • וקם •  
ותה • במצעה • מת • נשה
- 29 יאמר • אחכם • השחת • והנ ..... א • ידיה • לאלה • אבה • נשה •  
יאמר • הן • אם • שמת • אמרת • אל • בפם •
- 30 זר • אמר • קם • עיני • או • דלח • או ..... י • בפם • אנשי צרי • פהנו •  
זכר • הא • לתגמרו • איחה
- 31 זכרו • פלכתשה • באבני • והנו ר ..... רן • איחתה • פלכתשנה •  
באבני • והנו • לו • שחת •
- 32 באשרה • ותלעי • עינך • בא • בב ..... על • קשתה • או • על •  
גברתה • או • על • אמרתה •
- 33 או • על • נדבה • את • פא • ישרה • ב ..... ו • תהרגה •  
בחם • [או •] בחמא • או •
- 34 תחק • עליה • או • תאלב • אש • זר • להרגה • י .....  
מו .....

I am Panammu, son of QRL, king of Ya'di, who have set up this statue to Hadad in my ? <sup>2</sup> There stood by me the god (?) Hadad and El and Reshef and Rekub-el and Shamash, and Hadad and El <sup>3</sup> and Rekub-el and Shamash gave into my hand the sceptre of ?; and Reshef stood by me; and whatsoever I take <sup>4</sup> in hand . . . and whatsoever I as[k of] the gods they give me, and ? ? <sup>5</sup> . . . . . a land of barley ? <sup>6</sup> . . . . . a land of wheat and a land of garlic, <sup>7</sup> and a land . . . . . they till the land and vineyards; <sup>8</sup> there dwel[t] . . . of Panammu. Moreover I sat upon the seat of my father, and Hadad gave into my hand <sup>9</sup> the sceptre of ? . . . sword and slander from my father's house. And in my days Ya'di (?) ? did both eat and drink. <sup>10</sup> And in my days ? . . . to establish (?) cities and to establish (?) . . , and for the sons of villages (?) ? . . takes (?) <sup>11</sup> each (?) ? and Hadad [and] El and Rekub-el and Shamash and Arqu-reshef did abundantly (?)

give greatness to me, and surety ? <sup>12</sup> with me. And in my days ? . ? to the gods, and indeed (?) they receive from my hands, and what I ask from the gods they have indeed (?) abundantly granted (?) <sup>13</sup> to me, and ? .. QRL, the gods indeed (?), and if Hadad gave indeed (?) to . he called me to build, and in my ? <sup>14</sup> Had[ad] gave indeed (?) . [to] build ; and I built indeed (?), and set up this statue of Hadad, and the place of Panammu, son of QRL, king <sup>15</sup> of Ya'di, together with a statue . . Whoever (?) of my sons shall hold the [scept]re, and sit upon my seat and grow strong (?) and sacrifice <sup>16</sup> to this Hadad . . . and sacrifice . . . sacrifice to Hadad, and make mention of the name of Hadad, or <sup>17</sup> . shall say, May the soul of Panammu [ea]t with thee, and may the [s]oul of Panammu drin[k] with thee !—shall moreover remember the soul of Panammu with <sup>18</sup> [Ha]dad . . this his sacrifice . . may he look [f]avourably upon him ? to Hadad and to El and to Rekub-el and to Shamash <sup>19</sup> . . . [Pa]nammu . . . this . . . and I made the gods dwell in it, and in his ? I reposed (?) <sup>20</sup> . . they have given me a seed . . . my son shall hold the sceptre, and sit upon my seat as king <sup>21</sup> over Ya'di, and grow strong (?) and sacrifice [to this Hadad and remem]ber the name of Panammu (and) say, May the soul of Panammu eat <sup>22</sup> with Hadad, and may the soul of Panammu drink with that Ha[d]ad . . . his sacrifice let him not look favourably upon it, and whatsoever <sup>23</sup> he shall ask let not Hadad give him ; and let Hadad pour out wrath upon him . . . suffer him not to eat, in anger, <sup>24</sup> and withhold sleep from him by night, and terror (?) ? to him . . . kinsman (?) . my friend (?) put to death (?) . <sup>25</sup> shall hold the sceptre in Ya'd[i], and shall sit upon my seat and reig[n] . and pu]t his hand to the sword . or <sup>26</sup> . . . ? let him not slay either in anger or by . . . put to death (?) either by his bow or by his order <sup>27</sup> . . . shall allow to destroy after one of his kinsmen (?) or after one of his friends (?) or after <sup>28</sup> one of his kinswomen (?) . . . he allow to destroy, his kinsmen (?) steal my memorial, and set it up in the midst thereof (?) indeed (?) ? <sup>29</sup> shall say, Your brother has destroyed (?) . . his

hands to the god of his father ? shall say, If (?) ? I have put these (?) orders into the mouth <sup>30</sup> of a stranger, say thou (?) my eye was dim or terrified or . . in the mouth of adversaries, and behold ! (?) it is a memorial (?), so that ye make his kinsman (?) discontinue <sup>31</sup> ? and let him crush him with stones ; and behold ! (?) . . . his kinswoman (?), and let him crush her (?) with stones ; and behold ! (?) if he have destroyed <sup>32</sup> after him, and thine eye be wearied (?) . . . by his bow or by his might or by his order <sup>33</sup> or by his instigation (?), thou (?) also ? . . . thou shalt slay him ? [or] in wrath, or <sup>34</sup> shalt write (?) concerning him, or teach a stranger to kill him . . .

Zenjirli (زنجيرلي) is a small village in NW. Syria, rather more than half way between Antakiyeh (Antioch) and Marash. This inscription was found in 1890 at Gerjin (كرجين), half an hour NE. of Zenjirli. It is carved on a colossal statue of the god Hadad ; the writing, like that of 62 and 63, is in relief, and belongs to the archaic type represented by the Moabite Stone. The contents show that this inscr. is earlier than 62 and 63, which date from the time of Tiglath-pileser iii (745-727 B. C.); moreover, in the latter inscr. the Aramaic character of the dialect is more strongly marked<sup>1</sup>.

Part i. ll. 1-15 a. Panammu acknowledges the good providence of Hadad and the other gods of his country, and records the prosperity of his reign.

L. 1. 1. אַנְךְ In 62 19 אַנְךְ; see 1 i n. פַּנַּמְמוּ בֶר קַרְל Panammu i 62 5, the predecessor of Panammu ii 62 1. 63 2, to whom 62 is dedicated. *Panammu of Sam'al* (prob. Panammu ii) is mentioned in inscr. of Tiglath-pileser iii, *KB* ii 20. 30. A similar name is met with in Asia Minor, in Caria, Παναμμῆς (Ball *TrSBA* (1888) 432), and in Isauria, *Panemou-teichos* (Ramsay *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Min.* 394 &c.). The derivation is unknown ; prob., like קַרְל, the name is of non-Semitic origin. יַאֲדִי 62 1. 5 &c. Ya'di was a town and petty kingdom of N. Syria, situated in the country N. of the Orontes.

<sup>1</sup> In connexion with these inscr. the following abbreviations are used : Sach. = Sachau in *Mitth. aus den Orient. Sammlungen*, Heft xi *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* (1893). Hal. = Halévy in *Revue Sémitique* i-ii (1893-4). DHM = D. H. Müller *Altsemitischen Inschr. von Sendschirli* (1893). Nöld. = Nöldeke in *ZDMG* xlvii (1893) 96-105. Hoffm. = G. Hoffmann in *Zeitschr. für Assyriol.* xi (1897). The text above is derived from the facsimile given by Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigr.*, Atlas taf. xxii, with reference to Euting's facsimile in *Ausgrab. in Sendschirli*.

Winckler, *Altor. Forsch.* i 1 ff., suggests that the well-known expressions in the Annals of Tiglath-pileser iii, *KB* ii 24 f., [*Asri*] *jdū* (*mdtu*) *Jauddi*, [*A*] *surijdu* (*mdtu*) *Jaudi*, which are usually taken to refer to 'Azariah (= Uziah) the Judaeen,' 'A. of the *land of Judah*,' really refer to this יאדי. The context implies that *Jaudi* was in N. Syria<sup>1</sup>; it speaks of nineteen districts of the city of Hamath as having revolted to *Asrijdu*, and there is little likelihood that the Judaeen Azariah would have mixed in the politics in N. Syria and formed an alliance with Hamath, 150 miles N. of Palestine. According to the biblical chronology Azariah was dead at this time (about 740 B.C.), but this difficulty can be overcome<sup>2</sup>. Winckler's view requires that two such names as *Asrijdu* and *Jaudi* (= either יאדי or יודי) existed at the same period in different parts, a mere coincidence, perhaps. *Asrijdu*, with the divine name ידו, is more characteristic of Judaea than N. Syria; ידו, however, was not unknown in the latter region<sup>3</sup>. There is much to be said for Winckler's contention, but it is hardly established beyond dispute<sup>4</sup>. ¶ The Old Aram. form of יד (Bibl. Aram., Nab., Palm.), used as a relative (64 14. 69 9. 70 1 &c., and on coins 149 A 6) and as a sign of the genitive (66 a. 67. 68. 76 B 3 &c.). הסיקח=הקמת. נצר See 37 1 n. ¶ So in Phoen. (Gabal); see add. note ii p. 26. הדר 150 b, the chief deity of the Aramaeans; cf. Ἀδωδὸς βασιλεὺς θεῶν Philo Bybl. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 569. The statue on which the inscr. is carved represents a bearded human head with horns, the symbol of the god's power. In the O. T. his name occurs in compounds, e.g. הדרעור 2 S. 8 3 ff.=Assyr. *Dad-'idri*; בן-הדר 1 K. 20 1 (*COT* 200 f.); הדררמון Zech. 12 11. Nothing distinctive is known of his character; but he was prob. regarded as a god of storm and thunder, for he was identified by the Assyrians as a stranger-god from the Amorite country with Rammân; see Zimmern *KAT*<sup>3</sup> ii 443 f. The original significance of the name may possibly be found in the Ar. ܕܐܕ break, crash, growl, ܕܐܕܐ thunder; cf. Hebr. היר, היר shout (Baethgen *Beitr.* 67 f., Hal. ii 26 f.). As a personal pr. n. הדר is found in Sabaeen, CIS iv 55<sup>5</sup>. בעלמי

? in my youth (ܒܥܠܡܝ) not in my life-time (ܒܥܠܡܝ?); the latter, moreover,

<sup>1</sup> So e.g. Schrader *COT* 217 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *Jaudu* in the Nimrud Inscr. of Sargon, *KB* ii 36.

<sup>3</sup> See Kittel *Gesch. d. Hebräer* ii 284 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Thus *Jau-bi'di* of Hamath, *KB* ii 36. 56, is interchanged with *Ilā-bi'di* (of Hamath), ib. 42.

<sup>5</sup> It is accepted by Benzinger *Könige* 166.

<sup>6</sup> Possibly Hadad was known to the ancient Arabs, Wellhausen *Reste Ar. Heidenthums* 55; but Wellhausen's translation is disputed by Hoffm. 228.

is expressed by **בַּיִת** in the inscr. DHM renders *lord of waters* (בעל מַי). Possibly **עַלְמִי** is the name of a place.

L. 2. **אֱלֹהִי** is explained as an abstract form, **אֱלֹהִיּוּת** *godhead* (Lidzb.). The reading is uncertain. **אֱל** 62 22, Assyr. *ilu*. The name by itself is found in Sabaeen inscr., e.g. **אֱל וְעֹתֹרִי** Halévy no. 144 3. 150 4; elsewhere in N. Semitic inscr. it appears in compounds, e.g. **יִרְמְאֵל** 150 c. **רִשָּׁף** l. 3 see 12 3 n., and cf. **אֶרְקִישָׁף** l. 11. **רֶכָבֵאל** 62 22. 63 5. The name of this deity is known so far only in this district of N. Syria; it may mean *chariot* or *steed of El* (Rekub-el), or *charioteer of El* (Rakkab-el, Rekab-el), Hoffm. 252; cf. the Palm. **עֲנִלְבֹּל** 139 6 n. On Assyr. monuments the sun-god is sometimes represented as riding in a chariot drawn by griffins, and he is called *rakib narkabti*<sup>1</sup> (cf. 2 K. 23 11 **מִרְכַּבוֹת** and Ps. 18 11); but whether Rekub-el had any connexion with the sun-god, as his minister or attendant, we cannot tell; it is possible that he was a moon-god, for in the ancient East the moon came before the sun, as here (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 255 n., cf. 112 4 n.). Sach. 61 f. suggests a transposition of **ר** and **כ**, and renders *cherub of El*; this is unnecessary. The pr. n. **בִּרְכָב** 62 1. 63 1 prob. means *son of the god Rekub-el*. **שָׁמַשׁ** 62 22. 64 9 the sun-god, Assyr. *šamash*, worshipped throughout the Semitic world, e.g. in Israel 2 K. 23 11. Dt. 17 3, in Palmyra 117 5. 136 3. 6. His cult is implied by such pr. nn. as **בֵּית שָׁמַשׁ** (Hebr.), **עִבְרִישָׁמַשׁ** CIS i 116 f. (Phoen.), **שָׁמַשְׁעֻדְרִי** ib. ii 87 (Aram.), **לִשְׁמַשׁ** 117 3. 145 1 (Palm.).

L. 3. **חֹמֶר** *branch, rod*, common in Aram., in Hebr. rare, Is. 11 1; here used for *sceptre*, Hebr. **שֹׁבַט**. **חֲלִבְבָּה** Here and in ll. 9. 10 (rest.) this might be the name of a place not otherwise known; but in ll. 13. 19 it seems to be a fem. noun with a suffix. In each case the meaning 'blessing,' 'prosperity' (Hoffm., Lidzb.) or 'majesty' (Hal.), would suit the context. **מָה** i. e. **מָה + מָה + מָה**, in ll. 4. 22 **מָה**, cf. **מָה חֲחָה** = **מָה חָחָה** 65 5. The conjunction **מ**, which is prob. to be found in **מָה**, **מָה** (Nöld. 103 n.), is used in these inscr. like the Ar. **م**, ll. 13 f. 31. 63 18; similarly in Nab., e.g. 80 7. 10. 83 3. 94 4 &c.; in Palm. 143 5. Another form of the conjunction is **מַה** ll. 17. 33. 62 22. **מַחֲזִי** Peal impf. 1 sing.

L. 4. **אֱלֹהִי** Pl. abs. = **אֱלֹהִיִּם**, ll. 12 f. 19. 62 23. For the omission of final **י** cf. **שָׁעִי** l. 5. **חֲמִי**, **שָׁמִי** l. 6. **אֲשִׁי צָרִי** l. 30. **אֲבִנִי** l. 31. **שָׁעִי** 62 3 (see note); but contrast **מֶלֶךְ רִבְרִיבִן** 63 10. 13. This peculiarity finds a parallel in Assyr., which forms a plur. in *f* (or *ē*) as well as in *āni*,

<sup>1</sup> Jastrow *Rel. of Babyl. and Assyr.* 461; Sach. 70.

and in Aram. dialects, e.g. Talm. דִּילִי *dates*, פִּירִי *fruits*, cf. Γεσθη-  
 μαν = שְׁכָרִי (Dalman *Gram. Jud.-Pal. Aram.* § 38, 3), and in Mandaic  
 (Nöldeke *Mand. Gr.* 162). יתנו In this dialect, and in that of  
 Nêrab and Têma, the impf. 3 plur. ends in *a*, not, as is usual in  
 Aram., in *an*, e.g. ll. 7. 12. 64 9. 11. 65 9. 73 B 3 (Egypt. Aram.);  
 exceptionally in B. Aram., יִתְּנוּ Jer. 10 11. יְתִיב Ezr. 4 12. Dan.  
 5 10. וְשָׁמַח וְשָׂמַח Meaning unknown. DHM takes שָׁמַח as = שָׁלֵם and  
 reads וְשָׁמַח = וְשָׁלֵם, lit. *peace of satiety*; but the reading is uncertain.

L. 5. אֲרָק 62 14 &c.; in 63 4. 66 a (and regularly on Nineveh  
 weights) אֲרָק = the later Aram. אֲרַע, Hebr. אָרַץ, Arab. أَرْض. In Jer.  
 10 11 אֲרָק occurs side by side with אֲרַע; in Mandaic it appears  
 prob. as an intentional archaism, Nöld. l. c. 73. For the *p* which is  
 peculiar (Driver *Tenses* § 178) cf. רָקִי ll. 18. 22 = רָחַל; רָעָה = רָעִי;  
 62 13 = חָלַל = יָצָא = יָמָא, see p. 185. שְׁעָרִים Hebr. שַׁעֲרִים,  
 cf. 62 6. 9 and see l. 4 n. חָלַל meaning. חָלַל l. 29 is prob. the  
 plur. of חָלַל, but the article prefixed is not found in these inscriptions.

L. 6. חָמִי = Hebr. חָמִים; שָׁמִי = Hebr. שָׁמִים Num. 11 5.

L. 7. אֲזִי 62 9 perhaps for אֲזִי + וִי (DHM, Nöld.) *whatsoever*; or =  
 Hebr. אֲזִי, Aram. אֲזִי then. יַעֲבֹד Cf. Gen. 2 5 &c. (אֲתָּה וְאֲדָמָה).  
 Dt. 28 39 (כְּרִמִּים); in later Aram. בָּאֲרַע is the usual expression.  
 See l. 4 n.

L. 8. DHM restores פָּנָמוּ וְכָרַם אֲרָק (בְּנוֹ וְיַעֲבֹד אֲרָק וְכָרַם פָּנָמוּ) l. 9.  
 62 16, cf. אָמַם 62 5, is characteristic of Hebrew; it is found on the  
 Moab. St., l. 6, but the later Aram. does not use it.

L. 9. DHM restores חָרַב [חָרַב] and he cut off. לְשֹׁן *tongue*, as  
 the instrument of slander; cf. אִישׁ לְשֹׁן Ps. 140 12. 15 3. 101 5. בֵּית  
 62 2. 7. 63 7 ff. The scriptio plena (cf. לֵלֵא l. 24. 30) is  
 more frequent in 62, which is somewhat later. בֵּית = בֵּית  
 62 18, חֶמֶץ. In Aram. the vowel of the first syllable in יִסֵּן is  
*o* not *a*, as in Hebr.; cf. 65 3. 76 A 4, constr. st. יִסֵּן 62 11. אֲכַל  
 If the last word of the line be read יִמָּר—Lidzb.'s facsimile  
 shows traces of initial *y* and of *ṣ*—these words may be taken as perfs.;  
 cf. 62 9. DHM takes them as nouns, reading the last word אֲרִי  
*food and drink were abundant*, cf. l. 4 n. Nöld. 103 reads וְרִי and was  
*abundant*, i. e. abundantly.

L. 10. Meaning very obscure. DHM regards יִתְּמַר as = יִתְּמַר was  
*appointed*, and לָנֶצַח as = לָנֶצַח (cf. Solomon's נָצַח K. 4 7 ff.) *prefect of*  
*Q. . . , and prefect of the Zerart*. But לָנֶצַח may be a verb, *to set up*, and  
 קִירָה cities 62 4. 15; cf. הָצִיב Dt. 32 8. Ps. 74 17. Pr. 15 25 (with  
 כְּפִירִי, 1 Ch. 18 3 (with יָד). The meaning of וְרִי is unknown.

Perhaps *villages*; cf. Neh. 6 2 (?), נְקָרִים Cant. 7 12. 1 Ch. 27 25. But *sons of the villages* is not a very natural expression, and possibly כְּמִירִי is the name of a tribe or place. This, however, does not suit the context of כְּמִירִי in 62 10. לָקַח? impf. of לָקַח. The reading is uncertain.

L. 11. אִשׁ רְעִיָּה וְיָתֵר חָדָד (Lidzb.)? *each his neighbour, and Hadad did richly*; but the text is very doubtful. יָתֵר is possibly Pael of יָתַר l. 12. Euting's facsimile gives יִתְרִי . . . יִתְרִי . . . יִתְרִי The name of a god. Hoffm. 214. 252 connects אֶרֶק i.e. 'Arqu or 'Arqt with the √רָצָה=רָקִי (l. 5 n.) *be favourable*, and compares אֶרֶצוֹ (?), רָצָה, apparently a divine name in Palm. (see 115 1 n.), אֶרֶצִי and the Arab. رَاحِي (Wellhausen *Reste Ar. Heid.* 58 f.). כְּבֹרָה i.e. prob. כְּבֹרָה *greatness*. DHM reads כְּבֹרָה (for כְּבֹרָתָא) *honour*. נָתַן Perhaps perf. 3 plur. (or sing.) with suff. 3 sing. fem.=נָתַנָּה, the suff. resuming the object which precedes, *greatness they (he) gave it*. A Nifal form is improbable. DHM reads אִמֵּן כֶּתֶב *a sure (covenant) they made*; אִמֵּן *faithfulness* occurs again in 62 21. Lidzb. reads זָכַרְתָּ, but neither the reading nor the form is clear.

L. 12. מֵת Various meanings of this obscure word are proposed: thus *gift* in l. 12 = מֵתָן; *males, male offspring* in ll. 13. 14. 62 4 = מֵתָיִם, Assy. *mutu*; *town, district* in l. 14. 62 10 = Assy. *mātu* (Winckler *Altor. Forsch.* i 107), cf. CIS ii 31 בִּמְתָא בְּבִשְׁקִין *in vico Bābsuqin*. But it seems more reasonable to give מֵת the same meaning throughout. Halévy regards it as an adverb, *aussidit, forthwith*, and explains the form as a contraction of the Hebr. מֵתִי, cf. Assy. *mal*. Lidzb. renders *surely, indeed*, a meaning which suits the context in each case, and may be accepted provisionally, though its etymology is not evident. יָקָו See l. 4 n.

L. 13. וְאֶרֶק is prob. some part of the verb רָקִי=רָצָה (l. 5 n.); *his land* would be אֶרֶקָה, like זָכַח l. 18. DHM restores קָרַל [שָׂאֵל]·קָרַל, rendering 'and אֶרֶק asked for a male offspring; and Hadad did not give a male offspring.' This gives a suitable sense, but the rendering of מֵת is doubtful, and מָלֹ (l. 31. 62 11) seems to mean *and if*, לֹא=לֹא (Nöld. 104), rather than *and not*, לֹא=לֹא. To fill the space, [שָׂאֵל·יָאֵבִי], is a better restoration. קָרַנִי i.e. קָרַנִי Pf. 3 sing. m. with suff., from קָרַא. In Lidzb.'s facsimile the ר is clear. לֹא לֵבָא l. 14, inf. of לָבַא. בְּנָא l. 3 n.

L. 14. מָקָם *place*, possibly like τόπος in Gk. inscr., a *burial-place*.

L. 15. מֵן מֵן מֵן Part ii. ll. 15 a-24 a. Panammu invokes the blessing of the gods upon his successor if he be faithful to his religious and filial duty, and a curse upon him if he neglect it. מֵן מֵן



The first מן is perhaps the indef. pron. מן, ܡܢ, Assy. *mannu*, *manu*.

ויעד אברו l. 21. In Hebr. סעד = *support*, *stay* esp. with food, e.g. Gen. 18 5; here perhaps in a more general sense, *strengthen*. אברו may be an abstr. form, אברותא = אברותא (DHM), or possibly a plur. with suff. = אבריו *his strong ones*, Jud. 5 22. Ps. 50 13; but the latter does not give a good sense, and the form lacks support (Nöld.).

L. 16. הוד The deity is in the accus. after זבח, cf. in Sabaeen עולתו . . לידבחו CIS iv 74 11 f.; in Hebr. ל is required. The sacrifice was to be offered not to the dead, but to the god on behalf of the dead; see Lagrange *RB* (1902) xi 232 f. וזכר אשם הוד Cf. the Hebr. idiom יהוה שם הזכיר *make mention of Yahweh's name*, i.e. to call upon, worship, Is. 26 13. Ex. 23 13. The verb here may be regarded as Afel. אשם = Arab. اشم, Samaritan אשמא.

L. 17. פא l. 33. 62 22 = א l. 3 n. Cf. ll. 21 f., where the words are more legible. נמש = נבש; cf. l. 34. תאלף, תאלף = לנש, and vice versa ברול = לנש &c.: Wright *Comp. Gr.* 64 f. חשתי Impf. of שחא l. 9; see l. 22 n. For the idea cf. Luke 22 30. עמר i.e. with Hadad. עמד Prob. = עמד. עמ זכר נבש . . עמ The verb here and in l. 21 is Peal; contrast הוד אשם l. 16, where the verb is Afel.

L. 18. After רד [ה] Lidzb. reads [ה]אם, but the word is illegible in the facsimile. זבחה l. 22; the last letter is perhaps the suffix, *his*. Hoffm. 234 regards the form as fem, and compares שוחתה 62 2; see 62 6 n. זא l. 19 (?), though elsewhere fem. (see add. note p. 26), is here prob. mas., like the Arab. ذا, since it appears to agree with זבחה. רקי l. 22 n., impf. of רקי l. 5 n.; cf. רצה in Hebr., e.g. Mic. 6 7. Hag. 1 8. שי Meaning unknown.

L. 19. וחלבתה חנא and in his prosperity I rested (?), Lidzb., taking חנא as Pf. 1 sing. of חנא = חנא *encamp*, cf. חנא Pael 62 12 and סחנה 62 13 ff. But סחנה means *camp*, not as a *resting*-place, but as the place one *reaches* at the end of the day's march; so in Syr. ܣܚܢ = *incline towards*, *reach*. Possibly חנא 62 12 may come from חנן *be gracious*, and חנא be a pass. form, *I was treated graciously*.

L. 20. ויע See 4 7 n. The obligation of religious duty on the part of Panammu's successor is repeated; a clause expressing the possible neglect of it must be among the missing portions of ll. 20-22, to justify the imprecations in ll. 22 b-24 a.

L. 21. See ll. 15 f.

L. 22. וא in a demonstr. sense, cf. 78 A 3 ווא *that time*. For וא after [ו] l. 21 cf. Gen. 32 3. ווא l. 4. חשתי ירקי i.e. חשתי &c., cf. l. 27 f. חשתי l. 32. The impf. 3 sing. of these לוי

verbs ends in  $\text{—}$  as in Palestinian Aram., Targ. &c.; contrast the Bibl. Aram. and Syr. ending  $\text{—}$ ,  $\text{—}$ .

L. 23.  $\text{חרא}$  Perhaps =  $\text{חרן}$  *wrath*.  $\text{ליחבה}$  Afel (?) impf. 3 sing. mas. with suff. 3 sing. fem. from  $\text{נחך}$  *pour forth*, in a figurative sense with  $\text{חמה}$ ,  $\text{אף}$  in the O.T., e.g. Jer. 42 18. 2 Ch. 34 21. The impf. is here preceded by  $\text{ל}$  = Arab.  $\text{ل}$  before the jussive, similarly  $\text{למנע}$  (i. e.  $\text{לימנע}$ ) l. 24.  $\text{לחנמרו}$  l. 30.  $\text{לכחש}$  (i. e.  $\text{ליכחש}$ ) l. 31, in each case with a jussive force; cf. in Sabaeen  $\text{ליעותרו}$  *ut descenderent*,  $\text{אלקע}$  *ut sacrificarent* CIS iv 74 10 ff. &c., and see Hommel *Süd-ar. Chrest.* 25. This usage has not been found hitherto in Aram. Possibly it may have given rise to the impf. in  $\text{ל}$  which occurs in B. Aram., Targ. Jon., Talmud Bab., and Mandaic; but in these dialects the  $\text{ל}$  has no distinctively jussive force, and may be merely a phonetic variation of the impf. in  $\text{נ}$  (Driver *Tenses* § 204 Obs. 1).  $\text{אל יתן לה לאכל}$  Cf. 2 Ch. 20 10 for the construction.  $\text{ברנ}$  Reading indistinct, but the word is clear in l. 26.

L. 24.  $\text{שנח}$  i. e.  $\text{שנח}$ .  $\text{למנע}$  i. e.  $\text{למנע}$  Nöld. 98 n., in a jussive sense; see note above.  $\text{בלילא}$  With scriptio plena, Hebr.  $\text{לילח}$ , Arab.  $\text{لِيل}$ , but Syr.  $\text{ܠܝܠܚ}$ .  $\text{דלח}$  *terror*, as often in Targ.; but the form is not apparent; it might be inf. constr. The perf. occurs in l. 30.  $\text{ננן}$  if Peal perf., does not construe; the form must remain uncertain. For the imprecations cf. 4. 5. 64. 65.

Part iii. ll. 24 b-34. Panammu denounces those who shall attempt to injure the persons or the power of his family and successors. Such seems to be the general drift of this most obscure section. DHM thinks that the reference is to the violation of the statue; this is apparently alluded to in l. 28, but the rest of the passage deals with the treatment of persons (note the verb  $\text{חרג}$  ll. 26. 33. 34).  $\text{איה}$  appears to be a title denoting a member of the royal family,  $\text{איהי אבה}$  62 3, like the Hebr.  $\text{בני המלך}$  2 Sam. 13 32 ff. 2 K. 10 6 ff. 11 2 &c., and  $\text{בר מלכא}$  CIS ii 38 2 'a prince of the royal house' (?). In ll. 27. 28  $\text{איהיה}$  is plur. with suff., l. 30  $\text{איהיה}$  is sing. with suff., while  $\text{איהתח}$  ll. 28. 31 is prob. a fem. plur. or sing. with suff. The word may be a form of  $\text{אח}$  in a special sense.  $\text{מורדי}$  l. 27  $\text{מורדיה}$  is perhaps a noun from  $\text{ורד}$ , Arab.  $\text{وَرْد}$ , *love*, lit. *my loved one*, so *friend* (Lidzb.).  $\text{מומת}$  l. 26 seems to be Hofal ptc. of  $\text{מות}$ .  $\text{וישלה ידה בחרב}$  Cf. Jud. 5 26 ( $\text{ליתור}$ ). Panammu appears to have in mind the wholesale assassinations of the royal family which so frequently accompany the accession of an oriental king. 62 3 shows that his fears were justified.  $\text{חי}$ . Lidzb. suggests  $\text{חי}$  [בי].

L. 26.  $\text{חמס}$  is some part of  $\text{חמס}$  *be violent*.

L. 27. **רש** i. e. **רש** 28, i. e. **רש** impf. 3 sing. mas. of **רש** lit. *be able*, so perhaps *allow*, cf. **רש** permission Exr. 3 7; see L. 22 **רש** is perhaps inf. constr. **רש** The word **רש** = *place*, 62 18 (?).

64 8 **רש** *his place*. 68 6 **רש**. 76 C 4 **רש**. Here and in L. 32 **רש** may perhaps be taken like the Syr. **ܪܫܐ**, i. e. **ܪ** + **ܫܐ**, in the sense of *after*, lit. *in the place of*; so Hoffm., Lidzb. The exact meaning, however, of the expression *destroy after one of his princes* is not clear.

**רש** must be constr. state before the gen. following, for in L. 28 it takes a fem. form before a fem. noun. For the construction cf. in Hebr. **רש** Gen. 26 10. **רש** K. 4 22 &c. **רש** is the usual Aram. for **רש**, e. g. 62 5. 63 13 &c.; in Hebr., Eze. 33 30.

L. 28. **רש** See L. 24 **רש**. **רש** Here and in the foll. lines to 30 b the offender is apparently not the future king but a member of the royal house, and the offence is the removal or violation of the statue which Panammu had erected. The details and general sense are very uncertain. **רש** 30 (?) *my memorial*; **רש** has this meaning in 62 22, Palm. 135 1, and Nab. CIS ii 169 &c.; in Phoen. **רש** 9 6 **רש**. Impf. 3 sing., rather than plur. as Nöld. 104.

Accus. particle with suff. This form is prob. preserved in **ܪܫܐ**, but in later usage it has become **ܪܫܐ**, thus Nab. **ܪܫܐ** 80 5, Palm. **ܪܫܐ** 121 4, BAr. **ܪܫܐ** Dan. 3 12 (only here), **ܪܫܐ** in Targ. and Sam., **ܪܫܐ** in Syr. (rare). This **ܪܫܐ**, and the Phoen. **ܪܫܐ**, Hebr. **ܪܫܐ**, may be accounted for by an original *'awayat* which passed into *'iwayath*, *'iyath*, *'iyath*, *'eth*; see 3 3 **ܪܫܐ**.

**ܪܫܐ** in the midst of it, supposing that we have here the Aram. **ܪܫܐ** *midst*, as in 62 10. 63 9 f. Hoffm. 319, however, suggests in each case the meaning *place*, **ܪܫܐ**, Arab. **مَوْضِعٌ**. What the suffix refers to is not clear.

L. 29 Meaning unknown.

L. 29. **ܪܫܐ** The suff. as in **ܪܫܐ** Exr. 5 3 &c., for the usual Aram. **ܪܫܐ**; cf. **ܪܫܐ** 63 18 for **ܪܫܐ**. **ܪܫܐ** Afel, either perf. or imperat.

**ܪܫܐ** i. e. **ܪܫܐ** or **ܪܫܐ** constr. state sing.; so in Nab. 88 6. 94 3. Palm. 136 7. This is the sing. form of the plur. **ܪܫܐ** L. 4. For **ܪܫܐ** cf. Ps. 44 21. **ܪܫܐ** Prob. = *if* 64 11, as in Bibl. Aram. Dan. 2 6 &c. Ezr. 4 13.

The meaning of **ܪܫܐ** is not clear. **ܪܫܐ** Perf. 1 sing. of **ܪܫܐ**. If **ܪܫܐ** is plur., **ܪܫܐ** may = *these*.

L. 30, with suff. **ܪܫܐ** 65 4; Aram. **ܪܫܐ**, Hebr. **ܪܫܐ**. For the expression cf. in Hebr. **ܪܫܐ** Num. 22 38. 23 5. 12. 16 &c.

L. 30. **ܪܫܐ** L. 34. **ܪܫܐ** Either perf. or imperative. Apparently the offender is supposed to make the excuse that he did not realize what he was doing. **ܪܫܐ** Cf. 1 K. 14 4. **ܪܫܐ**

Perf., cf. L. 24. **ܪܫܐ** Prob. = *although*, since **ܪܫܐ** = Arab. **مَرَّةً**, the dialect of this inscr. should have **ܪܫܐ** for **ܪܫܐ**, on the analogy

of רקי and ארק. פחזו ? and behold; the reading is very indistinct, but it is supported by חזו l. 31 bis. זכר may = *memorial* as זכר l. 28; it may also = *make*, a meaning which seems to be required for זכרו l. 31 (Lidzb.). לתנמר Impf. 2 plur. with cohortative ל; see l. 23 n. נמר = *make an end*, in a trans. sense.

L. 31. זכרו Lidzb. suggests that this is an abstract form for זכרותא *mankind, men*. מלכחשה Impf. with cohort. ל 3 sing. mas. with suff. 3 sing. mas., similarly מלכחשנה with suff. 3 sing. fem. (?) כחש = *break in pieces, shatter*; in Hebr. Pr. 27 22 *to pound*, in Targ. Jon. Ex. 30 36 of *pounding* the incense, used in Ethpa. like the Syr. חחש = *fight, strive*. The punishment is to be stoning, whether the offender be a man or a woman. But it is not clear what the offence is, whether the violation of the memorial, which is apparently alluded to in the preceding lines, or the attempted assassination of Panammu's successor, which seems to be the drift of what follows. אבני i. e. אבנים l. 4 n. שחח The form is uncertain.

L. 32. באשרה Perhaps *after him*, l. 27 n. תלעי Meaning doubtful. The Aram. לעי = לאי means *to be wearied*, e. g. Targ. Jon. Dt. 25 18 ומשלחין לעיין *wearied and faint*. נברתה *his might*, cf. נברתא Dan. 2 20.

L. 33. נרבה To render *his generosity* (cf. Hebr. נרבה) does not give a suitable sense; *his instigation* is better, cf. Arab. نَزَبَ *impel, incite* (DHM). את ? thou, 64 5. פא also, l. 17 n. ישרה is some part of ישר *be straight*. תחרנה *thou shalt kill him*. It is difficult to believe, as DHM does, that חרנ can mean *destroy* (the monument).

L. 34. תחק Apparently impf. 2 sing. of חקק *inscribe* (Eze. 23 14), perhaps rather *thou shalt write of him*, or *inscribe on it*; the context is not decisive. תאלב Pael impf. of אלב = אלף *learn*, אלף *teach*; cf. נבש l. 17 n. להרנה Either inf. constr. *to kill him*, or impf. with ל *that he kill him*.

62. Zenjirli: Panammu. Between 745 and 727 B.C. Berlin.

1 נצב . זן . שם . ברכב . לאבה . לפנמו . בר . ברצר מלך [יארז] . . . . . ב .

שנת . קל . . [א] בי . פנמו ב . . ק

2 אבה . פלטה . אלה . יארז . מן . שחתה . אלה . הות . בבית . אבה .

וקם . אלה . הד[ר] . . . ק . . . משבה . על . ו . ו . א . ושב . ו . שחת . . .

- 3 בבית אבה והרג אבה ברצור והרג שבעי :: איחי אבה . . . . . ל  
רכב . ה' . . . . . בך . עלם . . . . .ך . בעל . . . . . חל . ל . . . . . מו . . . . .  
4 ויתרה . מת . מלא . מסגרת . והכבר . קירת . חרבת מן . קירת .  
ישבת . ו . נ . . . . . ק . . . . . ש . . . . . תשמ .  
5 חרב . בביתי . ותהרגו . חד . בני . ואגם . הוית . חרב . בארק . יאדי .  
וחל . אל פנמו בר קרל . א . . . . . אבי . ס . ב . ר . אבר . . . . .  
6 שאה . ושורה . חטה . ושערה . וקם . פרס . בשקל . ושטרב . . . . .  
בשקל . ואסנב . משת . בשקל . ויבל . אבי . בר . . . . .  
7 עד . מלך . אשור . ומלכה . על . בית . אבה . והרג . אבן . שחת . מן .  
בית . אבה . . . . . מן . אצר . . . . . ארק . יאדי . מן . ב . . . . .  
8 ופשש . מסגרת . והרפי . שבי . יאדי . וק[ם] אבי . והרפי . נשי .  
בס . . . . . בא . בית . קתילת . וקנואל . . . . .  
9 בית . אבה . והיטבה . מן . קדמתה . וכברת . חטה . ושערה . ושאה .  
ושורה . ביומיה . ואז אכלת ושת . . . . .  
10 זלת . מוכרו . וביומי . אבי . פנמו . שם . מת . בעלי . כפירי . ובעלי .  
רכב . ו . ח . ב . אבי . פנמו . במצעת . מלכי . כבר . . . . . [א]  
11 בי . לו . בעל . כסף . הא . ולו . בעל . זהב . בחכמתה . ובצדקה . פי .  
אחו . בכנף . מ[ר]אה . מלך . אשור . ר . . . . .  
12 אשור . פחי . ואחי . יאדי . וחנאה . מראה . מלך . אשור . על . מלכי .  
כבר ברש . . . . .  
13 בגלגל . מראה . תגלתפלסר . מלך . אשור . מחנת . ת . מן . מוקא .  
שמש . ועד . מערב . ת[מן] . . . . .  
14 רבעתארק . ובנת . מוקא . שמש . יבל . מערב . ובנת . מערב . יבל .  
מתקא . ש[מש] . ואב[י] . . . . .  
15 גבלה . מראה . תגלתפלסר . מלך . אשור . קירת . מן . גבל . גרנם .  
... ו[א]בי . פנמו . בר . ב[רצור] . . . . .

- 16 שִׁמְרָגִי וְגַם־מֵת־אֲבִי־פִנְמוֹ־בִלְגִּירִי־מֵרָאָה־תַּגְלַת־פִּלְסֵר־מֶלֶךְ־  
אֲשׁוּר־בִּמְחַנַּת־גַּם־....
- 17 וּבְבִיָּה־אִיָּחָה־מִלְכּוֹ־וּבְבִיתָהּ־מִחַנַּת־מֵרָאָה־מֶלֶךְ־אֲשׁוּר־כֹּלָה־  
וּלְקַח־מֵרָאָה־מֶלֶךְ־אֲשׁוּר־...
- 18 יְנִבְשֶׁה־וְהִקֵּם־לָהּ־מִשְׁתֵּי־בָאֶרֶח־וְהַעֲבִיר־אֲבִי־מִן־דְּמִשְׁק־  
לְאֲשֶׁר־בְּיוֹמֵי־שָׁר־....
- 19 יְהִי־בֵיתָהּ־כֹּלָה־וְאֲנִכִּי־בִרְכָב־בְּרִי־פִנְמוֹ־בִצְדָק־אֲבִי־וּבִצְדָקִי־  
הוֹשִׁבֵנִי־מֵרָאִי־...
- 20 אֲבִי־פִנְמוֹ־בְרִי־בִרְצָד־וְשִׁמְתִּי־נֹצֵב־וֶן־[לֹאֲבִי־לְפִנְמוֹ־בְרִי־  
בִרְצָד־וּמִת־בְּטִי־...
- 21 וְאָמַר־בְּמִשּׁוֹת־וְעַל־יָבֵל־אֲמֵן־יִסֵּם־מֶלֶךְ־.....וְיָבֵל־יִי־אֵל־  
קֹדֶם־קִבְרִי־אֲבִי־[פִנְמוֹ]־...
- 22 חֲכִיר־זֹנֶה־הָאֵל־פֶּאֶה־הַרְדִּי־וְאֵל־וְרִכְבָּאֵל־בְּעַל־בֵּית־וְשִׁמְש־  
וְכָל־אֱלֹהֵי־יָאֲדִי־...
- 23 יְקֹרֵם־אֱלֹהֵי־וְקֹרֵם־אֲנִש־

This statue Bar-*rekub* placed to his father Panammu, son of Bar-*ṣur*, king [of Ya'di]: . . year . . my [fa]ther Panammu . . <sup>2</sup> his father; the gods of Ya'di delivered him from his destruction. There was a conspiracy (?) in his father's house, and the god Had[ad] rose . . his seat (?) over (?) . . destruction . . <sup>3</sup> in the house of his father, and slew his father Bar-*ṣur*, and slew seventy 70 kinsmen of his father . . chariots . . owner of . . <sup>4</sup> and with the rest thereof indeed (?) he filled the prisons, and desolate cities he made more numerous than inhabited cities . . . . [ye] set (?) <sup>5</sup> the sword against my house and slay one of my sons, I have also caused the sword to be in the land of Ya'di . . Panammu, son of QRL . . my father . . perished . . <sup>6</sup> grain and corn and wheat and barley, and a peres stood at a shekel, and a *shaṭrab* . . at a shekel, and an *'esnab* of ? at a shekel; and

my father brought . . . <sup>7</sup> to the king of Assyria, and he made him king over his father's house, and he slew ? of destruction from his father's house . . . from the treasure . . . of the land (?) of Ya'di, from . . . <sup>8</sup> and he ? the prisons, and released the captives of Ya'di; and my father aro[se] and released the women of . . . house of the women killed (?) and ? . . . <sup>9</sup> his father's house; and he made it better than it was before; and wheat and barley and grain and corn were plentiful in his days; and then . . . did eat and . . . <sup>10</sup> cheapness of price (?). And in the days of my father Panammu he appointed indeed (?) ? ? and charioteers, and . . . my father Panammu in the midst of the kings of ? . . . <sup>11</sup> my [fa]ther, whether he possessed silver or whether he possessed gold, in his wisdom and in his righteousness ? laid hold of the skirt of his lord the king of Assyria . . . <sup>12</sup> Assyria, the governors, and the princes of Ya'di, and his lord the king of Assyria was gracious to (?) him above the kings of ? . . . <sup>13</sup> at the wheel of his lord Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, (in) the campaigns . . . from the east even to the west, and [from] . . . <sup>14</sup> the four parts of the earth; and the daughters of the east he brought to the west, and the daughters of the west he brought to the [ca]st, and [my] father . . . <sup>15</sup> his border, his lord Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, cities from the border of Gurgum . . . and my [fa]ther Panammu, son of B[ar-šur] . . . <sup>16</sup> ? Moreover my father Panammu died while following his lord Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, in the camp, also . . . <sup>17</sup> and his kinsfolk bewailed him ?, and the whole camp of his lord the king of Assyria bewailed him, and his lord the king of Assyria took . . . <sup>18</sup> . his soul, and set up for him a ? on the way, and brought across my father from Damascus to (this) place (?). In my (?) days . . . <sup>19</sup> . the whole of his house. And as for me Bar-rekub, son of Panamm[u, for the righteous]ness of my father and for my own righteousness, [my] lord made me to sit . . . <sup>20</sup> of my father Panammu, son of Bar-šur; and I have placed this statue . . . to my [father] Panammu, son of Bar-šur . . . <sup>21</sup> and . said ? and concerning ? surety (?) . . . king . . . and ? . . . before (?)

the sepulchre of my father Pa[nammu] . . . <sup>22</sup> and a memorial is this (?). Also may Hadad and El and Rekub-el, lord of the house, and Shamash, and all the gods of Ya'di . . . <sup>23</sup>. before the gods and before men!

The text given above is derived from the facsimile in *Ausgraben in Sendschirli*, and from the text as published by Lidzbarski in *Nordsem. Epigr.*

L. 1. 1. נַעַב 61 1; for שֵׁם נַעַב see 87 1 n. 68 בררֵב prob. a short form of בִּרְכַבָּאֵל 61 2 n. אִבָּה Pronounced אִבָּה as appears from אִבָּוִי l. 2; the full form is אִבָּוִי 76 A 5. D 1, in Nab. 82 2, in Palm. 110 3 &c., in Syr. ܐܒܝܐ. ברֵּרֵב As in בררֵב, the latter part of the compound is a divine name צֵר, which occurs in the biblical pr. n. מִדְּרֻצֹּר Num. 1 10 &c., and in the place-name בִּיתְרֻצֹּר Josh. 15 58; see Gray *Hebr. Pr. Names* 195 ff.<sup>1</sup> מֶלֶךְ יָאֲדִי 61 1. After שָׁנָה Sach. reads שָׁנָה i. e. a Nif. form (not used in Aram.), and translates '[in remembrance] of the year when his father was delivered.'

L. 2. מִלְטָוֹ One of the objects of the inscr. was to commemorate the deliverance of the king, cf. 1 3 f. For מִלְטָ, in Hebr. poetical, cf. Ps. 18 3. 44. 49. אֱלֹהֵי יָאֲדִי Contrast אֱלֹהֵי יָאֲדִי l. 22. Perhaps the ' at the end of אֱלֹהֵי (constr. plur.) was left out here because יָאֲדִי follows. שָׁחַתָּה appears to be inf. constr. with suff., cf. l. 7. 61 27 f., and see 61 18 n. אֱלֹהֵי Possibly = Hebr. אֱלֹהֵי oath, here conspiracy, DHM approved by Nöld. The facsimile clearly gives אֱלֹהֵי, but Lidzb. reads אֱלֹהֵי, a form of the relat. particle, cf. 71 (?). הָוֵה 3 sing. fem. of הָוָה, in Bibl. Aram. הָוָה, הָוָה. מִשְׁבָּחָה Perhaps the same word as in 61 15. 25.

L. 3. וְהִרְגָּה אִבָּה בְּרֵרֵב *His father* is ambiguous; the suffix may refer to the murderer, another son of Bar-šur and brother of Panammu, or it may refer to Panammu, the murderer being some member of the royal household. The latter is preferable (DHM). שְׁבָעִי For the omission of final ך see 61 4 n., and cf. the forms of the tens (cardinals) in Assyr. *ēšd, šaldšd, ḥanšd* &c., and in Eth. *salšd, ḥamsd* &c., and in late Syr. ܫܠܫܬ, ܚܡܫܬ &c. On a basalt fragment found at Zenjirli the usual form occurs with the same numerical symbols as

<sup>1</sup> The connexion between this divine name and the title צֵר (ה) *the Rock* used of Yahweh in the O.T. (Dt. 32 4. 2 S. 23 3. Is. 17 10 &c.) is not clear. Very likely there is none; the title צֵר (ה) seems too purely figurative to have suggested the existence of a separate deity called *Rock*. The bibl. and post-bibl. references to צֵר are discussed by Wiegand in *ZATW* (1890) 85 ff.



here . . . מלכ[ן] : . . . Sach. 71. As an illustration of the massacre see Jud. 9 5. 2 K. 10 7. Apparently plur. constr. ; see 61 24 n.

L. 4. וחרח May be a verb (61 11 n.); but it is simpler to take it as a noun, cf. יחרו Is. 44 19; the suff. will then be sing. collective, referring to those who took part in the plot. For the two accus. after מלכ cf. 1 K. 18 35. Eze. 9 7 &c. מסגרת Cf. Ps. 18 46. Mic. 7

17. For מח see 61 12 n. חרב Adj., cf. Eze. 36 35. ישבח Ptcp. pass. In Hebr. the Nif. ptcp. is used, e.g. Eze. 12 20 &c. חשם.

DHM reads חשמו, and supposes that the speaker is the god Hadad, announcing a divine oracle.

L. 5. חר בני i.e. king Bar-sur; cf. Ps. 2 7. See 61 8 n. חר if it governs the foll. חרב must be Pael, *I caused to be, to fall*, cf. Arab. حوى *to fall*. The perf. after the impfs. in the preceding clause lays emphasis on the finality of the god's decision. חמנו בר קל i.e. Panammu i, 61 1.

L. 6. שחא l. 9, prob. = *corn*, Assy. *šeu*. שורה The context requires some kind of *grain*. The use of the word here throws light upon Is. 28 25 חמה שורה ושערה, and shows that it is unnecessary to regard שורה as a corrupt repetition of שערה. שחא חמי, שערי Cf. חמה ושערה

61 5. 6; for prices in a time of plenty cf. 2 K. 7 וסאותים 1. In these words the fem. ending ה (absol. state) is noticeable; cf. 1 זנה l. 22. 63 20. 61 18 n., and the usage of Bibl. Aram. and Nabataean.

פריס lit. *half, a half mina*, cf. CIS ii 10 פריס, explained in the Assy. version as 'a half mina.' In Talm. B. *Peḏ* viii 5 פריס, as the context implies, = חצי מנה; cf. Dan. 5 25 פריס, and see Cl-Gan, *Rec.* i 142 f. חקל = שקל, the ש as in early Aram. inscr. from

Nineveh, CIS ii 13 f. 43, cf. שלש ib. 3. שטרב The name of a dry (?) measure. There are traces of a letter after ב; perhaps the full form was שטרבת. אסנב Cf. סנב CIS ii 7 a, in the Assy. version,

'two-thirds of a mina,' perhaps the Sumerian *sinibu*. משה

The meaning *drink* (= משה Dan. 5 10) is too indefinite, and *load, something carried* (משה a fem. form of משה) is equally vague. Lidzb. reads משה oil for anointing, cf. 76 C 1 (?). 147 ii a 12 ff.; but the facsimile shows a ת. חבל i.e. חבל Pael pf. = חבל, ll. 14. 21.

The object of the verb was prob. some such word as 'a present.' In consequence of the famine Panammu sought the protection of the Assyrian king, and no doubt had to purchase it by a gift.

L. 7. מלכה Pael pf.; illustrate from 2 K. 24 17. מכן שחת is rendered by DHM *stone of destruction*, cf. Is. 8 14 מכן נגף. Such an expression sounds too rhetorical for an inscription; moreover, מכן is an uncertain reading. מן אצר The sentence may be completed

ארק אלה] *from the treasury of the gods of the land of Y'd di*. The reading ארק is better supported by the facsimile than Lidzb.'s אלה. The passage may be illustrated by 2 K. 16 8; cf. אצרות בית יי 1 K. 14 26 &c.

L. 8. DHM renders *searched*, and compares מְקַשֵּׁשׁ in Targ. and Talm. A better meaning, *suppressed*, may be obtained through the Assy. *pasdu* (פסד) = 'blot out,' 'extinguish,' esp. of sins. ארמי Afel pf. of רמי, cf. הרפה in Hebr., e.g. Cant. 3 4 אֶחָדָיו וְלֹא אָרַשׁוּ Job 27 6. שבי מצרים Cf. שבי יאדי Is. 20 4. קחיל Ptcp. pass. plur. fem. The form קחל agrees with the Arab. كحل as against the Hebr. and Aram. קטל; cf. מלט Hebr., Aram. = Arab. نلت. The meaning of קנאל is unknown.

L. 9. קדמתו Lit. *its former state*; cf. קדמתו Eze. 16 55. 36 11. אז then, or whatever; cf. מן אכלת cannot = מְאֻכֶּלָה *food*, for the fem. ending of nouns is ה in this inscr., e.g. חמה &c. The form seems to be perf. 3 sing. fem. . רשת if these letters are correct, may be restored וְשָׁתָה or וְשָׁתָה and *did drink*. The subj. of both verbs is perhaps [יאדי], though in מן יאדי 9 is mas., or [ארקא].

L. 10. זל may be explained by the Talm. זל *be cheap*, זל *cheapness*, e.g. Midr. Rab. Qoh. 10 c זל אוכל ביוקר זה אוכל בזול; Bab. Qam. 20 a זל אוכל ביוקר זה אוכל בזול 'value of barley at a cheap price.' The form is uncertain; DHM explains it as absol. st. of מוכרות = Hebr. מָכַר Num. 20 19. שם The subj. seems to be the king of Assyria. בעלי 2 S. 1 6; but רכב may well mean *charioteers*, cf. הרכבים הפרשים; but בעלי כפיר can hardly mean *villagers, citizens of villages* (see 10 3 n.) in this connexion. To render *lords over chariots, lords over villages*, gives an unusual meaning to בעל *owner*, but it may be illustrated by בעלי נים Is. 16 8. The meaning of כפיר is uncertain; see מן 10 n. ב. ח. ב. Hal. restores ונחשב *and was esteemed* which involves a Nifal form (l. 1 n.); Lidzb. ונחשב. See מן 28 n. The last letter looks like ח or ה in the facsimile; but במצעת makes no sense. מלכי כבר l. 12. כבר may be the name of a place, cf. כְּבֵר Eze. 1 1 &c., or a noun, *might*; cf. the verb כָּבַר l. 4.

L. 11. לו . . . לו *sive . . . sive*; for לו see מן 13 n. It is questionable whether לו could have been written for the negative לא, as many take it. The general sense appears to be, 'my father, whatever the state of his exchequer (or, however wealthy he may have been), was prudent enough to seek the patronage of a powerful suzerain.' Cf. מן 10 f. מי Not *my mouth*, which would be מי מן 29. Lidzb. takes מ as the conjunction, and reads מיאחז; but the impf. is out of place here, and the facsimile distinctly shows the dividing dot after מי.

Possibly **מִי** may be an unusual form of the conjunction, = **מֵא** l. 22. **אִחִי בְּכֶנֶן** is a figure for seeking alliance and protection, cf. Zech. 8 23. **מִרְאָה** From **מִרָא** 68 3 (constr. st.) with suff., cf. 76 A 7. In later Aram. the 3rd radical disappears before a suff., e.g. in Palm. **מִרְאָה** 126 2 &c., though it is retained in the Nab. form **מִרְאָה** 81 8 &c., and in the Bibl. Aram. **מִרְאָה** Dan. 4 16. 21 Kethib.

L. 12. **מִרְאָה** must be regarded as plur. absol., not constr., and as equivalent to the Hebr. **מִרְאָה** (sing. **מִרְאָה**), Assy. *pahdā* 'viceroy'; see Schrader *COT* 186. **מִרְאָה** Prob. 'members of the royal family, lit. brethren, of Ya'di.' **אִחִי** is apparently a title like **אִחִי** l. 3.

L. 3. **חֲנָא** Possibly Pael perf. with suff. 3 sing. mas. from **חָנָא** = **חָנָא** *encamp*; 'he gave him a position in the Assyrian camp above the kings of **אֲמַא**.' The suzerain was attended on his campaigns by dependent kings; cf. 1 K. 20 1. 12. 16. But the rendering *caused him to encamp* is uncertain; and as the context in 61 19 hardly admits *I encamped* as the sense of **חֲנָא**, it is perhaps better in both cases to take the forms from **חָנָא** *be gracious* (DHM), although the **א** is difficult to explain. **חָנָא** על מלכי כְּבָר Illustrate from 2 K. 25 28.

L. 13. **חָנָא** 68 8 the same word as the Hebr. **חָנָא**, properly the *wheel* of a chariot, Is. 5 28. Jer. 47 3, or the *chariot* itself; illustrate from 1 K. 20 33. 2 K. 10 15. 16. The missing verb was prob. *and he caused me to ride, or and I ran* (68 8). **חָנָא** So written in 2 K. 16 7; elsewhere **חָנָא** 2 K. 15 29. 16 10; in 68 3. 6 **חָנָא**. For the history of this warlike and successful king see Schrader *COT* 240 ff. **חָנָא** Prob. plur. rather than constr. sing. as in ll. 16. 17. The meaning here is *armies* or *campaigns* (DHM) rather than *camps*; cf. Jud. 4 15 f. 1 K. 22 34 &c. **חָנָא** must be governed by some verb now lost. **חָנָא** = **חָנָא**, see 61 5 2. In Hebr. **חָנָא** is used of the sun rising, Gen. 19 23. Ps. 19 7. For **חָנָא** . . . **חָנָא** cf. Ps. 75 7.

L. 14. **חָנָא** רְבִיעִי **חָנָא** (plur. constr.). The latter expression shows that **חָנָא** (Hebr. **חָנָא** *one fourth*) is plur. and not sing.; cf. the Assy. *šar kibrat irbittī* or *arba'i* 'king of the four quarters,' a title used by Tiglath-pileser and the kings before and after him; *KB* ii 2. 8. 34 &c. **חָנָא** The allusion is prob. to the transportation of subject nations, a characteristic feature of Assyrian policy. **חָנָא** may be used figuratively for 'peoples' (cf. 'daughter of Zion'), or simply *women*.

L. 15. The connexion between this and the line before was prob., 'my father rendered him military service, and his lord . . . added to his border cities &c.' (DHM). **חָנָא** *Gurgum* or *Gamgum*, mentioned

in inscr. of Salmanassar ii, *KB* i 156. 172, a principality to the NE. of Sam'al among the border mountains between Syria and Cilicia, bounded by the districts of Kommagene (Assyr. *Kummuh*) and Melitene (*Milid*) on the NE. In the Annals of Tiglath-pileser iii the name occurs between *Samal* and *Milid*, *KB* ii 30. The chief town was *Marqasi* (CIS ii p. 15) = מַרְקָשׁ = مَرْقَش; we may conclude that the Amanus district round Mar'ash formed the kingdom of Gurgum; Sachau *Sitzungsber. Preuss. Akad.* (1892) pp. 320 ff.

L. 16. שְׁמֵרָה Prob. a pr. n.; cf. שְׁמֵרָה Jud. 5 6, and p. 80 n. וְנָם 61 8 n. בְּלִנְרִי By metathesis for בְּרִנְלִי; cf. in Mandaic ܒܠܝܢܐ = ܒܠܝܢܐ, אַרְקָבָה = ܐܪܩܒܐ scorpion, Nöld. *Mand. Gram.* 74. בְּלִנְרִי Lit. at the feet of; cf. for the idiom Jud. 4 10. 1 S. 25 27 &c.

L. 17. וּבְכִיָּה i. e. prob. וּבְכִיָּה Pael pf. 3 sing., cf. 65 5 בְּכֹוֹי. The construction of the words following is obscure. אִיחָה, though sing. in form (61 30), must have a plur. meaning; it may be regarded as a sing. collective. DHM takes מְלֹכֻּ as מְלֹכֻּתָּה, cf. 61 11; but his royal kinsmen would be מְלֹכֻּ וְ אִיחָה. Lidzb. simplifies the difficulty by rendering his kinsmen, the kings; apparently treating the abstract singular form as equivalent to a concrete plur., like מְלֹכֻ in 61 2 (uncertain). כֻּלָּה The suff. is fem., referring back to וּבְכִיָּה and מְלֹכֻ. For this idiomatic use of כֻּלָּה with suff., cf. l. 19 כֻּלָּה מְלֹכֻ. ביתה כֻּלָּה in Syr. ܒܝܬܗ ܕܟܠܗ Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* § 218, in Hebr. Is. 9 8. Jer. 13 19 &c., in Arab. ܐܠܝܬ ܕܟܠܗ Wright *Ar. Gr.* ii § 82 (a); cf. 89 5 n.

L. 18. נִשְׁחָה See 61 17 n. וְחָקֵם i. e. חָקֵם. מִשְׁחָה, if correct, will = מִשְׁחָה feast, a meaning which hardly agrees with . . חָקֵם. בְּאִרְחָה Hal. reads מִשְׁכֵּי (שֹׁכֵחַ/), a possible alternative, and compares מִשְׁכֵּי Lev. 26 1. Num. 33 52, i. e. a figured stone with an image of a god; this gives a suitable sense. The reading מִשְׁכֵּי a weeping (Sach. &c.) is not that of the facsimile. The passage finds a striking illustration in Gen. 50 7-13. מְעַבְרֵי אֲבִי מִן דְּמִשְׁק The subj. of the verb is Tiglath-pileser, who was engaged upon the siege of Damascus in 733-2 B.C. After 732 he returned home, and no further expedition to Syria is recorded; see Schrader *COT* 258 f. לְאִשְׁרֵי i. e. prob. to his native place. Panammu would naturally desire to be buried in his own country; cf. Gen. 47 29 f. 50 25. Ex. 13 19. Josh. 24 32.

L. 19. בְּרִכְבֵּי A careless spelling of בְּרִכְבֵּי. אֲנִי . . . חֹשְׁבֵנִי The casus pendens, with the pers. pron. as subject; similarly in Hebr. Gen. 24 27 &c.; Driver *Tenses* § 197 (4). The form אֲנִי (61 1 אֲנִי), a stranger to Aram., is a peculiar feature of this dialect; see

p. 185. בצדק אבי ונ' The phrase occurs again in 63 4 f. and in the basalt fragment (l. 3 n.) . . . בצדק אב[י] ונצדקי; cf. 65 2. The line may be completed מלך אשר על כרסא, as in 63 6 f.

L. 20. ונצדק i. e. ונצדק. After ונצדק we may restore זכר - לאב[י] as a memorial to my father. Sach. reads ונצדק . . .

The remainder of the inscr. is in many parts so much injured that the exact sense cannot be recovered. The general purport of l. 21 seems to be the safeguarding of the statue and sepulchre(?); ll. 22 f. probably invoke the curse of the gods upon any attempt to violate the memorial. The inscr. thus closes in the same way as 61, but with less elaborate detail.

L. 21. אמר may be either pf. 3 sing., or impf. 1 sing. במשותף Sach. connects with the Hebr. משאות portions, gifts, and the Phoen. משאות 42 1, and renders 'he gave orders in the matter of offerings.' Hoffm. derives the form from the שית/. The meaning must remain obscure. יכל Sach. concerning produce, Hebr. יכל, אמן Perhaps surety, 61 11 n. ויכל and he brought, l. 6.

L. 22. זכר זנה הוא The rendering given above is conjectural. For this is a memorial we should expect the order זכר הוא, as in Hebr. ז' Chr. 21 31. Qoh. 1 17. The idiom is frequent in post-bibl. Hebr., and in Aram., e. g. Dan. 4 27 וזא רבא רבא &c.; Driver *Tenses* § 201 (3) Obs. Normally the pronoun הוא anticipates the subject, which comes last (*this is it, Babylon*); but here the subject comes first for emphasis, and the pronoun reiterates it (*a memorial, this is it*). Similarly in Syr., the pronoun may refer either backwards or forwards to the subject; Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* § 311. זכר See 61 17 n. זכר See 61 2 n. בעל בית owner of the temple (5 15 f.) rather than 'patron of the royal house.'

L. 23. אלחם ואנש 69 20 אלחם . . . אלחם Cf. Jud. 9 9. 13

63. Zenjirli: Bar-rekub. Same period as 62. Imp. Museum, Constantinople.

- 1 אנה ב[ר] רכב
- 2 בר פנמי מלך שמ
- 3 אל עבד תגלתפליסר מרא
- 4 רבעי ארקא בצדק אבי ונצדק
- 5 קי הושבני מראי רכבאל

- 6 ומראי • תגלתפליסר • על •  
 7 כרסא • אבי • ובית • אבי • ע  
 8 מל • מן • כל • ורצת • בגלגל •  
 9 מראי • מלך • אשור • במצע  
 10 ת • מלכן • רברבן • בעלי • כ  
 11 סף • ובעלי • זהב • ואחוזת •  
 12 בית • אבי • והיטבתה •  
 13 מן • בית • חד • מלכן • רברב  
 14 ן • והתנאבו • אחי • מלכי  
 15 א • לכל • מה • מבט • בתי • ו  
 16 בי • מב • לישה • לאבהי • מ  
 17 לבי • שמאל • הא • בית • כלמ  
 18 ו • להם • פהא • בית • שתוא • ל  
 19 הם • והא • בית • כיצא • ו  
 20 אנה • בנית • ביתא • זנה •

I am Bar-rekub, <sup>2</sup> son of Panammu, king of Sam'al, servant of Tiglath-pileser lord <sup>4</sup> of the four parts of the earth. For the righteousness of my father and for my own righteousness my lord Rekub-el <sup>6</sup> and my lord Tiglath-pileser made me to sit upon <sup>7</sup> the throne of my father. And my father's house laboured more than all: and I ran at the wheel <sup>9</sup> of my lord, the king of Assyria, in the midst of mighty kings, possessors of silver and possessors of gold. And I took <sup>12</sup> the house of my father, and made it better <sup>13</sup> than the house of any of the mighty kings <sup>14</sup>; and my brethren the kings coveted (?) <sup>15</sup> all the prosperity of my house. And <sup>16</sup> a good house (?) my fathers, the kings of Sam'al, did not possess; it was a house of ? <sup>18</sup> to them, and it was their summer house <sup>19</sup> and it was a winter house; so <sup>21</sup> I built this house.

This inscr. belongs not to a statue, like 61 and 62, but to a building—the new palace built by Bar-rekub. It was found in 1891 on the *Tell* of Zenjirli. On the left side of the inscr. is a figure of the king in Assyrian style carved in relief, holding a lotus flower in his hand. Another fine relief of Bar-rekub has been found at Zenjirli: the king is seated on his throne, with a eunuch behind and a scribe in front of him. On the right, and at the level of the king's crown, is carved the inscr. [אנה בררוב בר מנא]. In the middle of the monument, between the head of the king and that of the eunuch, is the symbol of the lunar deity, a full moon and crescent; at the right of it runs the legend מלך באל i.e. 'My lord is Ba'al of Harran.' Harran, in N. Mesopotamia, possessed the great temple of Sin, the Assyrian moon-god; and this was no doubt the deity whom Bar-rekub worshipped; see 64 9 n. Halévy *Rev. Sémit.* (1895) 392 ff.; Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* ii 213, *Rec.* ii § 40, *Album d'Ant. Or.* Pl. xlv (facsimile).

L. 1. אנה l. 20. 68 1. 73 A 3; contrast מנא 61 1. 62 19. The Aram. character of the dialect is more strongly marked in this inscr. than in the two preceding ones. בררוב The same person as the donor of 62; he was reigning prob. in the years 732–727 B.C.

L. 2. מלך שמהל The outline of the history of Sam'al may be traced in Assyrian inscriptions for about 233 years. It is first mentioned, as a country, by Salmanassar ii (860–825 B.C.), who defeated a coalition of N. Syrian kings at the beginning of his reign, *KB* i 156 f.: Sam'al was then an independent state. It is mentioned next by Tiglath-pileser iii in 738 and 734 B.C., as a town, with a king Panammu, *KB* ii 20. 30: at this period it became tributary. Then, in 681 B.C., the provincial governor of Sam'al gave his name to the first year of Asarhaddon (681–668 B.C.), Smith *Eponym. Canon* 68; and in 670 Asarhaddon made Sam'al a halting-place on his return from Egypt. By this time it had become part of the Assyrian empire. Lastly, the name appears in two lists of Syrian towns, temp. Ashurbanipal (668–626 B.C.), which must have been written before the end of his reign, Rawlinson *Cun. Inscr. of W. Asia* ii 53 1. 43; 53 3 1. 61; Sachau 58 ff. The situation of Sam'al may be inferred from the occurrence of the name in the inscriptions between Gurgum (62 15 n.) and Patin or Hamath (*KB* i 156; ii 20. 30); it lay in the country between the rivers Pyramos on the N. and Orontes on the S., at the foot of the Amanus mountains. The name has a Semitic sound, and perhaps, like the Hebr. שמאל, means *left*, geographically *north*. In this inscription Bar-rekub, son of Panammu ii, calls himself 'king of Sam'al' and his ancestors 'kings of Sam'al' ll. 2. 16 f., but

Panammu ii is styled 'king of Ya'di' in 62, and likewise Panammu i in 61. The question arises, what is the relation between the two districts or cities? Sam'al, it seems, was ruled by the dynasty of Panammu ii and Bar-rekub; Tiglath-pileser speaks of 'Panammu of Sam'al' (supr.); and we may suppose that Ya'di, which had Panammu i for its king in an earlier generation (see 61 i n.), was attached to the neighbouring state of Sam'al in the time of Panammu ii, perhaps as a reward for his fidelity to the king of Assyria. The fact that a king of Sam'al and a king of Ya'di bore the same name, though belonging to different families, may be merely accidental or due to some previous alliance by marriage (Winckler *Alt. Forsch.* i 15 ff.). It is curious, however, that Bar-rekub, if he ruled over both places, in 62 makes no mention of Sam'al, and in 63 says nothing about Ya'di. Whether Zenjirli belonged to Ya'di or to Sam'al in ancient times is not clear; for both 62 (יאדי) and 63 (שמאל) were found there. The Hadad statue (61), which was found at Gerjin near Zenjirli, was certainly a product of Ya'di. Winckler argues that Zenjirli and Gerjin belonged to Ya'di, and were situated near the southern border of Sam'al, the neighbouring state.

L. 3. עבר תגלתפליסר See 62 13 n.; illustrate from 2 K. 16 7.

L. 4. רבעתארק רבעי ארקא In 62 14 רבעתארק is a clear instance of the emphatic state, cf. מלכיא l. 14. ביהא l. 20, and perhaps שתוא, ביהא ll. 18 f. In 61 and 62 this characteristic Aram. usage does not occur. בצדק אבי Cf. 62 19.

L. 5. רכבאל See 61 2 n.

L. 7. ברסא See 15 2 n. עטל Perf. 3 sing. or ptcip., probably *laboured, toiled*, as in Aram., Arab., and late Hebr.; מן will then have a comparative sense. Bar-rekub claims that his family was the most zealous of all the princely houses in the service of the suzerain.

L. 8. ורצה בגלגל Lit. *I ran at the wheel*, i. e. followed the chariot; cf. 62 13, and contrast 1 S. 8 11 מרכבתו ורצו לפני.

L. 9. במצעת See 61 28 n.

L. 10. מלכ רברבן The form of the plur. is clearly Aram.; see 61 4 n. The reduplicated form of רב is common in the Targ., רבִּרְבָּא; in Syr. ܪܒܪܒܐ. בעלי כסף וט' Cf. 62 11; בעל in this sense is frequent in the O. T., e.g. Qoh. 5 10. 12 &c.

L. 12. והימבתה Perhaps out of spoils of the campaign; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 103.

L. 13. חר See 61 27 n.

L. 14. התנאבו is a double reflexive form, Ethnafal, from אבה or



from יאב (i.e. *התנאבו*), the latter being frequent in Syr. in the Ethp. *אבתי* 119 131, in Hebr. Ps. 119 *אבתי*. The meaning is prob. *they wished for themselves*, i.e. *coveted*. Hoffm. compares the Assy. Ittanafal form in *ittanabrig* 'flash forth,' and the Ethiop. reflexive with prefixed *lau* (Dillmann *Gram. Äth. Spr.* 150). Sachau unnecessarily supposes an error for התנדרו. מלכיא See l. 4 n.

L. 15. לכל מה The ל is governed by התנאבו; מה adds a vaguely intensifying force to כל, as the Arab. ما after an indef. noun; in Palm. כלמה 147 i 12. מבה Either sing. מבה or plur. מבה.

L. 16. בי is perhaps for בית, the final ת being dropped; it is difficult to obtain sense if בי is the prep. with suff. ליש i.e. *there was not*, with suff. 3 sing. mas., ליש, without the final ו; cf. קרמוח 65 2 for קרמוחי. ליש is a contracted form of יש לא, cf. the Arab. *lā yā* (inflected like a verb), Aram. *lā yā*, Mand. *lā yā*, and the Assy. *lā yā* 'is not,' 'has not.' In the second Nêrab inscr. the negative shows the same tendency to assimilate itself to the word following and to lose the א, thus לאתאחו 65 4. לשמו 6. לתחם 8. אבחי Plur. with suff., cf. *אבחי* Dan. 2 23. For the ה inserted cf. *שמה* from *שם* Ezr. 5 4, and 9 3 n.

L. 17. בית in this and the foll. lines means *palace* more naturally than *mausoleum*. כלמו Perhaps = Assy. *kaldma* 'all,' 'of every kind.' 'A house of totality' will then mean 'a single house' or 'a house for everything'; it was the only palace which Bar-rekub's ancestors possessed. Another possible explanation is that כלמו stands by metathesis for מלכו = מלכות 'a royal palace,' see 62 17 n.; so Hoffm., Cl.-Gan., Lidzb.(?).

L. 18. להם with the suff. להם for להן; so in Egypt. Aram., e.g. במנהם 70 A 1; in Nab., e.g. בניהם 89 5; in B. Aram., e.g. Jer. 10 11 and Ezr. (by the side of להן, but Dan. has only להן); and in Targ. Ps.-Jon. שתא = Arab. *shā*, Hebr. סתו Cant. 2 11.

L. 19. כיצא = קיצא, cf. יצמלך = יצמלך 64 11. כרצי = קרצי 75 2; similarly the Arab. *qarā* = Hebr. צחק, Mand. *qarā* = Hebr. קשט. For the winter and summer palace cf. Am. 3 15 בית החורף, and Jer. 36 22. כיצא = Aram. קיצא, Arab. *qarā*.

L. 20. ביתא See l. 4 n.

#### *Additional note on the dialect of the Zenzirli inscriptions.*

There can be no doubt that this dialect belongs to the Aramaic, rather than to any other branch of the Semitic family. Thus the words אברו, רברבן, קדם, פם, מרא, מצע(ח), כרסא, חד, בר, ארק, אנה



## 64. Nêrab 1. Prob. vii cent. B. C. Louvre.

ששזרבן	כמר	1
שהר	בנרב מת	2
חנה	צלמה	3
ואר	צתה	4
מן	את	5
תהנם	צלמא	6
זנה	וארצתא	7
מן	אשרה	8
שהר ושמש ונבל ונשך יסחו		9
שמך ואשרך מן חין ומות לחה		10
יכמלך ויהאברו זרעך והן		11
תנצר צלמא וארצתא זא		12
אחרה	ינצר	13
זי לך		14

Of Sin-zir-ban, priest <sup>2</sup> of Sahar in Nêrab, deceased. <sup>3</sup> And this is his image <sup>4</sup> and his couch. <sup>5</sup> Whosoever thou art <sup>6</sup> that shalt plunder this image <sup>7</sup> and couch <sup>8</sup> from its place, <sup>9</sup> may Sahar and Shamash and Nikal and Nusk pluck <sup>10</sup> thy name and thy place out of life, and with a ? death <sup>11</sup> kill thee, and cause thy seed to perish! But if <sup>12</sup> thou shalt protect this image and couch, <sup>13</sup> may another protect <sup>14</sup> thine!

The two inscrs. 64 and 65 were found in 1891 at Nêrab, a small village SE. of Aleppo. They accompany the bas-reliefs of two priests of the local sanctuary, finely executed in the Assyrian manner and singularly well preserved. No. 64 represents the priest Sin-zir-ban, with hands raised and joined in prayer; the upper part of the inscr. surrounds the head and hands, the lower part is written across the robe. The writing is not so archaic and rigid as that of the Zenjirli

inscr., while it belongs to an earlier stage than that of the inscr. from Têma (69. 70). An indication of date is afforded by the names of the deities mentioned. They are clearly Assyrian; and 'the moon-god at Nêrab,' the chief deity of the place, can be none other than the Assyrian Sin, whose great temple was at Harran. The worship of Sin had already made its way from Harran to N. Syria in the time of Bar-tekub, before 727 B.C. (see p. 182); and from the same quarter it found a home at Nêrab. The temple at Harran was destroyed by the Medes in 605 and restored by Nabonid in 552. Cl.-Ganneau, with much plausibility, dates these monuments from this period. He suggests that after the catastrophe of 605, Nêrab offered the hospitality of a shrine to the moon-god and his allied divinities (*Ét.* ii 222).

L. 1. ששנורבן The first letter is not distinctly cut, but the traces are clear enough to justify the reading (Lidzb., Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii 106 f.). This ש must be the relative and sign of the genitive; cf. 65 1, and similarly in Phoen., at the head of an inscr., 39 2 n. In Aram. we should expect וי at this period (e. g. כסמא וי CIS ii 70); but the usage here is perhaps influenced by the Assy. *ša* (possessive). שנורבן The name is Assy., *Sin-sir-ban* 'Sin has created a son,' a suitable name for a priest of שחר = Sin, the moon-god; cf. *Marduk-sir-bāni* CIS ii 18 end. כמר 65 1. 69 23. b 2; Nab. 98 4; Syr. ܡܫܚܐ; NPun. 55 7 (see n.). The √כמר may be connected with the Assy. *kamdru* 'lay prostrate,' hence כמר *priest*, lit. 'one who prostrates himself.'

L. 2. שחר i. e. *the moon*; Aram. סחר, סחר, סחר; Arab. شهر; cf. Hebr. שחרונים 'moon-shaped ornaments,' Jud. 8 21. 26. Is. 3 18; see further on l. 9. שחר בנרב *the moon-god at Nêrab* 65 1. For the expression see 24 2 n.; it implies that the deity was imported from elsewhere. נרב is still called النيرب. Three places of this name were known to antiquity, this one near Aleppo, another near Sermin (27½ m. SE. of Aleppo), and a third near Damascus. Nireb is mentioned in the list of Thothmes iii, *Rec. of the Past*, new ser., v 33; and Stephanus Byz. s. v. Νήραβος gives πόλις Συρίας, possibly, but not certainly, referring to the Nêrab here. It is not unlikely that Nêrab acknowledged the suzerainty of Assyria at this period, judging from the strongly marked impress of Assyrian influence on these inscriptions.

L. 3. נה See add. note ii p. 26.

L. 4. ארצתח l. 7 ארצתח = ערשתח (Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* ii 196, Lidzb.) lit. *couch*, here *sarcophagus* 65 8, cf. Dt. 3 11 ערש ברזל; Palm. ערשא = عرشا, Inscr. of Tayyibe, p. 296 n. 1. For the orthography cf. عسقلان = אשקלן, אחרקיש = Athar (عثر) is *holy* CIS ii 312 (Hoffm. *ZA* xi 2 11), and in

Mand. אַטמא=עטמא=עצם, Nöld. *Mand. Gr.* 58 n. For צ=ש cf. שחץ and שחק.

L. 5 f. חַנְנָם מן את חַנְנָם Cf. 65 8, the indefinite rel. מן as in Nab. 94 5 מן כל די, מן די, and in Palm. 147 ii a 34. 45 ff. די מן. Cl.-Gan. finds a similar construction in 4 3 חַנְנָם אַש חַנְנָם; but see note in loc. The general sense of חַנְנָם 65 8. 9 is clear from the context, but the etymology is uncertain. The form may be explained as the Hafel, or rather Peal, impf. of חַנְנָם=חַנְנָם carry off by force, rob, a root frequent in the Targums, the ח being written for א as חַי for אַי, חַלּוּ for אַלּוּ 73 A 1; so Hoffm. 212. Or it may be the Hafel impf. apocopated of חַנְנָם = חַנְנָם (cf. 5 5) treated as a לָח verb, with the ח retained in Hafel as in חַנְנָרִי l. 11 (Cl.-Gan. 197 f.). The first explanation is perhaps preferable.

L. 8. אַשְׁרָה Cf. 61 27 n. Note that ש, as in the dialect of Zenjirli, here=Aram. ח=Arab. و; see p. 185.

L. 9. אַשְׁרָה וְכָל וְשִׁמְשׁ וְשַׁחַר 65 9. Sahar (l. 2 n.) is the Aram. equivalent of the Assy. Sin, the moon-god (שַׁחַר mas.) of Ḥarran. Not only Sahar, but the other gods of Nêrab are Assyrian in origin. Thus Sin, Shamash, [Nergal], Nusku are invoked along with other deities, and in this order, by Salmanassar ii and frequently by Ašurbanipal, e.g. *KB* i 130. ii 154 f. 176 ff. 210. 216 ff. &c. In the cylinder from Abû-Habba (Sippar) Nabonid, 555-538 B.C., records how he rebuilt I-hul-hul, the temple of Sin at Ḥarran, which had been founded by Salmanassar ii and refounded by Ašurbanipal. In connexion with his work of restoration, Nabonid calls upon these same gods in the order Sin, Ningal (instead of Nergal), Shamash, [Ishtar], Nusku; *KB* iii 2 100 f. We may conclude, therefore, that along with Sin, these other deities, associated with the moon-god, were imported from Ḥarran. The god Shamash has been found already at Zenjirli, see 61 2 n. Nikal is no doubt the same as Ningal mentioned by Nabonid, the n being assimilated, and the k interchanged with g, as in *Tukulti*=תַּגְּלִיטִי in תַּגְּלִיטִי; moreover Jensen (*ZA* xi 296 f.) shows that the Sumerian NIN-GAL would be pronounced by the Assyrians *Nikal* or *Nikkal*. This form actually occurs as the name of the goddess, נִיכַל, worshipped at Ḥarran in *The Doctrine of Addai*, ed. Phillips 24 l. 17; and the same passage enumerates the other gods, נִיכַל the eagle, prob. a copyist's misreading of נִשְׁךְ in the original, נִיכַל the moon-god, and נִיכַל the sun-god. In the inscr. of Nabonid, l. c., Ningal (=Nikal) is said to be the consort of Sin, and 'the mother of the great gods.' Nusku, the son of Sin, was a fire-god, the messenger of Bel; Jensen l. c. 295, Jastrow *Rel. of*

*Bab. and Assy.* 220 f. The above argument is clearly stated by Cl.-Gan. 211-221. יסחו From נסח *tear out*, cf. ינסחחו ורעה ושמה.

69 14 (optative). Ezr. 6 11; in Hebr. Pr. 2 22. Ps. 52 7 &c. For the impf. 3 plur. in *h* for *an* cf. יהאברו l. 11. 65 9, and see 61 4 n.

L. 10. חין *from life* rather than *from the living*, the plur. being in the absol. state, and having an abstract sense, like זקנים &c.; cf. וצוח and unto life CIS ii 163 d. ארכה בחיין Dan. 7 12. לחה A second accus. of manner after the direct obj. in יכמלוק l. 11; cf. Mal. 3 24 חרם את הארץ חרם. Ps. 64 8 חץ יהרם אלהים חץ. The meaning of לחה is unknown. Various explanations are possible: thus, a *destructive death*, Syr. *חסא* *destroy*; a *death in full vigour*, Hebr. לח *fresh*, cf. תבא לח אלי קבר *Ber. Rab.* § 79; an *ignominious death*, Arab. *ملعى* *ignominious*. The general sense must be the same as יחבאשו ממתתה 65 9 f.

L. 11. יכמלוק With כ for ק cf. ביצא 68 19, קשה = *قش* *archer* &c., Wright *Comp. Gr.* 50. ויהאברו For the ה retained in Hafel impf. cf. יחבאשו 65 9. יה[ס] 69 21, and the usage in B. Aram., יחשפל Dan. 7 24. תהקוק Ezr. 4 13. The Peal of אבר occurs in 65 10.

L. 12. תנצר As in the Zenjirli inscr., צ = Hebr. צ = Aram. ט = Arab. ط; cf. ביצא 68 19, and see p. 185. The נ is not assimilated; cf. Ps. 61 8 &c., ינסחחו 69 14, and contrast יסחו l. 9.

L. 13. אחרה 65 8 a curious form, not easy to account for. Hoffm., 213 ff., points it *אֲחֶרֶת*, an older form of *אֲחֶרֶת*, with ה- added to the root as in *רָעָה* (from *רָעָה*, *לָקַח*, *אָשָׁה*; then, he says, to this *ophoré* was added the nominal ending *ן*. The addition ה- to a trilateral root is, however, a very rare occurrence, and it is doubtful whether it would be attached to such a common word as *אחר*. It seems much more likely that *אחרה* is merely the emphatic form, with ה for א, *אחרה* being an early form of the usual *אחרנה*, *سَاحِرَة*.

65. Nêrab 2. Prob. same date as 64. Louvre.

- |                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| שאנבר כמר שהר בנר            | 1 |
| זנה צלמה בצדקתי קדמה         | 2 |
| שמני שם טב והארך יומי        | 3 |
| ביום מתת פמי לאתאחו מן מלך   | 4 |
| ובעיני מחזה אנה בני רבע בבון | 5 |



with suff.; cf. בָּכִי 62 17. The perf. 3 plur. in this dialect ends in *û*, not *ûh*, e.g. שָׁמוּ l. 6, cf. קָמוּ 61 2. נָחַז ib. 20; read, therefore, בָּכִי not בָּכָן. Before the suff. the *ן* of the 3 plur. reappears, e.g. שָׁמוּי l. 7. Hoffm. (l. c. 224) reads בָּכָן as = בָּכִי; but in this inscr. the suff. is always written.

L. 6. מִזֶּם אֲחֶהֱמוּ Lidzb.'s explanation of these difficult words may be accepted provisionally (*Eph* i 193). He takes מִזֶּם as an abstr. noun used as infin. abs., and אֲחֶהֱמוּ as Ethpe. pf. 3 plur. of מִזֶּם lit. *murmur, discomfit*, fig. *be distracted*, as in Hebr. e.g. Ps. 55 3. Hoffm. suggests מִזֶּם מִאֲחֶהֱמוּ 'they wept for me—Oh woe!—the hundred of them,' taking מִזֶּם as = מִזֶּם, Heb. מִזֶּם, Syr. מִזֶּם, and אֲחֶהֱמוּ as = אֲחֶהֱמוּ (cf. מִזֶּם Dan. 3 23); the form of the suff. is unusual, and must be treated as a case of the separate pron. הֵמוּ (76 B 4) being used as a suff., cf. Hebr. מִזֶּם Eze. 40 16. מִזֶּם 1 11. 78 B 2; Kautzsch *Lehrg.* ii 447. מִזֶּם i. e. מִזֶּם. Cf. Dan. 5 2 מִזֶּם וּכְסֶם 4 5 n. 5 5.

L. 7. לְמַעַן Apparently = Hebr. לְמַעַן *in order that*.

L. 8. לְאַחֵרָה לְחַרְסָה The construction gives difficulty. It is natural to suppose that לְאַחֵרָה and לְחַרְסָה are the same forms as in 64 6. 13. Taking the לְ with both words as the negative, repeated for emphasis, we may render: 'in order that thou—other one—shouldst not plunder.' But such a construction is almost intolerably harsh; the לְ with לְאַחֵרָה may be the prep., *for another* (dat. commodi). כֵּן אֵת See 64 5 n.

L. 9. For the gods see 64 9 n. הַבַּשׁ The Hafel as in 64 11 n. The √ בַּשׁ occurs in all the cognate languages, Aram. בַּשׁ, *be evil*, cf. בַּשׁ 75 2; Arab. بَاسَ ib.; Assyr. *bāsu* 'evil'; Hebr. בַּשׁ *stink*.

L. 10. מִמֶּתָה *his manner of death*; the change of persons after מִן l. 8 is curious. For the meaning cf. מִמֶּתָה *manner of running* 2 S. 18 27, and for the form cf. Targ. מִמֶּתָה, מִמֶּתָה; here the fem. ending is added to the root מִתָּה. אֲחֵרָה In Nab. אֲחֵרָה

(Arab. *أُخْرَى*) is used in the sense of *posterity*, e.g. 79 2. 82 3 &c.; illustrate from Num. 24 20 אֲבִיר עַיִ אֲבִיר. The vivid style of the inscr. is noticeable, and recalls passages in 4. 5. 61, where similar imprecations are to be found.



## BABYLONIA

66. Nineveh. CIS ii 1. End of viii cent. B.C. Brit. Mus.

מנן - וו ב זי ארקא *a*

||||||| *b*

חמשת עשר מנן [ב ז] מלך *c*

*a* 15 double(?) minas of the country.

*b* 15.

*c* Fifteen double(?) minas of the king.

The inscr. is written upon one of the bronze lion-weights found at Nineveh; CIS ii 1-14. Twelve of these weights have Assyrian, as well as Aram. inscr., and bear the names of Salmanassar, Sargon, and Sennacherib; they belong, therefore, to the viii-vii cent.

*a* מנן In Babyl. written ideographically MA . NA, of Sumerian, but possibly Semitic, origin; Hebr. מנָה from מָנָה Eze. 45 12 &c., μνᾶ. The *mina* was the unit in the Babylonian system of weights, which was based on the sexagesimal principle; hence 60 shekels = one mina, and 60 minas = one talent. *ב* Prob. a symbol for *double*; CIS ii 2. 3. 4. In the Babyl. system there was a double series of weights, a heavy and a light one. The heavy mina = 982.4 grammes = 15160 grains, circ. 2½ lb. avoird.; the light mina was half the weight, i.e. 491.2 grammes = 7580 grains, circ. 1¼ lb. avoird. The present weight weighs a little over 32 lb. 14 oz.; when new it prob. weighed about 33 lb. 6 oz.; its value, therefore, is that of the heavy standard. These lion-weights belong some to the one class, some to the other; the light weights sometimes have the shape of a duck. See Kennedy, art. *Weights and Measures*, Hastings' *Dict. Bibl.*; Benzinger *Hebr. Arch.* 180 ff.; Nowack *Lehrb. Hebr. Arch.* i 206 ff. † Sign of the genit.; 61 1 n. ארְקָא 61 5 n.

*c* מלך In Aram. מלכָא would be usual; the form is prob. due to Assyrian influence (Corp.). The 'minas of the king' corresponds to the Assyrian *mana la šarri*, cf. Hebr. מֶלֶךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ 2 S. 14 26 (prob. a post-exilic addition, giving the weight by the Persian standard). These weights were found among the foundations of a royal palace, underneath a colossal winged bull; most of them bear the king's name in the Assyrian versions of the inscriptions.

# ASIA MINOR

67. Abydos. CIS ii 108. vi-v cent. B.C. Brit. Mus.

אממון לקבל סתריא זי כספא a

Δ b

a Correct (?) according to the commissioners (?) of money.

This lion-weight, found at Abydos in Asia Minor, belongs to the Persian period, as the form of the letters shows. At this period Asia Minor was subject to Persian rule, and the Persian satraps used Aramaic in intercourse with the subject races in the west of the empire (cf. 71 n.). This was a trade weight officially certified to be of full standard. It weighs 25.657 grammes, i.e. originally 26 grammes = about 56 lb.; hence it appears that the standard was not the Babylonian one (66), nor the Persian silver talent of 33.6 kilogr., but the Persian-Euboean gold talent of 25.92 kilogr. On the back of the lion is the mark Δ, apparently from the Archaic Gk. alphabet; it seems to indicate that the weight was used in commerce with the Greeks.

a. אממון is best explained as an Iranian word *uspur* 'completeness,' 'whole' (Marti *Bibl.-Aram. Gr. Gloss.*), consequently the meaning here will be 'of full standard'; in Ezr. 5 8 &c. מְסֻרָּה 'completely,' 'with exactness.' A different explanation is suggested by Hoffmann, *ZA* xi 235 f. He regards אממון as an Aram. form of נִיִּלְנִי *nail*, with מ prefixed as in אַמְנִיעַ, and with ס=צ as in סוּתָא 69 13=סֻתָּא; and compares the use of *supur* 'nail-sign' in Assyrian, e.g. 'instead of their seal they have made their nail-sign' (*supur-lumu*), *KB* iv 104. The Persian etymology, however, seems more likely in view of the date and origin of the inscr. לקבל Lit. *to meet*, so *before*, cp. in Palm.

147 i 10. סתריא Prob.= 'officials,' but the precise meaning is uncertain. Vogtē renders 'guardians' from סתר *hide*, a questionable use of the root; Levy renders 'satraps'; Geiger 'staters,' 'correct in accordance with the silver stater' (Cook *Aram. Gloss.* 23); but the weight of the lion shows that the standard was the gold talent, as Meyer points out, *Entstehung d. Judenth.* 11 n. The proper expression for 'officials in charge of the money' would be על כספא (Halévy); the Aramaic of these Persian commissioners was perhaps not very correct.

68. Cilicia. v-iv cent. B. C. In situ.

- 1 אנה ושונש בר  
 2 אפוש בר ברה זי  
 3 ושונש ואמי  
 4 אשולכרתי וכזי  
 5 צידא עבר אנה תנה  
 6 ובאתרא זנה משתרה אנה

I am wšwnš, son <sup>2</sup> of 'fwšī, grandson of <sup>3</sup> wšwnš, and my mother is <sup>4</sup> šwlkrtī; and while <sup>5</sup> I am hunting here, <sup>6</sup> it is in this place that I am making my meal.

The inscr. is carved upon a rock SE. of Saraḏin, in the valley of the river Lamas, in the SE. of Cilicia. A facsimile is given by Nöld. l. c. *infra*.

L. 1. ושונש This and the other pr. nn. appear to be non-Semitic, perhaps Persian; but the forms are uncertain because the ו may be read 𐤅. Halévy reads 𐤅 in each case, and takes ושונש as = *Ḥygyenēs*, a dialectical form of *Συγγενής* (נש=ξ), אפוש l. 2 = 'Απαύσιος; *Rev. Sémi.* i (1893) 183 ff. Nöldke reads 𐤅, *ZA* vii (1892) 350 ff.

L. 2. בר ברה Cf. 8 1. For 𐤅 in Cilicia = 𐤅 cf. 149 A 6 and p. 185 n.

L. 4. אשולכרתי is explained by Halévy *Ashgal the Cretan*, or of *Cretopolis* (in Pisidia); for אשנל he compares שגל Ps. 45 10 &c., and takes כרתי as an ethnic form. כזי when, cf. Palm. 121 3 הוא כזי and l. 4. כזי, כזי more often mean *as*, e. g. 76 C 3. 94 4 &c.

L. 5. צידא עבר Lit. *doing a hunt*; עבר ptc. active. תנה i. e. *here* = 𐤅, as the Bibl. Aram. 𐤅 = 𐤅.

L. 6. אשורה Contrast 84 8. משתרה reading 𐤅 rather than 𐤅; the form is Ethpa. ptc. from שרה, and, like 𐤅 = *ἀποστῆναι* in the N.T., e. g. John 21 12. 15, means *breaking (my) fast* (Nöldke l. c.). The reading משתרה can only mean *I was cast down*, not 'je me repose' (Halévy).

## ARABIA

69. Téma. CIS ii 113. Date prob. v cent. B. C. Louvre.

a

- ..... בשת || Z ..... 1
- 2 .. בתימ]א צלם [זי מחרם ושנגלא
- 3 ואש]ירא אלהי תימא לצלם זי
- 4 [הגם ... ] שמה ביומא זן [בתי]מא
- 5 זי ..... 5
- ..... 6
- ..... 7
- 8 .... א להן ..... א
- 9 זי [הקי]ם צלמשזב בר פטסרי
- 10 [בבית צ]לם זי הגם להן אלהי
- 11 תימא צ[רק]ו לצלמשזב בר פטסרי
- 12 ולזרעה בבית צלם זי הגם וגבר
- 13 זי יחבל סותא זא אלהי תימא
- 14 ינסחוהי חרעה ושמה מן אנפי
- 15 תימא והא זא צדקתא זי י[הבו]
- 16 צלם זי מחרם ושנגלא ואשירא
- 17 אלהי תימא לצלם זי הגם א .
- 18 מן חקלא דקלן — ||| ומן שימתא
- 19 זי מלכא דקלן ||| || כל דקלן
- 20 Z .. שנה בשנה ואלהן ואנש
- 21 לא יהנ[פק] צלמשזב בר פטסרי
- 22 מן ביתא זנה ול[זר]עה ושמה
- 23 כמ[ריא בב]יתא זנה [לעלמא]

ב

צלמשוב

כמרא

a. . . . in the 22nd year . . . <sup>2</sup> [in Têma]a, Šalm of Maḥram and Shingala <sup>3</sup> and Ashîra, the gods of Têma, to Šalm of <sup>4</sup> [Hajam] . . appointed him on this day [in Tê]ma . . . .  
<sup>5</sup> which . . . . <sup>6</sup> . . . . <sup>7</sup> . . . . <sup>8</sup> therefore . . . . <sup>9</sup> which Šalm-shezzeb, son of Peṭ-osiri, set up <sup>10</sup> [in the temple of Š]alm of Hajam, therefore the gods of <sup>11</sup> Têma ma[de gra]nts to Šalm-shezzeb, son of Peṭ-osiri, <sup>12</sup> and to his seed in the temple of Šalm of Hajam. And any man <sup>13</sup> who shall destroy this pillar, may the gods of Têma <sup>14</sup> pluck out him and his seed and his name from before <sup>15</sup> Têma! And this is the grant which <sup>16</sup> Šalm of Maḥram and Shingala and Ashîra, <sup>17</sup> the gods of Têma, have g[iven] to Šalm of Hajam . . : <sup>18</sup> from the field 16 palms, and from the treasure (?) <sup>19</sup> of the king 5 palms, in all <sup>20</sup> 21 palms . . year by year. And neither gods nor men <sup>21</sup> shall bri[ng out] Šalm-shezzeb, son of Peṭ-osiri, <sup>22</sup> from this temple, neither his se[ed] nor his name, (who are) <sup>23</sup> prie[sts in] this temple [for ever].

b. Šalm-shezzeb the priest.

The characters exhibit some archaic forms, e. g. † and †; but as a whole they belong to the early part of the middle period of Aramaic writing. Like 61-63 the inscr. is carved in relief. It records how a new deity, Šalm of Hajam, was introduced into Têma by the priest Šalm-shezzeb, who further provided an endowment for the new temple, and founded an hereditary priesthood. On one side of the stone the god Šalm of Hajam is represented in Assyrian fashion, and below him a priest stands before an altar, with the inscr. b underneath.

L. 1. בשת See 61 n. שת is in the constr. st. before the numeral as in 71 3, and often in Nab. and Palm., e. g. 78 4. 110 5.

L. 2. צלם 70 3 perhaps connected with √צלם *be dark* (cf. Assy. *kakkabu šalmu* = the planet Kêwân or Saturn, and the pr. n. *Šalmu-ahl*, *KB* iv 150; see Am. 5 26), rather than abbreviated from צלם בעל *image of B.*; see 38 2 n. Šalm appears to have been an Aramaic or

N. Semitic deity, and not native to Arabia. Like בעל, he is given a local designation, ll. 10. 16. The names of the gods are here restored from l. 16.

L. 3. תימא Cf. 81 2 = תימא Gen. 25 15 = 1 Chr. 1 30 a descendant of Ishmael, Is. 21 14. Jer. 25 23. The town, now called تَيْمَاء, is situated in N. Arabia (El-Hejaz) in an oasis famous, even in ancient times, for its abundant and inexhaustible spring. Caravans (Job 6 19) on their way to Egypt or Assyria halted here; and the influence of commerce with these two countries is evident in this stone: the name of the priest's father is Egyptian, the figures of the god and his minister are Assyrian. [לצלם ויחנן] is governed by some verb denoting that the local gods had sanctioned the admission of this stranger deity; the Corp. suggests צדקו (l. 11) at the beginning of l. 2.

L. 4. שמה Prob. pf. 3 sing. m. with suff. = שמה; the subj. will be the priest, the obj. the god.

L. 8. להן l. 10 = הן if + ל, then, therefore; Dan. 2 6. 9 &c.

L. 9. צלם שוב i. e. *Šalm has delivered*; cf. the Assy. *Šalm-mulizizib, Nabû-lizibanni* Schrader *COT* 421, and the Hebr. צלם שוב Neh. 3 4 (Cook *Aram. Gl.* s. v.); שוב, in Targ. שוב, Syr. ܫܒܐ, is Shafel of יב, 101 12 f. מוסר 74 A 4 i. e. *he whom Osiris gave*, cf. the Egypt. *P'-dy-'st* 'he whom Isis gave,' *P'-dy-'Imn* 'he whom Ammon gave,' and the Bibl. מוסר מרע, מוסר i. e. *P'-dy-p'-R* 'he whom the Ra gave'; see Driver, art. Potiphar, *DB* iv 23.

L. 10. חנן Prob. the name of a place where Šalm was worshipped; cf. الحنن Yāḫūt ii 886 (ed. Wüstenfeld), in Yemen.

L. 11. צדקו Pael; cf. the meaning of the noun צדקתא l. 15 *gift, endowment*, Dan. 4 24 LXX ἐλεημοσύνη, Matt. 6 1 δακαιοσύνη; Arab. مَدَنَةٌ *alms*.

L. 12. ובר וט' See 64 and 65 for the adjurations.

L. 13. יחבל Pael, *destroy*; the root is found with this meaning in all the Semitic languages. כותא Perhaps the same word as مَوْ lit. *an elevation of land, a stone which indicates the road*, in pl. *tomb*, with ס = צ; see note on מספרן 67 (Hoffm.). In the Corp. the form is connected with the Syr. ܡܠܐ *found, make firm*, ܡܠܐ *stabilitas*; but no derivative of this root is actually used in the sense of *monument*. Winckler considers that it = the Assy. *asumitu* 'inscribed stele,' *Allor. Forsch.* ii 76 f. (in Delitzsch *Assyr. HWB* s. v. (וסם), a plausible derivation.

L. 14. יסחחוי See 64 9 n.; for נ retained cf. יסחח l. 21. תצר 64 12 n. שמה l. 22. In Hebr. שם is found with almost the same

meaning, *posterity*, e. g. Dt. 25 7. Ruth 4 5. 10 &c. חַי כֶּן אֲמִי Cf. 1 K. 9 7 (מַעַל מִנִּי) Dt. 28 63 (מַעַל, with נֶסַח).

L. 15. חַי חַיָּא Fem. of חַיָּא = Arab. حَيَا, Syr. ܚܝܐ, Targ. ܚܝܐ. צְדָקָתָא See L. 11 n. Winckler, however, regards this as a Babyl. loan-word = *saltuku* 'the regular dues or income of a temple' (Delitzsch *Assyr. HWB* 513), e. g. KB iii 2 32 l. 13. This is at any rate a plausible explanation, for the influence of Babylonia upon Têma, especially in religious matters, was certainly strong. See *Allor. Forsch.* i 183.

L. 16. מַחְרָם No doubt the name of a place, like חֶמֶס. It is apparently preserved in the Arab. مَحْرَم near Jebel Selma, which is in the neighbourhood of Têma, Yākūt iv 425. שְׁנֹלָא A deity otherwise unknown; possibly the נ is the fem. ending. The name has been compared (Corp.) with that of a Babylonian goddess שְׁנֹל, mentioned in the lexicon of Bar Bahlul, and stated to be the Chaldaean equivalent of Aphrodite, Lagarde *Gesam. Abhandl.* 17. Another suggestion is that Singala (*Sin-gala*) is the moon-god, Neubauer *St. Bibl.* i 224 n. Cf. the Palm. שְׁנֹל pr. n. fem. 143 12. אֲשִׁירָא l. 3. Halévy suggests that אֲשִׁירָא = אֲסִירָא (with ש for ס as in שִׁמְתָא l. 18), a form which occurs in the name of a Palm. deity רַב־אֲסִירָא 'Paḡaoreipn (prob. *Rab-osiris*) 147 i 10. But it is possible that אֲשִׁירָא in spite of the א is the goddess *Ashēra*, who was certainly known in Arabia; see 10 4 n. and Lagrange *RB* x 549.

L. 17. .א The Corp. restores אַ, with the sense *scilicet*.

L. 18. חֲקֵלָא Emph. st., Targ. חֲקֵלָא, Syr. ܚܩܠܐ *field*; cf. CIS ii 24. 27 רֶבֶת חֲקֵלָא *record* or *tablet of the field*. This may well have been the land with which the temple was endowed, or 'the land of the priests'; see Gen. 47 22 and Lagrange *RB* x 219 who cites in illustration the Nab. חֲרִים, 79 8 n. וְשִׁבְעִין דִּקְלִין Cf. Targ. Ex. 15 27 וְשִׁבְעִין דִּקְלִין (at Elim). In the present day the value of land at Têma is reckoned by the number of palms on it; the price of a tree is said to be 20 francs. שִׁמְתָא *treasury* = שִׁמְתָא, סימְתָא. Winckler explains the word by the Babyl. *šmtu* 'a fixing' or 'fixed portion,' so מֶלֶכָא שִׁמְתָא 'the king's crown estates,' *Allor. Forsch.* i 184. The Babyl. *šmtu* does not appear to be used exactly in this sense; at the same time it must be admitted that 'treasury' is not a suitable word for what was clearly landed property consisting of date-palms.

L. 19. For the prince's contribution to the sanctuary cf. Eze. 45 17; in many Nab. inscr. the fine for violating a tomb is ordered to be divided between the god and the king, e. g. 80 8 n. 81 7 f. &c.

L. 20. After the numerical symbol the Corp. restores חַיָּא or חַיָּא. אֱלֹהִים 76 C 7. There is no need to render 'divine

persons' i.e. members of the royal family (Halévy, Neubauer l.c. 212 n.).

L. 21. יתנמק For the ה retained in Hafel cf. ויהאברו 64 11 n., and for the נ cf. in Nab. יתמק 79 2. 80 5 &c., and see l. 14 n. The form here exactly resembles יהנוק Targ. Jon. Ex. 11 7; Dalman *Gr.* 241.

L. 23. כמריא See 64 1 n.

70. Têma. CIS ii 114. Circ. iv cent. B.C. Louvre.

- 1 [מ]יתבא זי קר
- 2 [ב] מענן בר עם
- 3 [ר]ן לצלם אלה
- 4 א לחי נפשה

The seat which Ma'nān, son of 'Imran, offered to the god Šalm, for the life of his soul.

The characters belong to a period late in the middle stage of Aram. writing. They are almost all of the same size, and written as it were between straight lines, like CIS ii 72 from Chaldaea; the Chaldaean manner, exemplified in the latter inscr., has perhaps influenced this style of writing (cf. 69 3 n.). The י and י are archaic in form, ק is almost Nabataean, ע is shaped like a V, and מ has the curious shape  $\text{⋈}$ , מ is written with the two down strokes equal in length.

L. 1. מיתבא Cf. מותב 80 4, here a *seat* on which the image of the god was placed on certain days, the Lat. *pulvinar deorum*; cf. Palm. ערשא in the inscr. from et-Tayyibe p. 296 n. 1, and מרתא (Nab.) p. 255 n. 1.

L. 2. מענן Cf. the Nab. pr. n. מענא CIS ii 294, Euting *Nab. Inscr.* 19, and the Palm. מעני *Mavnaos*, e.g. Vogt 27 4 &c. It is found in composition, e.g. מענאלהי CIS ii 118, and perhaps lies behind *Monimos*, the name of a deity associated with the sun-god at Edessa; cf. the pr. nn. معن الله (Hejra) and فحجج/لحجج (a king of Edessa). עמרן = *Eupavos* from Hauran; cf. the Sinaitic עברעמרי Eut. *Sin. Inscr.* 72, Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 213; and עמרם (?) at Safa, Dussaud et Macler *Safa* no. 68. The root עמר, עמר = *live*, e.g. עמר באילח Eut. *Sin. Inscr.* 551; the Arab. has also the meaning *worship*. Both pr. names have the ending *an*, apparently usual among the Aramaeans of Arabia.

L. 3. צלם אלהא See 69 2 n.

L. 4. לחי נפשה A favourite formula (with variations) in Palm. inscr.; cf. 29 11.



## EGYPT

71. Memphis. CIS ii 122. Date 482 B.C. Berlin Museum.

*a*

1 בריך אבה בר חור ואחתבו ברת עדיה כל || [זי?] חסתמה קרבנתא  
2 קדם אוסרי אלהא אבסלי בר אבה אמה אחתבו  
3 כן אמר בשנת |||| ירח מחיר חשיארש מלכא זי מ[לכיא]  
4 ביד פמן...

*b* חכנא

*c* ד

*a*. Blessed be Abbā, son of Hôr, and Aḥatbû, daughter of 'Adayā, both assisted by divine favour (?)! The approach<sup>2</sup> before the god Osiris. Abseli, son of Abbā, his mother (being) Aḥatbû, <sup>3</sup>spake thus in the 4th year, (in) the month Mehîr, of Xerxes king of kings. <sup>4</sup>By the hand of Pamen ...  
*b*. Ḥakna.

The inscr. is written upon the base of a tablet carved with a representation of an Egyptian funeral scene. In the uppermost panel Osiris sits, attended by Isis and Nephthys; the parents of Abseli approach the deity with outstretched arms. Certain details, such as the clipped hair of the figures, betray the foreign nationality of the donor; the hieroglyphic inscr.<sup>1</sup> in the upper part of the tablet is evidently written by an unskilful hand. In general appearance the stone resembles 75. It belongs to the period when Egypt formed a part of the Persian empire (B.C. 525-332); and we learn from it that the Aram. settlers used their own language, which was also the language of the Persian government (cf. 87 n.), and at the same time adapted themselves to the religion of the country.

L. 1. בריך 75 1; the plur. would be more correct here. אבה  
Prob. = the Aram. אבא. חור Cf. the common Nab. pr. n. חורי  
(= חור) 87 8. 90 5 &c., and the O. T. חור Ex. 17 10. Num.

<sup>1</sup> 'Offering made to Osiris, prince of Amenti, the great god, the lord of Abydos, that he may give good sepulture to (the spirit of) Aḥitobu, the matron faithful before the great god'; and behind the figure of Abba, 'the foreigner, surnamed Hitop.'

31 8. אחת אביה = Perhaps = *sister of her father*, cf. the biblical אחאב and the Aram. אחמה (i. e. אחמה) ? *mother's brother*, Levy *Sieg. u. Gemmen* p. 14 no. 20. Lidzb. illustrates from Talm. B. *Baba Bathra* 110 a לאחי האם 'most sons are like the brothers of the mother.' עדיה Prob. the same name as the Arab. *Adi, Adiya*, عَدِيّ, قَادِيَا; the root means *to pass, run, transgress*, cf. the O.T. עָדָה 2 K. 22 1 'Yah passes by.' But the word may be read עריה. The numerical symbols must refer to the parents of the donor. חסמה The meaning is obscure. If the word is compounded of the Egypt. *hes, hestu* and *ameh*, it will mean *favoured by the god, faithful*; cf. 75 4 חסיה plur. *those favoured* (by Osiris); in the Egypt. inscr. (p. 200 n. 1) *ameh* is rendered 'faithful.' It is an expression taken from the terminology of the Egypt. funeral rites. The form חמה is found on a wooden sarcophagus of the Ptolemaic period in the Cairo Museum, Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 11. קרבתא The confused way in which the word is written on the stone, with ב superadded, shows that the scribe was uncertain about the form. It is probably a noun, with the sense of a 'nomen actionis,' *a drawing near*, cf. 72 1 קרבת and Ps. 73 28 טוב לי מן אלחים לי קרבת; at any rate the word denotes the 'accession' to Osiris after death. According to Egyptian belief the departed soul, if judged pure, did not merely go to Osiris, but actually became Osiris.

L. 2. מכלי The second part of the compound resembles סלי Neh. 11 8. סלי ib. 12 7; the סלח = *to weigh*. In inscr. b the Egyptian name is given, חכנא *Hakna*.

L. 3. מחיר The name of the sixth month, Jan. 26–Feb. 24, in Egyptian, in Coptic *mechir*; see Brightman *Liturgies* i. 582. חשיארש = the old Persian *Hshaydrshd* = חשודרש Esth. 1 1 & c., in Greek *Ἡρόης*; he reigned from 485 to 465 B.C. מלכא וי מלכיא A common title of the Persian kings; see 5 18 n., and Driver *Introd.* 546.

L. 4. ביר introduces the name of the scribe or sculptor, an Egyptian, פמן = *Pa-amen* 'who belongs to the god Amen'; again in CIS ii 148 3.

72. Memphis. CIS ii 123. Date v–iv cent. B.C. Louvre.

1 חתפי לקרבת בנת לאם

2 רי חפי עבר אביטב בר

3 בנת כהי עבר קדם אום

4 חרי חפי

Offering for the approach of Banith to Osiris<sup>3</sup>-Apis made by Abitab, son <sup>2</sup> of Banith. Thus (?) he made it before Osiris<sup>4</sup>-Apis.

The inscr. is written on an oblong vessel used for libations; it was found in the Serapaeum at Memphis.

L. 1. חתמי Prob. an Egypt. word *hotpit*, later *hotpi* = 'oblation.' לקרבת See 71 i n. בנת An Egypt. pr. n., found again in CIS ii 148 3. The meaning is uncertain; *Pa-neit*, i.e. 'belonging to the goddess Neit,' has been suggested, but it is questionable whether the Semitic ב is ever used to transcribe the Egypt. *p*. Maspero explains *Banit* as = 'leaping' in Egyptian (Corp.).

L. 2. אוסירי חפי Osiris-Apis, called by the Greeks Serapis, specially honoured at Memphis; חפי = Egypt. *Hapi*. It is probable that חף is to be read in Jer. 46 15 MT אֲפִי־חָף, which many moderns correct to אֲפִי־חָף, after the LXX (26 15) δὲ τί ἐφυγεν ἀπὸ σοῦ ὁ Ἄπῑς; ὁ μὸςχος ὁ ἐλακτός σου κ.τ.λ. אביטב = the Hebr. אביטב i Chr. 8 11.

L. 3. כחי The context suggests the rendering *this*; but there is no exact parallel for the form. It may be an abbreviation of חאי (Bab.-Aram. = *this*) + כ; see Dalman 81, Wright *Comp. Gr.* 109. The word has been rendered 'a piece of bread,' i.e. a second offering, after a Coptic noun which it somewhat resembles; but this is not probable (Corp.).

78. Elephantina. CIS ii 137. iv cent. B.C. Berlin Museum.

B	A
בען הן צבתי	בען הלו חלם 1
כל תובניהמו	ו חזית ומן 2
יאבלו יאנקיא	עדנא הו אנה 3
הלו לא	חמם שגא 4
שאר	[א]תחזי חז[ן] 5
קמין	מלוהי 6
	שלם 7

A. Now behold, the 1st dream I saw, and from that time I was very hot; there appeared an apparition; its words (were), 'Hail'! B. Now if ornaments(?) of all kinds thou sellest, the infants shall eat; behold, there is not a small remainder.

The above texts are written with a reed pen in Egyptian-Aram. characters on either side of a fragment of pottery. They are evidently complete in themselves, for the sentences are not broken off, but squeezed into the shape of the potsherd; the two texts form a single narrative. It was the custom to write down brief descriptions of dreams, and bring them to the temple to be interpreted.

A. L. 1. כען = כען *now* in Bibl. Aram. הלו Cf. הלו in Dan. חלם Cf. τὸ πρῶτον ἐνύπνιον on a Gk. papyrus (Corp.).

L. 4. חסם = חסם, חסם. שנה is an adverb = שנה Dan. 2 12 &c.

L. 5. תחוי Prob. an error for אתחוי Ethpeal pf. (Corp.), 147 i 7. חוי i.e. חוי cf. חוי cf. חוי Targ. Job 20 8.

L. 7. שלם i.e. שלם cf. Ἀπολλώνιον εἶδον προσπορεύεται μοι λέγει Χαῖρε, from the papyrus quoted above (Corp.).

B. L. 1. צבתי Plur. constr. before כל, cf. בבורי כל Eze. 44 30. The meaning is prob. *ornaments*, Targ. צבתי, צבתי finery; cf. in Palm. 119 4 תצביתיהן *their ornaments*. Hoffmann (ZA xi 223) renders *bundles*, cf. Hebr. צבתי Ru. 2 16; a less suitable sense.

L. 2. חובניהו Pael impf. 2 mas. or 3 fem. sing. For the suff. חבו see 65 6 n.

L. 3. יאכלו Impf. 3 plur. without nun; see 61 4 n.

Ll. 4-6. לא שאר קמן The meaning seems to be 'there is plenty left.' שאר Prob. a noun = Hebr. שאר, cf. Nab. שארית 94 3. For לא before a noun-clause cf. לא דומיה לי Ps. 22 3. לא איש כמותי Job 9 32 &c.

74. Elephantina. CIS ii 138. iv cent. Brit. Mus. no. 14219.

B

A

... צחא בר חברטין	... פעל אסמן בר	1
[י]תנן והן אמרו ס[הדיא]	... באלו מנחמן זי הו	2
... חרתבא ובגטף חברטין[ס]	... ירניה גשוריא מ	3



L. 5. ל. 7 is explained as = שרנא *our prince*. For the suff. cf. Palm. 128 3; Nab. מראנא 81 8.

L. 6. ל = לנא *to us*.

L. 7. מלכיה Seems to be written for מלכיא, and to be part of the phrase מלך מלכיא, the usual title of the Persian kings, 71 3 and Dan. 2 37 (of Nebuchadnezzar).

L. 8. [ם]נתר = the Egypt. *Peſenuitru* 'devoted to the gods.'

L. 9. ינלף Apparently from the Aram. גלף *to engrave on stone*; the reference is not clear.

75. Egypt; the Carpentras Stele. CIS ii 141. v-iv cent. B.C.  
Museum of Carpentras (S. France).

1 בריכה תבא ברת תחפי תמנחא וי אוסרי אלהא  
2 מנרעם באיש לא עבדת וכרצי איש לא אמרת תמה  
3 קדם אוסרי בריכה הוי מן קדם אוסרי מין קחי  
4 הוי פלחה נמעתי ובין חסיה .....

Blessed be Taba, daughter of Tahapi, devoted worshipper of the god Osiris. <sup>2</sup> Aught of evil thou hast not done, and calumny against any man thou hast never (?) spoken. <sup>3</sup> Before Osiris be thou blessed! From before Osiris take thou water! <sup>4</sup> Be thou a worshipper, my pleasant one (?), and among the favoured . . . .

Above the inscr. an Egyptian funeral scene is carved; cf. 71. The characters belong to a somewhat later type than those of the latter inscr.; some of them, ב, ד, ר, ע, י, ז, ש, ח, א, illustrate very clearly the transition from the archaic to the square alphabet. See Driver *Samuel* xviii-xxi.

L. 1. בריכה Cf. 71 1. תבא Egypt. pr. n. f., *ta-bai* 'she who is of the spirit.' Also Egypt., 'she who is of the god Hapi'; the mas. *Pahapi* is a common name. תמנחא i. e. מנחא *Monh* in Egypt. = 'pious,' 'perfect'; cf. the mas. מנחא וי אוסרי CIS ii 142. אוסרי אלהא Cf. 71 2.

L. 2. מנרעם i. e. מנרעם, so in Nab. 94 5, cf. Mand. מינראם (Nöld. *Mand. Gr.* 186); in Palm. מרען 147 i 5 and (מרעם) ib. 8; in Targums מרעם and Talm. מרעם (Dalman *Gr.* 90); in Syr. مَرَعَم. The word is

compounded of קרע = קרע and סא, lit. *scibile quid*; the various forms are corruptions of this (Wright *Comp. Gr.* 126). באיש

See 65 9 n. אמרת כרצי איש אמרת 2 or 3 fem. sing. עברת

Prob. a variation of the idiom קרע = קרע i.e. *he calumniated*, cf. Dan.

3 8. 6 25. With כרצי (so in Mand.) = קרצי lit. *morsels* cf. Syr. ܩܪܥܝ =

Hebr. קרע, Mand. כרצי = Hebr. קרע. תמה i.e. תמה = תמה

may mean *there, yonder*, cf. Exr. 5 17. 6 1, i.e. on the earth, speaking

from the other world (so Nöld., Lidzb.), a somewhat artificial ex-

planation. Lagarde suggests that תמה = Syr. ܬܡܗ (from ܬܡܡ),

*ever*. The word cannot mean *perfect*; in Aram. this would be not

ܬܡܗ but ܬܡܝܩܗ, as is the rule with adjectives from ע' verbs.

L. 3. מן קרי Egypt. monuments and papyri frequently mention

water as a last offering to the dead; illustrate from CIG 6562 ܡܢ ܩܪܝ,

κρία, δοί(η) σοι ὁ Ὀσίρις τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ. 6717. Note the Hebraism

קרי, cf. איש 1. 2.

L. 4. נמעותי may be the name of an Egypt. deity, which מלחה

seems to require; or it is an error for נמעותי, cf. 2 Sam. 1 26.

Cant. 7 7. חסיה Perhaps the Egypt. *hosiou* 'favoured (by

Osiris),' cf. חסמחה 71 1 n. It is also explained as = ܡܫܝܬܐ *pious*

(plur.); but this would be written ܡܫܝܬܐ. The line prob. ended

ܡܫܝܬܐ.

# 76. Saqqara; Papyri Blacasiani. CIS ii 145. End of v cent. B.C.

Brit. Mus.

A (recto)

... ולא ימלא במנהם לח[ם]	1
... איש כיבי אלהיהם	2
... קימיהם עד יבנן קר[ניה]	3
... וביומן אחרנן יאכל	4
... צדקה לאבוהי ויוב[ן]	5
... ויתקלנהי בלבה ויקטל איש ל[בנין]	6
... מראה וישרה בני מראה	7
... לחם ויתבנשן אלהי מצרין	8
... שגן 33 וו וח	9

## B (verso)

1. . . . . לבני על תסהדא זי מלכא ושמע . . . . .  
 2. . . . . בר פונש הו אחר ענה מלכא . . . . .  
 3. . . . . בר פונש מליא זי מלכא אמר וע[נה] . . . . .  
 4. . . . . [ק]טלת המו תהך בחרב חילך וח . . . . .  
 5. . . . . ף יחלף לך ושביא זי שבית בוא שנתא . . . . .  
 6. . . . . באלך וגרמ'ך לא יחתן שאול וסללך . . . . .  
 7. . . . . [בר פונ]ש על אלפי מלכא . . . . . במנצ . . . . .

## C (recto)

1. . . . . מלכא חעק ומשח . . . . .  
 2. . . . . זנה זי קרא . . . . .  
 3. . . . . [ת]תלנהי כן כזי עברת לבנוהי . . . . .  
 4. . . . . לולא באתר ים יקטל . . . . .  
 5. . . . . שעתרם בתמאי ומנח[ם] . . . . .  
 6. . . . . ך תהך ותשלה . . . . .  
 7. . . . . ה עם אלהן ולחש עוזר . . . . .  
 8. . . . . י . . . . . ן ב . . . . .

## D (verso)

1. . . . . זי ינתן לה אבוהי . . . . .  
 2. . . . . שו אלהי מצרין זי . . . . .  
 3. . . . . [מצ]רין ויהוון . . . . .  
 4. . . . . מה ותאבר צדקתא ואי . . . . .  
 5. . . . . בו ואתנפק איש . . . . .  
 6. . . . . עלך בר כבוה ז[י] . . . . .  
 7. . . . . [יב]רכון לקברה ול . . . . .  
 8. . . . . ויאמרן לה צערי . . . . .  
 9. . . . . נתה בפלג . . . . . תלך ול . . . . .



## A

<sup>1</sup> . . . nor may their belly be filled with bread . . . <sup>2</sup> . . . each the pains (?) of their gods . . . <sup>3</sup> . . . their agreements, until they build the ci[ty] . . . <sup>4</sup> . . . and in later days he shall eat . . . <sup>5</sup> . . . righteousness to his father, and he shall sell . . . <sup>6</sup> . . . and let him weigh it in his heart, and let some one slay the s[ons] . . . <sup>7</sup> . . . his lord, and let some one release the sons of his lord . . . <sup>8</sup> . . . bread, and may the gods of Egypt assemble . . . <sup>9</sup> . . . 43 years . . .

## B

<sup>1</sup> . . . for my sons, according to the testimony of the king, and he heard . . . <sup>2</sup> . . . son of Punsh, he delayed (?). The king answered . . . <sup>3</sup> . . . son of Punsh the words which the king said; and he answered . . . <sup>4</sup> . . . thou didst kill them. Thou shalt go with the sword of thy might and . . . <sup>5</sup> . . . shall be changed (?) for thee, and the captives which thou hast taken this year . . . <sup>6</sup> . . . in these; and thy bones shall not go down to Sheol, and thy shadow . . . <sup>7</sup> . . . [son of Pun]sh, upon the thousands (?) of the king . . .

## C

<sup>1</sup> . . . the king, and he cried and anointing-oil . . . <sup>2</sup> . . . this which he called . . . <sup>3</sup> . . . thou shalt hang him even as thou didst to his sons . . . <sup>4</sup> . . . unless in the place where the sea is he kill . . . <sup>5</sup> . . . Sha'atram (?) in Tamai (?) and Menah[em] . . . <sup>6</sup> . . . thou shalt go and be at ease . . . <sup>7</sup> . . . with the gods, and he whispered (?), Help! (?) . . . <sup>8</sup> . . .

## D

<sup>1</sup> . . . which his father will give him . . . <sup>2</sup> . . . gods of Egypt, who . . . <sup>3</sup> . . . [of Eg]ypt, and they will be . . . <sup>4</sup> . . . and righteousness perish, and . . . <sup>5</sup> . . . and the man was brought out . . . <sup>6</sup> . . . 'LK, son of KBWH, who . . . <sup>7</sup> . . . [may they b]less his grave . . . <sup>8</sup> . . . and say to him, my (?) distress . . . <sup>9</sup> . . . in the midst . . .

The above texts, being written upon papyrus, do not properly come under the title of inscriptions, but they are included because they illustrate the language and writing used by Aramaic-speaking settlers in Egypt during the same period as the engraved texts of this group. The writing is of a similar type to that of 75, but of a more cursive form, and a stage nearer to the square character; see Driver *Sam.* xxi (with facsimile). As in 75, the language contains some marked Hebraisms. These stray leaves are too mutilated to enable us to make out their general purport; it has been suggested that they give an account of a plot against the government of the Persian king in Egypt.

A. L. 1. ימלא במנחם Cf. Job 15 2. 20 23. The 3 plur. m. suff. ends in *זם*, e.g. *אלוהים* 1. 2. *קיימים* 1. 3; so regularly in Nab., e.g. *נמשחם* 80 2. *בניהם* 102 4; Targ. Ps.-Jon. *ביתחום* (also *ון*); Bibl. Aram. *רשעים* Ezr. 5 10 (also *חון*), cf. *אלהם* 7 17. In Palm. the form is *ון*.

L. 2. *איש* A Hebraism, cf. 75 2. *כיבי* Perhaps = Targ. *בִּיבָא*, Syr. *ܕܠܗܝܗܝܢ*, Hebr. *קָאב*; but what 'the pains of their gods' can mean is not clear.

L. 3. *קיימחם* Apparently plur. of *קיימא*, Syr. *ܡܢܚܡܐ*.

L. 4. *אחרנ* Plur. of *אחרן*, Syr. *ܐܚܪܢܐ* *next, following*, plur. *ܐܚܪܢܐ*; cf. Dan. 2 11 *אחרן* *another*.

L. 5. *יזבן* i.e. *יזבן*, cf. in Nab. 79 6 &c.

L. 6. *יחלקנה* i.e. *יחלקנה*, cf. *חלקנה* C 3. For the suff. with nun energetic cf. the Bibl. Aram. *יחלקנה*, Pal. Aram. *יחלקנה* (Dalman *Gr.* 308); and for the 3 sing. m. suff. in *ון* cf. the Syr. *ܡܢܚܡܐ* with the impf., and the Palm. *יחלקנה* 145 6. The Hebr. forms *יחלקנה* Deut. 32 10. *יחלקנה* Jer. 5 22 are similar (Ges.-Kau. § 58 4). *ל[בני]* So Corp., cf. *בני מראה* 1. 7.

L. 7. *מראה* See 62 11 n.

L. 8. *יחבנשן* for *יחבנשן*, cf. 147 ii c 33. *מצרין* The dual is written with *י*, but the plur. without *י*, e.g. *יזמן אחרנ* 1. 4. *שנ* 1. 9.

B. L. 1. *סחורחא = חסודא* *witness*.

L. 2. *פתש* An Egyptian pr. n. *אחר* Apparently perf. 3 sing. m. *ענה מלא* Cf. Dan. 2 5. 8. 20 &c.

L. 4. *חמו* Here accus. *eos*, as in Ezr. 4 10. 23, in Dan. *חמן*. *תחך* C 6, i.e. *תחך* impf. of *חלך*; similarly in Targ. and Bibl. Aram., e.g. Ezr. 5 5 *תחך*.

L. 5. *יחלק לך* The last letter of each word is uncertain. *נא* Cf. 61 18. 69 13.

L. 6. באלך Cf. Dan. 3 12 &c. Est. 4 21 &c. (אלך). Pe. ירחן  
impf. of נחת.

L. 7. אלמי Instead of אלמי thousands, the word may be pointed אלמי  
chiefs, lit. *chiliarchs*, specially an *Edomite* term, Gen. 36 15 ff.

C. L. 1. משח may be a verb *and he anointed*, or a noun *anointing-oil*  
as in CIS ii 44, in Palm. 147 ii a 27. משחא 122 3.

L. 2. זנה Cf. 69 22.

L. 3. תחלנהי Prob. impf. 2 sing. m. from תלה, i. e. תחלנהי; for the  
suff. see A 6 n. כרי = כרי sicut in Nab. 80 7. 86 6, Bibl. Aram.  
Dan. 2 43, Targ. כר.

L. 4. לולא Dalman reads לולי[א], like the Pal. Aram. אילוי =  
לו (if), Gr. 189.

L. 5. שעתרם The form may be incomplete; a pr. n. חמאי is  
said to mean in Egypt. a cat.

L. 6. תשלה Apparently impf. of שלה to rest.

L. 7. אלון Plur., cf. 69 20, and contrast אלהי 62 23. לחש  
Pael, as in Aram. and Hebr.; cf. Is. 26 16 (noun). עזר = עזר  
imperat. The *scriptio plena* is remarkable.

D. L. 1. יתן So in Nab. 79 3, in Bibl. Aram. יתן.

L. 3. ירחון i. e. ירחון.

L. 5. ואתנפס Ethp. perf.; in the Targum the Ittfaal is used, e. g.  
אתנפס Eze. 24 6. מיתנפס Onk. Gen. 38 25 (with נ assimilated).

L. 6. כבוח . . עלך Pr. nn.; the first is perhaps incomplete.

L. 8. צערי The י may be the suff. or sign of the plur. constr.;  
Targ. צערי, Syr. ܥܥܪܝ.

L. 9. במלנ Lit. in the division; but the form may be mutilated.

77. Papyrus Luparensis. CIS ii 146. iv cent. B. C. Louvre.

## A

- 1 ... [בירת] פאפי זי מת[נ]תב נפקתה בירח פאפי  
2 ... [חמר] מצרין קלבי ו בן לפאפי לשרתא חמר צידן קלבי ו  
מצרין [קלול ו]  
3 ... [מצר]ין קלול ו קלבין ו בן לפאפי לשרתא מצרין קלול ו  
קלבין ו

היב לצחא בר פמת חמר מצרין מאנן ווו וו ו...	4
בגף קלולן וו קלבין ווו עליך וער שר....	5
ב... ל עליך קדם עחר מ[צר]ין קלול ו	6
מצרין קלול ו	7
[ב]ל[י] לא מצרין קלבי ו	8
זי בצ. נה מצרין קלול ו	9
[ב... לפאפי] לשרתא חמר צידן קלבי ו מצרין [קלול ו]	10
[ל].... בר פחה מצרין קלול ו	11
ל[שרתא] מ[צרין קלול] ל ו	12

## B

ב צוו לשרתא קלול ו קלבי ו	1
ב צוו ו לבגור ו קלבין ו	2
לנקה קדם אפתו אלהא רבא קלבי ו	3
לנקה קדם אפי רבתי קלבי ו	4
לשרתא חמר צידן קלבו ו	5
ב צוו ו לכיחך זי הו יום לנדר לשרתא קלולן ו	6
ב צוו ו קלבי ו קדם א[וסרי]....	7
עליך אנומי....	8
ב צוו ווו ו ל....	9
ב צוו ווו ו ל....	10
עחרנפי ה....	11
לב... א....	12
ל	13

## A

<sup>1</sup> . . . [in the month] of Paophi, which is written out. <sup>2</sup> . . . [wine] of Egypt, qelbi 1. <sup>3</sup> . . . [Egypt]ian, qelul 1, qelbin 2.

<sup>1</sup> Outgoings in the month of Paophi. <sup>2</sup> On the 1st of Paophi, for the meal, wine of Sidon, qelbi 1, Egyptian, [qelul 1]. <sup>3</sup> On the 2nd of Paophi, for the meal, Egyptian, qelul 1, qelbin 2. <sup>4</sup> Given to Şəho, son of Pamut, wine of Egypt, ma'nin 5 and . . . <sup>5</sup> For each person, qelulin 2, qelbin 3; on your account, a small (?) . . . <sup>6</sup> . . . on your account, before 'Ahor (?), E[gy]ptian, qelul 1. <sup>7</sup> . . . Egyptian, qelul 1. <sup>8</sup> . . . [at] night, Egyptian, qelbi 1. <sup>9</sup> . . . which is in . . . Egyptian, qelul 1. <sup>10</sup> [On the . . . of Paophi], for the meal, wine of Sidon, qelbi 1, Egyptian, [qelul 1]. <sup>11</sup> [To] . . . son of Peħa (?), Egyptian, qelul 1. <sup>12</sup> . . . for [the meal], E[gyptian, qelul] 1.

## B

<sup>1</sup> On the 23rd, for the meal, qelul 1, qelbi 1. <sup>2</sup> On the 24th, for ? 1, qelbin 2. <sup>3</sup> For the libation before Apuaitu (?), the great god, qelbi 1. <sup>4</sup> For the libation before the lady Isis, qelbi 1. <sup>5</sup> For the meal, wine of Sidon, qelbi 1. <sup>6</sup> On the 25th of Koiħak, which is a day for vows, for the meal, qelulin 2. <sup>7</sup> On the 26th, before O[siris] . . . <sup>8</sup> On your account ? . . . <sup>9</sup> On the 28th, for . . . <sup>10</sup> On the 29th, for . . . <sup>11</sup> 'Aħor-nufi (?) . . . . .

These texts are fragments of daily accounts kept by a steward, to be submitted to the master of the house. They were probably written during the Persian rule, and belong to a rather later date than 76.

A. L. 1. 𐤏𐤍𐤁 The 2nd month of the Egyptian year, Sept. 28th–Oct. 27th; Copt. Paōpi (see Brightman *Liturgies* 168), Gk. Παωφί, Arab. بَابِل. 𐤏𐤍𐤁 A noun fem. sing. in the emph. st., or perhaps with suff. 3 sing.; cf. 𐤏𐤍𐤁 Ezr. 6 4 and 𐤏𐤍𐤁 = ἰν δαπάνῃ Lk. 14 28.

L. 2. 𐤏𐤍𐤁 An Egypt. fluid measure; the derivation is unknown, cf. Arab. قَالْب a mould. The Corp. renders *lagena*. 𐤏𐤍𐤁 ll. 3. 10 &c. for the feast; Targ. 𐤏𐤍𐤁, e.g. Onk. Gen. 43 16, Syr. ܐܝܢܐ;

from שרה lit. *to loose*, cf. משחרה 68 6. חמר צידן l. 10. B 5. Wine from Phoenicia (e. g. Beirut, Byblus) and Syria was specially esteemed in antiquity; cf. Athenaeus *Deipnosoph.* i 52 ὡς ἀδιστος ἔφην πάντων Φοινίκιος οἶνος. מצרין Lit. *Egypt*, here *Egyptian wine*; see Gen. 40 9-11, Strabo 687 (ed. Müll.) οἶνόν τε οὐκ ἀλλήγον ἐκφέρει (nome of Arsinoë), ib. 679 δ Μαρωῆς οἶνος &c., Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xiv 9.

L. 3. קלול It is suggested that this is the Egypt. *qerer, qelē* 'vessel,' Copt. *kelwal* a *small vessel*. But in Aram. are found קלל Talm. *Para* 79 b, a stone vessel for receiving the ashes of the sin-offering, פסל, plur. פסל; whence the Arab. *ḥāṣ* an earthen *water-jug* (Fraenkel *Aram. Fremdw. in Arab.* 170 f.). The קלול was clearly a fluid measure; Corp. *amphora*.

L. 4. יהיב=חייב Ptcp. of יהב; cf. CIS ii 147 B 2 &c. צוחא Cf. 74 B 1. מוח Egypt., of the goddess *Mut*. מוחא Lit. *vessels* here *measures*; Corp. *dolia*, i. e. large wine-jars.

L. 5. נה Apparently=נפח *body, corpse*. נה is taken to mean *for each, individually*; what seems to be the full expression occurs in CIS ii 147 בנפח נפח, cf. in Gk. papyri τὸ κατ' ἀνδρα τῶν σωμάτων. עלך זער The meaning perhaps is *for you* (i. e. the master) a *small* (measure of some kind).

L. 6. עחר Prob. the name of an Egypt. deity to whom the libation was offered; cf. B 11. CIS ii 136 לעחר.

L. 9. נה בצ. Restore בצענה i. e. in the city of *Tanis*, צען Ps. 78 12. 43 &c.

L. 11. פחה Probably an Egypt. pr. n. *Paḥa*.

B. L. 1. After the numeral the name of the month is to be understood; see l. 6.

L. 2. לבנור ? meaning. If it is a pr. n., instead of the numeral we must read ו as part of the name לבנורי.

L. 3. נקיה Prob.=נקה, *libation*. אמח The name of a deity, perhaps Apuaitu (a form of Anubis), though this would be transliterated אמחיתו.

L. 4. אמרי רבתי See 3 2 n.

L. 6. כחך The 4th month of the civil year, Egypt. *Kahika*, Arab. *ḥijab*.

L. 8. אמחי ? pr. n.

L. 11. פירתא If the form is complete, the meaning may be *angle, corner*, Targ. פירתא, פירתא, Hebr. פנה.

עחרני Perhaps = the Egypt. *Ahor-nufi* (for *-nufir*) 'Ahor is good'; cf. A 6.

# NABATAEAN

## NORTH ARABIA

78. El-'Öla. CIS ii 332; Eut. 1. a. c. 9. At Strassburg.

- 1 דא נפשא די אב . בר
- 2 מקימו בר מקימאל די בנה
- 3 לה אבוהי בירח אלול
- 4 שנת \ לחרתת מלך נבמו

This is the monument of Ab., son <sup>2</sup> of Moqîmu, son of Moqîm-el, which <sup>3</sup> his father built for him in the month Elul, <sup>4</sup> the 1st year of Harethath, king of the Nabataeans.

This inscr. comes from El-'Ölâ (العلی), a little to the S. of El-Ḥejra (الحجر), where a large number of Nab. inscrs. have been found (79-93). Both places are in N. Arabia, in the Ḥejaz, S. of Têma (89 3 π.), and not far from the coast of the Red Sea; they are situated in what was the southernmost end of the Nab. kingdom<sup>1</sup>.

L. 1. דא See add. note p. 26. נפשא In Nab. either fem., as here and in CIS ii 194 f. &c., or mas., 159 דנה נפש. 192 &c., frequently used of a *monument* set up over a grave; so in Aram., CIS ii 115 f.; in Palm. נפשא דה Vog. 31 1. 146 נפשא דנה 1. Perhaps the word conveyed the idea of the personality ('נ lit. *soul*) of the deceased; a *nefesh* was erected for each of the persons buried in a tomb, cf. תרתי נפשות 96 1. This idea is prob. symbolized by the pyramid standing upon a cube, such as was sometimes carved upon the rock over the inscr.; see the illustration in Vogt's *Syr. Centr.* 90. The *nefesh* is mentioned in the Talm., e. g. *Shegalim* 5 א נפש בתין לו נפש; cf. also נפשא in Syr., e. g. 1 Macc. 13 28 *ܠܡܥܢ ܡܢ ܢܦܫܗ* referring to the monument built by Simon at Modin (Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 190 f.). אבר Probably אב.

L. 2. מקימו = *مقيم* CIS ii 215. 233; a common name in Palm., 110 f. &c.; in Gk. *Μοκίμος*, *Μοκίμος*. In Nab. pr. nn. frequently end in 'י, the equivalent of the Arab. *-i*. מקימאל Compounded of מקימו and אל; cf. in Pun. מקמאל (ם) CIS i 261, and for the form, מריב

<sup>1</sup> The texts of 78-93, before they appeared in the Corp., were published in the valuable edition of Euting, enriched with notes by Nöldeke, *Nabatäische Inschriften* (1885).

לבעל 1 Chr. 9 40. לבעל Neh. 6 10 &c. בנה So 99 1, cf. חמח  
CIS ii 224 4; but בנה 333 2 and in Palm. 122 5.

L. 3. מלל Aug.-Sept., Neh. 6 15; one of the names of the  
Babyl. months borrowed by the Jews after the exile. See Schrader  
COT 380.

L. 4. חרתת i.e. Aretas iv, ὁ Περραιὸς βασιλεὺς (Jos. Ant. xviii 5 1),  
who reigned from B.C. 9 to A.D. 40; inscriptions (CIS ii 214 f.) and coins  
are dated in his 48th year. After his accession he secured the favour  
of Augustus, and was recognized as king (Jos. ib. xvi 10 9). Herod  
Antipas married his daughter (see 95 3 n.), but subsequently set her  
aside for Herodias, and thus gave Aretas a pretext to punish his  
son-in-law for this and other grievances (Jos. ib. xviii 5 1). At a later  
time, circ. A.D. 38, when St. Paul was persecuted by his ethnarch (2 Cor.  
11 32), Aretas was master of Damascus; it is conjectured that the town  
had been made over to him by Caligula as a peace-offering<sup>1</sup>. He is  
mentioned in 20 inscr. from El-Hejra (CIS ii 197-217), in the second  
inscr. from Petra 95, in the inscr. of Medeba 96, of Sidon CIS ii 160,  
of Puteoli 102, and frequently on coins. In the inscr. he is surnamed  
רחם עטא = Φιλόπατρις, a title which asserts his claim to independence,  
in contrast to such titles as Φιλορώμαιος, Φιλοκαῖσαρ, adopted by subject  
kings. חרתת=Gk. 'Aretas for 'Aretas, perhaps under the influence of  
ἀρετή. נבטא The kingdom of the Nabataeans was centred at  
Petra, the former Edomite stronghold of Sela'; hence the name of  
the country, 'Αραβία ἡ πρὸς τῇ Πέτρᾳ i.e. Arabia Petraea. From this  
centre it extended northwards, at times even to Damascus (in B.C. 85  
and A.D. 34-65 circ.), and southwards into N. Arabia, as far as  
the NE. shore of the Red Sea, 'omnis regio ab Euphrate usque  
ad mare Rubrum,' says St. Jerome (infr.). From the language of the  
inscriptions it appears that the Nabataeans were of Arab race and spoke  
Arabic, but used Aramaic for the purposes of writing and commerce;  
Nöldeke in Eut. Nab. Inscr. 78. Before the Hellenistic period little,  
or nothing, is known of them. It is probable that the Na-ba-ai-ti,  
frequently named along with other Arab tribes<sup>2</sup> in the Rassam  
Cylinder of Ašurbanipal (KB ii 216-222), were the Nabataeans.  
Whether the latter are the same as the Arab tribe called נביות in  
the O.T. is not altogether certain; the identification is as old as

<sup>1</sup> The Roman Damascene coins end with Tiberius, A.D. 34, and begin again with  
Nero, A.D. 62-3; in the interval Dam. was under the Nab. kings. So Gutschmidt  
in Eut. Nab. Inscr. 85; Schürer *Gesch. Jüd. Volk.* i 737.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. the Ḫid-ra-ai i.e. קדר, KB ii 222; cf. נביות and קדר Gen. 25 13 &c.,  
Nabataei and Cedrei in Pliny *Hist. Nat.* v 12.



Josephus (*Ant.* i 12 4 *Ναβαιώθης*—*Ναβατηνὴν χώραν*), who is followed by Jerome (*Quaest.* in Gen. 25 13 ed. Vallar. tom. iii 345) and most moderns. *נְבָתָי* looks like a fem. plur. (cf. *נְבָתָי* from *נָבַת* Neh. 12 47 &c.), and may possibly come from the Arab. *نَبَاتَى* *lofty place, eminence*; its resemblance to *נבט* is thus not very close, although there are analogies for the interchange of *ת* and *ב*, e. g. *نبت* and *نبت*, 62 8 n.<sup>1</sup> In the Hellenistic period the Nabataeans first appear in the time of Antigonus, 312 B.C., who sent two expeditions against them, Diod. xix 94–100. Their first known ruler was the Aretas of 2 Macc. 5 8 (*τὸν τῶν Ἀράβων τύραννον*), with whom Jason sought asylum in 169 B.C., for the Nabataeans were friendly to the Maccabaeian family, 1 Macc. 5 25. 9 35. With the decay of the Gk. kingdoms of Syria and Egypt their power increased, and towards the end of the 2nd cent. B.C. they were consolidated under a vigorous king named Erotimus, who was perhaps the founder of the Nab. dynasty (see Jos. *Ant.* xiii 13 3. 5. 15 1. 2. *Wars* i 4 4. 8 &c.)<sup>2</sup>. In B.C. 85 Aretas iii was master of Damascus, and struck coins there with the legend *βασιλεύς Ἀρέτων Φιλέλληνος*. Shortly after this the Nabataeans for the first time came into collision with the Romans under Pompey and Scourus, Jos. *Ant.* xiv 1 4–2 3. 5 1. *Wars* i 8 1; and in the subsequent period were sometimes reduced to tributaries, sometimes allowed a measure of independence, until finally in A.D. 106, when Cornelius Palma was governor of Syria, the Nab. kingdom was absorbed into the Empire and became a Roman province<sup>3</sup>.

The following list of Nab. kings, based upon Schürer *Gesch. Jud. Volk.*<sup>4</sup> i 726–744, will be convenient for reference:

Aretas i reigning in 169 B.C.	Aretas iv 9 B.C.–40 A.D. 78–91.
Erotimus „ 110–100 B.C.	95. 96.
Aretas ii „ 96 B.C.	Abias.
Obedas i „ 90 B.C.	Malchus ii circ. 48–71 A.D. 92*.
Aretas iii circ. 85–60 B.C.	98. 99.
Malchus i circ. 50–28 B.C. 100*.	Rabel circ. 71–106 (?) A.D. 97*.
102.	101.
Obedas ii circ. 28–9 B.C. 95*.	End of the Nab. kingdom 106 A.D.

Under the numbers marked by an asterisk further particulars will be found.

<sup>1</sup> The Gk. *Ναβαταῖοι* = Aram. *נבטאי*, Lagarde *Bild. Nom.* 52.

<sup>2</sup> Justinus xxxix 5, cited by Schürer ib. 731. Bevan *House of Seleucus* ii 257.

<sup>3</sup> Dio. Cass. lxxviii 14, cited by Schürer ib. 743.

79. El-Hejra. CIS ii 197; Eut. 2. B.C. I. In situ.

- 1 דנה קברא די עבר עידו בר כהילו בר
- 2 אלכסי לנפשה וילדה ואחרה ולמן די ינפק בידה
- 3 כתב תקף מן יד עידו קים לה ולמן די יתן ויקבר בה
- 4 עידו בחיוהי בירח ניסן שנת תשע לחרתת מלך
- 5 נבטו רחם עמה ולענו דושרא ומנותו וקישא
- 6 כל מן די יזבן כפרא דנה או יזבן או ירהן או יתן או
- 7 יוגר או יתאלף עלוהי כתב כלה או יקבר בה אנש
- 8 להן למן די עלא כתיב וכפרא וכתבה דנה חרם
- 9 כחליקת חרם נבטו ושלמו לעלם עלמין

This is the sepulchre which 'Aidu, son of Kohailu, son <sup>2</sup> of Elqasi, made for himself and his children and his posterity, and for whomsoever shall produce in his hand <sup>3</sup> a warrant from the hand of 'Aidu: it shall hold good for him and for whomsoever 'Aidu during his life-time shall give leave to bury in it: <sup>4</sup> in the month Nisan, the ninth year of Harethath, king <sup>5</sup> of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. And may Dûshara and Manûthu and Qaishah curse <sup>6</sup> every one who shall sell this tomb, or buy it, or mortgage it, or give it away, or <sup>7</sup> let it, or frame for it any (other) writ, or bury any one in it <sup>8</sup> except those who are written above! And the tomb and this its inscription are inviolable things, <sup>9</sup> after the manner of what is held inviolable by the Nabataeans and Shalamians, for ever and ever.

L. 1. עידו 88 x i.e. عائد, 'Aedds Wadd. 2034 &c. כהילו i.e. كاهيل; in Palm. 141 a.

L. 2. אלכסי Prob. = 'Allexios. ילדה ואחרה Both words are always in sing., with collect. sense. For אחר see 85 10 n.

L. 3. כתב תקף 87 3 &c. lit. a document of confirmation, תָּקַף = be strong; cf. Esth. 9 29 (תָּקַף). יתן ויקבר For the construction cf. the use of the subjunct. with ו in Arab, Wright *Ar. Gr.* ii 30 f.; the impf. (or juss.) with י in Hebr., e.g. 2 S. 16 11

הַחֹדֶשׁ לִי יִשְׁכַּל. Is. 43 9 &c., cf. Job 19 23, Driver *Tenses* § 62; in Bibl. Aram. cf. Dan. 5 2 וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה . . . אֶמֶר, though the pf. with ו is more usual, Dan. 5 29 &c., as in Syr., Nöld. *Syr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> § 334 B.

L. 4. נִסָּן The 1st month, Mar. 22 to April 20, Neh. 2 1. Esth. 3 7; see 78 3 n. לַחֲרִית See 78 4 n.

L. 5. וְלֵעָן 81 4 &c. = Arab. لعن. The perf. is used similarly in Arab. for prayers and imprecations, e.g. لَعَنَ اللَّهُ, Wright l.c. 3. דְּיִשְׂרָאֵל The chief god of the Nabataeans, worshipped throughout N. Arabia, especially at Petra, and in Ḥauran at Adra'a (אדרעי) and Bostra. In Arab. the name is written ذو الشرى i.e. ذو. owner, possessor (cf. בעל) and الشرى, prob. the name of a place<sup>1</sup>. Wellhausen enumerates three places called Sharā, and described by Arab. writers as remarkable either for swampy ground, or for lions, or for water, trees, and jungle. Such localities were esteemed specially suitable for a *hīmd* or *temenos* of a god, and Shara, wherever it may have been, was prob. a place of this kind; *Reste Ar. Heidenth.* 48 ff. Thus Dhu-sharā lit. owner of Sharā is only an appellation of the god: his actual name (p. 239 n. 1) was not used; cf. Dhu ʾ Ḥalaṣa (Arab., 105 n.), Dhu Shamāwi (Sab., 9 1 n.), בעלת נבל (= עשתרת), בעל צר (= מלכרת), 8 2 n. In Sabaean both the name and title of a god are sometimes used in full, e.g. 'Athtar Dhu Gaufat (CIS iv 40 4. 41 2 f.), Almaqah Dhu Hirrān (Mordtmann u. Müller *Sab. Denkm.* 6). Dusares was worshipped at Petra under the form of a black rectangular stone<sup>2</sup>, a sort of Petraean Ka'aba; and Epiphanius describes a feast held at Petra on Dec. 25th in honour of 'Χααβου [χααμου ed. Dind. ii 484] i.e. virgin, and her offspring Δουσάρης i.e. the only son of the lord' (*Haer.* 51)<sup>3</sup>. By Gk. and Lat. writers Dusares was identified with Dionysos-Bacchus: Δουσάρην τὸν Διόνυσον Ναβαταῖοι ὡς φησὶν Ἰσιδωρος (Hesych. s.v.); but, as Wellhausen justly remarks, the god of a nomad race of Arabs, living in the desert, could hardly have been worshipped originally under the character of Dionysos, for Dionysos (בעל) is the

<sup>1</sup> Acc. to Steph. Byz. s.v. Δουσάρη, a mountain, σπέωλος καὶ κορυφὴ ὑψηλοτάτη 'Αραβίας' εἰρηται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δουσάρου. Hence, he says, the Naba. called themselves Δουσαρρηνοί.

<sup>2</sup> Suidas *Lex.* s.v. Θεὸς Ἀρη.

<sup>3</sup> If the reading is right Χααβου prob. = כעב lit. a die, cube, i.e. the sacred stone, either of Dusares himself, or of a goddess-consort (such as Allāt); see on the passage Röscher *ZDMG* xxxviii 643 ff. Rob. Smith holds that the Petraeans worshipped Mother and Son, each under the form of a stone (*Kinship* 292 f.; *Rel. of Sem.* 57 n.); Wellhausen (l.c. 50), that they conceived of Dusares as born from his *baetylion*. In his account of the cult, Epiph. may have been unconsciously influenced by Christian ideas of the Parthenogenesis.

god of agricultural, settled life. No doubt in time, under the influence of Canaanite and Aramaic civilization, Dusares assimilated the attributes of Ba'al-Dionysos<sup>1</sup>; and if, as there is some evidence for believing, Dusares was originally a solar deity (see Baethgen *Beitr.* 95 f.), the assimilation is not difficult to imagine.




מָנוּחַ 80 4. 8. Note the ending ך, not elsewhere in Nab. with fem. nouns, as in Arabic a pr. n. ending in *i* does not take tanwīn. מָנוּחַ is the Arab. goddess مَنَاة, mentioned in the Qurʾān, 53 20. Wellhausen, l. c. 28, explains the form as a plur. *manāḍiun* and the name as = Fate, lit. *portion, lot* (as מָנוּחַ in Aram.), Τύχη, cf. Gad. The chief centre of the cult of Manāth was in the Hejaz, at the water of Qudaid, a station on the pilgrim-road between Medina and Mekka. קִישָׁא 80 4. קִישָׁא 89 9. This is the only instance known of the emph. st. in ה'. As in the case of מָנוּחַ, nothing definite as to the character of this deity has been preserved. Eut. quotes the pr. nn. امرؤ القيس, عبد القيس; possibly *Ḳa-ūl-ma-la-ka*, a king of Edom mentioned by Tiglath-pileser (*KB* ii 20), contains the name of the deity.



L. 6. יִבְנָן . . יִבְנָן Peal . . Pael, 80 4 f. 81 5. כְּפָרָא 80 1 &c., according to D. H. Müller a word imported from the Lihyan dialect preserved in inscr. from El-'Olā, *Epigr. Denkm. aus Arab.* p. 65, nos. 9. 25. 27. 29. In any case the Arab. كَفَرٌ, usually *village*, also means *tomb*, as in Nab. The statement of Strabo (p. 667 ed. Müll.) that the Nabs. ἵσα κοπρίαις ἡγοῦνται τὰ νεκρὰ σώματα . . . διὰ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς κοπρώνας κατορύττονται καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς is cleverly explained by Cl.-Gan. as due to a misunderstanding of the Nab. כְּפָרָא, which suggested κοπρία, κοπρών to Gk. ears, *Ét.* i 146 ff. יִרְחֵן 80 5 &c. = رهن *give in pledge*.

L. 7. יוֹרֵר 81 6 &c., also יֹאֲרֵר CIS ii 220 4, Afel impf. of יֹאֲרֵר. יִתְאַלֵּף CIS ii 217 10 &c. = Arab. اَلْف lit. *join*, so *compose* (books), a different sense from that of the Aram. יִלֵּף, יִלֵּף *teach, learn*. אֲנַרְשׁ The form as in Hebr. and BAram. Dan. 4 13 Kt. The word is used in this dialect, as also in BAram. (אֲנַרְשׁ), with an indeterminate sense, *every man, no man, any one, us*, e. g. 86 6. 89 5. 90 3. 94 5; similarly in Targ. Onk., e. g. Lev. 13 2. 18. 24; cf. Palm. אֲנַשׁ 147 i 11.

L. 8. לֶחֶן i. e. לֶחֶן = לֶחֶן *except* 88 3. 94 5. Dan. 2 11. 3 28 &c.; cf. לֶחֶן דִּי יִתְחַלֵּף 90 4. עֲלֵא Cf. עֲלֵא מְנוּחַן Dan. 6 3 and עֲלֵא in Pal.

<sup>1</sup> Thus coins of Bostra (iii cent. B. C.) bear the figure of a wine-press, and the legend Ἀστία Δουσάρια or Δουσάρια alone; see further Mordtmann *ZDMG* xxix 104 f.

Aram., for the usual . כתבה has the suff. 3 sing. m. חרם 81 3. 86 2. 94 3-5, Af. ptc. מחרם 86 3, hence מחרמותא 102 1 f. chapel; in Palm. חרמן 112 4 = *avathimara*; in Sabaeen חרמת = sanctuary (*Sab. Denkm.* 70), similarly מחרם CIS iv 74 15. The  conveys the idea of a sacred thing *prohibited* to human use, hence  sanctuary; see 1 17 n., p. 68, and Lagrange *Rel. Sémi.* 181-187.

L. 9. חליקת 81 3. 86 2 &c. =  nature, character. שלמו 81 4. 86 3 &c., a people nearly related to the Nabataeans; Steph. Byz. s.v. Σαλάμιοι ἔθνος Ἀράβιον σάλαμα δὲ ἡ εἰρήνη ὠνομάσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνοπιοῦ γένεσθαι τοῖς Ναβαταίοις. In the Talm. they are mentioned together, e.g. Jer. *Shebi'ith* vi fol. 36 b ערביא שלמיא נבטיא; see Neubauer *Géogr. du Talm.* 427 for other references. In the Targ. שלמא = , e.g. Onk. Num. 24 21 f., &c.

80. El-Hejra. CIS ii 198; Eut. 3. B. C. or A. D. I. In situ.

- |    |   |    |
|----|---|----|
| 1  | דנה כפרא די עברו כמכם ברת ואלת ברת חרמו         |    |
| 2  | וכליבת ברתה לנפשהם ואחרהם בירח טבת שנת          |    |
| 3  | תשע לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה וילען דושרא          |    |
| 4  | ומותבה ואלת מן עמנר ומנותו וקשה מן יזבן         |    |
| 5  | כפרא דנה או מן יזבן או ירהן או ינתן יתה או ינפק |    |
| 6  | מנה נת או שלו או מן יקבר בה עיר כמכם וברתה      |    |
| 7  | ואחרהם ומן די לא יעבר כדי עלא כתיב פאיתי עמה    |    |
| 8  | לדושרא והבלו ולמנותו שמדין ו ולאפכלא קנס        |    |
| 9  | סלעין אלף חרתי בלעד מן די ינפק בידה כתב מן יד   |    |
| 10 | כמכם או כליבת ברתה בכפרא הו פקים כתבא הו        |    |
|    | והבאלהי בר עברעברת                              | 11 |
|    | עבר   | 12 |

This is the tomb which Kamkām, daughter of Wāilat, daughter of Ḥaramu, <sup>2</sup> and Kulaibat her daughter made for themselves and their posterity: in the month Ṭebeth, the ninth year <sup>3</sup> of Ḥarethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. And may Dūshara <sup>4</sup> and his throne (?), and Allāt



70 1 (מִיִּתְבָּא, see n.), cf. Apoc. 12 5. The *throne* of D. has been explained as the platform on which his shrine was built; Cl.-Gan. identifies it with his altar, and thinks that the altar-throne was none other than the black squared stone worshipped at Petra (p. 218), *Rec.* iv 247-250<sup>1</sup>. It seems, however, more likely that the explanation of the term is to be found in the ritual scenes depicted on Bab.-Assyr. tablets, where the god is seated in his shrine facing the altar; e.g. the tablet of Nabû-pal-iddina illustrated in the Brit. Mus. *Guide to Bab. and Assy. Ant.* (1900) Pl. xxii. Thus מִיִּתְבָּא is practically the same as *his shrine*; see 94 3 n. מִלְּא i. e. אֱלֵא *Allat*, the chief goddess of the ancient Arabs; cf. CIS ii 185 מִלְּא מִלְּא מִלְּא. She is mentioned with Al-'Uzza and Manât in Qur. 53 20. Arab writers say that her *himd* (79 5 n.) was the rich valley in which the town of Tâif lay, 60 miles SE. of Mekka; while the inscrs. show that her worship extended northwards to Ḥejra, Ḥauran (98. 99), as far as Palmyra (117); it reached also to Carthage and the Pun. settlements, see 60 3 n. The name מִלְּא with a final long vowel due to contraction (not the fem. ending), means *goddess*, and is prob. contracted from אֱלֵא (fem. of אֱלֵא = אֱלֵא) — אֱלֵא — אֱלֵא, the middle stage of the contraction appearing in the 'Αλλὰτ of Herod. iii 8. The expression מִלְּא מִלְּא *A. their goddess* in 99 1 seems to show that the original meaning of the name was in time forgotten. As to the character of the deity, there is some reason to think that she was a sun-goddess (so Wellh. *Reste Ar. Heid.* 33); in Sabaeen *Ildhat of Hamdân* מִלְּא מִלְּא had solar attributes, *Sab. Denkm.* 66 f. But in Palm. 117 6 she is distinct from שֶׁמֶשׁ; by Herod. (l.c.) and others she is called Οὐρανίη<sup>2</sup>; and in Ḥauran and at Palmyra her Gk. equivalent was 'Αθήνη<sup>3</sup>. This rather implies that she was an astral or sky deity, possibly the moon-goddess beside Dûshara the sun-god, if such was his original character (79 5 n.). In ancient Babylon Allatu was goddess of the nether regions (Jastrow *Rel. of Bab. and Assy.* 104 &c.), but

<sup>1</sup> On some early Gk. vases the god is represented seated on his altar. Cl.-Gan. quotes Gk. inscriptions from Shêḥ Barakât near Aleppo (*Ét.* ii § 4) to Ζεὺς Μαδβαχός = מִיִּתְבָּא (!) זְבִי = Ζεὺς Βωμός on an inscr. lately found in the same district, *Rec.* iv § 28. The evidence is hardly convincing enough to support the far-reaching identification above.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. says, the Arabs ὀνομάζουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον 'Οροτάλ, τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίην 'Αλλὰτ. Origen *contr. Cels.* v 37 οἱ Ἀράβιοι τὴν Οὐρανίαν καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον μόνους ἡγοῦνται θεοῖς. Arrian *Exp. Alex.* vii 20 Ἀραβας δύο μόνον τιμᾶν θεοὺς, τὸν Οὐρανόν τε καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον.

<sup>3</sup> 'Αθήνη in Gk. inscrs. from Ḥauran = מִלְּא, Wadd. 2208, 2208 &c. The son of Zenobia, ῥῆζοι, was called in Gk. 'Αθηνόδοτος.

there is no evidence that אלת had this character in Phoen. or Arab. religion (see 50 ו n.). עמנר or מן עמנר The name of a place; cf. אלת די בצלחד 99 ו f.

L. 6. עיר . . שלו . . נת Arab. words: جَنَّة corpse, شَلْو member of the body, غَيْر another.

L. 7. פאיתי עלוהו 81 7 i. e. פאיתי עפה, cf. פאיתי עלוהו CIS ii 217 7. The first letter is the Arab. conj. ف, cf. פסים l. 10 and often.

L. 8. הבלי Though the prep. is absent, this is prob. the ancient god מבל, cf. בנהבל 102 5 (?); for the omission of the prep. cf. לנשחם ואחרם l. 2. שמוין Perhaps to be connected with חַפּם which sometimes = *to curse*, the Aram. equivalent of the Arab. لعن; cf. CIS ii 211 8 לענת iiiii *four curses*. לאמבלא Possibly the name of some religious or secular institution, Lidzb. 145 n. Nöld. suggests that the form is an error for לאמבלא *in double (amount)*; cf. פאיתי עלוהי כפל CIS ii 217 7. The word has been found recently in a Palm. inscr. following the name of a person עזיו אלתא בר ירחבולא אמבלא די עזיו אלתא where it is clearly a priestly title, perhaps (after the Assy. *Abkallu*) = 'magician' (see p. 295 n. 1), and in the Minaean (?) inscr. from Warka אמכל = أمكل in the same position, Hommel *Süd-Arab. Chrest.* 113. Lidzb., *Eph.* i 203, proposes doubtfully the rendering *administrator*. פם 89 8 = *fine*, as in Targ., e. g. Ps.-Jon. Ex. 21 30 קנסא דמסופא. The resemblance to κῆνος, *census*, is prob. only accidental; *census* does not = *fine*, and a Lat. word is not likely to have become naturalized in this connexion (Nöld.).

L. 9. סלען In Targ. סלען = Heb. שקל, e. g. Onk. Ex. 30 13 פילען פסא חרתי, Syr. سلك, Gk. στατήρ; here silver drachmae. An indeclinable adj. formed from חרתת, حارث, 'authorized, issued by Aretas.' The coins of Aretas iii, Obodas, and Aretas iv (at the beginning of his reign) are heavier in weight than those of the later kings. This double threat of divine curses and a fine in money is a peculiar feature of the El-Hejra inscr. ; cf. 89 19 n. Lidzb., p. 143, has pointed out the remarkable parallel afforded by a number of Gk. sepulchral inscr. from W. Asia Minor, especially by those from Lycia<sup>1</sup>. The custom of specifying a fine for violating a tomb spread widely from Lycia over the Roman Empire, and in this way may have reached the Nabataeans.

<sup>1</sup> See Hirschfeld in *Königsberger Studien* i (1887, 83-144). The foll. is a specimen, from Pinara, circ. 3 cent. B.C. (Hirschfeld, p. 107) ἐὰν δὲ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποίησῃ, ἀμαρτωλὸς | ἔστω θεῶν πάντων καὶ Αἰγίου | καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ προσ-|αποτεισάτω τέλειαν ἀργυρίου | καὶ ἐξέστω τῶν βουλομένων | ἐγδικάζεσθαι περὶ τούτων.



L. 10. בכפרא חו Eut. renders (*who are*) in the said grave; but it is better to refer the prep. to כתב *a writing . . . in connexion with &c.*

L. 11. וחבאלוי 98 7 i.e. رَمْبُ اللَّهِ, the name of the sculptor; the ך is the sign of the genit. עבדעברת Compounded with the name of king Obodas; cf. עבדמלכו 97 ii. עבדחרת 82 5. עבדרבאל CIS ii 304. The origin of these names may have been due to the deification of kings after death (see 95 1 n.); in some cases, perhaps, the second name belonged to a venerated ancestor, or to a tribe (cf. Arab. Abd-Ahlihi), Wellhausen *Reste* 4.

81. El-Hajra. CIS ii 199; Eut. 4. A. D. 4. In situ.

- 1 דנה כפרא ובססא תונא די עבר חושבו בר
- 2 כפיו בר אלוף תימניא לנפשה וילדה וחבו אמה
- 3 ורופו ואפתיו אחותה וילדהם חרם כחליקת חרם
- 4 נבטו ושלמו לעלם ולען דושרא כל מן די יקבר בכפרא דנה
- 5 עיר מן די עלא כתיב או יובן או יובן או ימשכן או
- 6 יוגר או יהב או יאנא ומן די יעבר כעיר מה די עלא
- 7 כתיב פאיתי עמה לדושרא אלהא בחרמא די עלא
- 8 לדמי מגמר סלעין אלף חרתי ולמראנא חרתת מלכא כות
- 9 בירח שבט שנת עשר ותלת לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם
- 10 עמה

This is the tomb and the base and the foundation (?) which Hūshabu, son <sup>2</sup> of Kafiyu, son of Alkūf, the Tēmanite, made for himself and his children and Hābu his mother, <sup>3</sup> and Rūfu and Aftiyu his sisters and their children, an inviolable place, after the manner of what is held inviolable <sup>4</sup> by the Nabataeans and Shalamians, for ever. And may Dūshara curse every one who shall bury in this tomb <sup>5</sup> any other than those written above, or shall sell it, or buy it, or pledge it, or <sup>6</sup> let it, or give it away, or lend it temporarily! And any one who shall do otherwise than what is above <sup>7</sup> written, he shall be charged

to the god Dûshara, in connexion with the above inviolable place, \* at the full price of a thousand *sela's* Harethite, and to our lord the king Harethath the same amount. \* In the month Shebat, the thirteenth year of Harethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of <sup>10</sup> his people.

L. 1. בססא = *βάσις*, Syr. *ܒܫܝܫܐ*, in Targ. *בְּסִיס*. כוּמא  
Some part of the building, but the exact meaning is unknown. If  
taken from *ܒܫܝܫܐ* (ܒܫܝܫܐ) would mean something 'straight,' 'fixed';  
but the word may be Gk., hardly, however, *χώνη* *melting-pot, funnel*,  
as proposed in Corp. A good many terms connected with building  
and sculpture were introduced into Aram. from Gk., e. g. חִימָרָא *tharpor*  
CIS ii 163 2, Palm. בסלסא 119 3. *ܚܘܫܒܐ* i. e. *ܚܘܫܒܐ*.

L. 2. כפיו Cf. Arab. *كفي* *equal, sufficient*. *ܡܠܚܘܩ* Corp. suggests  
a compound of *ܡܠ* and *ܚܘܩ* [כוף], 'incline, O El.' *ܚܘܩܢܐ* From  
חביו 89 3 n., as *ܚܘܩܢܐ* from *ܚܘܩܢܐ* (Nöld.); cf. 85 2 n. In  
Arab. perhaps *حُب* *love*, cf. חביו 89 3.

L. 3. רחבו Nöld. compares *رأى* *to pity*; but רחבו?  
3 is not otherwise known. The Corp. compares *רחב* *to be wide*,  
*open*. *ܠܚܘܒܐ* Plur. with suff. 3 sing. m.; cf. 85 3 and in  
Egypt. Aram. CIS ii 150 8 (as here). *ܠܚܘܒܐ* See 79 8. 9 n.

L. 4. נבמו ושלמו See 79 9 n.

L. 5. ימשכן 86 4 &c.; Syr. *ܡܫܚܢܐ* *to pawn or mortgage*; in 79 6  
&c. *ܡܫܚܢܐ*.

L. 6. יחב i. e. *יחב*, the rarely used impf. of *יחב*; in 79 6 &c.  
*ܝܚܒܐ*. *ܝܚܒܐ* Prob. a verb from *ܝܚܒܐ* *time* (Nöld.).

L. 8. לדמי מנמר Lit. 'according to a price of totality.' *דמי* is plur.  
constr., for Aram. uses only the plur., *ܕܡܝܐ*; cf. CIS ii 217 7  
*ܕܡܝܐ* *double the price of this place*. *ܡܢܡܪ* is prob. a noun  
from *ܡܢܡܪ* *iv to unite, collect, reckon up*, rather than a pass. ptcp.  
*ܡܢܡܪ*, which would not agree with the plur. *דמי*. See  
80 9 n. *ܡܢܡܪ* See 82 11 n. The regular order  
in Nab., 85 10. 92 4 &c., as in BAram. Dan. 3 1. 5 1 &c., and late  
Hebr. Dan. 1 21. 1 Chr. 29 29.

L. 9. עשר שבט i. e. *עשר* Zech. 1 7, the 11th month, Assyr. *šabatu*; 78  
3 n. *ܥܫܪ* This is the usual order in Nab. (with a fem.  
noun), cf. *ܥܫܪ* 82 4. 93 6. 99 3; similarly in Palm. 147 ii b 20  
*ܥܫܪ*, in Mandaic (Nöld. *Mand. Gr.* 189), and in Phoen. 5 1 and  
NPun. In Syr. the ten follows the unit.

82. 𐤁𐤏-𐤇𐤁𐤂𐤓𐤓. CIS ii 201; Ent. 5. A. D. 8. In situ.

- 1 דנה כפרא די עבר מלכין פתורא  
 2 על חנינו הפסחין כלירכא אבוה  
 3 ולנפשה וילדה ואחרה אצדק באצדק בירח ניסן  
 4 שנת עשר ושבע למראנא חרתת מלך  
 5 נבטו רחם עמה עבדהרתת פסלא  
 6 בר עברעברת עבר

This is the tomb which Malkiōn Pathōra made <sup>2</sup> over Hunainu Hephæstiōn the chiliarch his father, <sup>3</sup> and for himself and his children and his posterity, each legal kinsman: in the month Nisan, <sup>4</sup> the seventeenth year of our lord Harethath, king <sup>5</sup> of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. 'Abd-ḥarethath the mason, <sup>6</sup> son of 'Abd-'obedath, did the work.

L. 1. מלכין = Μαλχων Wadd. 1910 &c. פתורא Cognomen of the father, = *table* in Aram., e.g. Targ. Onk. Ex. 25 23. D. H. Müller suggests that the name = *τραπεζιτης*; but this would be פתורא (Nöld.).

L. 2. על 91 2, instead of the usual ל, implies that the father was already dead. חנינו 95 1 חנינו = 'Ovaînos Wadd. 2048 &c. הפסחין i.e. 'Ηφαιστίων. כלירכא = χιλιάρχος.

L. 3. אצדק באצדק A legal phrase frequently occurring in these inscr., 86 2. 88 2 &c. In form אצדק is an adj. with the elative א (أَمْدَقُ), though without the significance of the elative in Arab. (compar., superl.); the ב is distributive, as in שנה בשנה Dt. 15 20. חדש בחדש 1 Chr. 27 1. Literally, אצדק may be rendered *authorized*; it conveys the idea of *legal right*, perhaps also of *kinship*; Nöld. is inclined to give the latter as the original sense, and compares the Syr. ܐܬܪܐ *relatives, kinsmen* (Payne Smith *Theor.* col. 1085). At any rate in usage the phrase denotes 'haeres quisque in vice sua,' 'jure haereditatis' (Corp.), 'all who have claims as kindred'; thus אחרה ואצדק CIS ii 220 1 f. לילדהם ואצדקם 215 2. 'בא' די יחקבון בה א' בא' כל 219 2 f. אצדק אצדק וידת 86 3.

L. 5. עבדהרתת See 80 11 n. פסלא 88 9 &c. i.e. פסלא, or פסלא, פסלא.



L. 1. חִמְאֻלוֹ i. e.  $\text{خِمْأَلُ}$  *slave of Allah*, Θεμέλλων (gen.) Wadd. 2020; frequent in Sin., e. g. 108.

L. 2. חסלת Mas., 87 2 ff. fem., =  $\text{حَسَلَت}$  or  $\text{حَمَلَت}$  (*sword-belt*, حمل to carry); cf. 'Αμύλαθος Wadd. 2393 &c.

L. 3. אנתת From אנת (= אנשה, Syr.  $\text{ܐܢܬܐ}$  *att-ithā*) with suff. 3 sing. m.; contrast אתתה CIS ii 194. In Palm. the forms are אתת, emph. איתת, with suff. אתתה; in Pal. Aram. איתת, איתתה &c., with suff. איתתיה and איתתיה, plur. נשא, נשא (cf. 62 8); Dalm. Gr.

159. 93 5. שמר Cf. the name of the Arab tribe  $\text{شمر}$ . 94 4, Palm. 147 i 8, the usual Aram. word for a *bill* or *bond*, e. g. שמר  $\text{שָׁמַר}$  a *bill of debt*, hence the NHebr.  $\text{שָׁמַר שְׁכָר}$ .

L. 4. תצבא 87 5. 147 ii c 50. For the form תצבא cf. יתבא 90 4.

L. 5. אב The 5th month; see 78 3 n.

85. El-Ḥejra. CIS ii 205; Eut. 8. A. D. 25. In situ.

- 1 דנה כפרא די עברו ושתי ברת בגרת
- 2 וקיננו ונשנביה בנתה תימניתא להם כלה
- 3 כלה ולשמית ועשפא . . . . . אחותהם בנת
- 4 ושתי ו . . . . . כלה די יתקברון . . . . . דנה
- 5 די עלא . . . . . כלה בכפרא דנה פקים על
- 6 ושתי בנתה . . . . .
- 7 . . . . . חאין . . . . .
- 8 . . . . .
- 9 פאיתי עמה לאלהי סלעין מאה חרתי
- 10 ולמראנא חרתת מלכא כות בירח איר שנת
- 11 3 ~ IIII לחרתת מלך נבמו רחם עמה

This is the tomb which Washti, daughter of Bagarath, <sup>2</sup> and Qainu and Nashankiyah (?) her daughters, the Tēmanites, made for themselves, each <sup>3</sup> one of them, and for Shamiyath and . . . their sisters, daughters <sup>4</sup> of Washti . . . that they be buried . . . this <sup>5</sup> who are above . . . in this tomb; and it shall hold good for <sup>6</sup> Washti, her daughters . . . <sup>7</sup> and he

shall be charged to my god a hundred *sela's* Harethite, <sup>10</sup> and our lord Harethath the king the same amount: in the month Iyar, the <sup>11</sup> 34th year of Harethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people.

L. 1. וְשָׁחִי The name is read distinctly in l. 4. It can hardly be the same as the O.T. וְשָׁחִי, which is of Persian (Zend) origin. בְּנֵת 97 ii i. e. *بَجَرِيّ*, *بَجَرِيّ* *corpulent*, *Báyparos* Wadd. 2562.

L. 2. קִינוּ 87 2 fem., in Sin. mas., e. g. Eut. 4. 557 &c.; in Arab. قَيْن is the name of a tribe, Hebr. צַן Num. 24 22. Jud. 4 11. שְׁנַבְיָח Similarly in Sin., e. g. Eut. 51. 190 &c. (mas.); cf. שְׁנַבְיָח Eut. 162. בְּנֵת Plur.; cf. 80, where the grave is provided by a mother and her daughter. Here the sisters of the foundresses are to have the use of the tomb; see 80 1 n. חִמְנִיתָא i. e. חִמְנִיתָא; see 81 2 n. כֻּלָּה are distributive.

L. 6. The illegible lines no doubt contained the usual imprecations.

L. 9. מֵאֵלֵי Either plur. or sing., with suff. מֵאֵל The smallness of the fine is remarkable; contrast 81 8. Eut. suggests that a metal plate, specifying a heavier penalty, was attached to the inscr. subsequently. In some cases traces of such tablets are still to be seen.

L. 10. אִיר 86 9 &c., i. e. Apr.-May; Assyr. *airu*, Palm. אִיר, Syr. *أير*, Rabb. אִיר; see 78 3 n.

86. El-Hejra. CIS ii 206; Eut. 9. A. D. 26. In situ. Plate VII.

- 1 דְּנָה קְבֵרָא דִּי עֵבֶד כְּהֵלֶן אִסְיָא בְּרִי וְאֵלֶן לִנְפֶשָׁה וִילְדָה וְאַחֲרָה
- 2 אֲצֻדֶק בְּאֲצֻדֶק עַד עֵלָם וְאִתִּי קְבֵרָא דְּנָה חֶרֶם כְּחִלְקֵת חֶרֶם
- 3 מִחֶרֶם לְדוֹשְׂרָא בְּנִבְטוֹ וְשִׁלְמוֹ עַל כָּל אֲנִישׁ אֲצֻדֶק וִירַת דִּי לֹא
- 4 יוֹבֵן קְבֵרָא דְּנָה וְלֹא יִמְשֹׁכֵן וְלֹא יוֹנֵר וְלֹא יִשְׁאֵל וְלֹא יִכְתֹּב
- 5 בְּקְבֵרָא דְּנָה כְּתֹב כָּלָה עַד עֵלָם וְכָל אֲנִישׁ דִּי יִנְפֹק בִּידוֹ כְּתֹב מִן כְּהֵלֶן
- 6 פָּקִים הוּא כְּדִי בַּהּ וְכָל אֲנִישׁ דִּי יִכְתֹּב בְּקְבֵרָא דְּנָה כְּתֹב מִן כָּל דִּי עֵלָה
- 7 פְּאִיתִי עִמָּה לְדוֹשְׂרָא כִּסְפָּה סְלֵעִין אֶלְפִין תְּלַת חֲרָתִי וְלִמְרָאנָא
- 8 חֲרָתִי מִלְכָּא כּוֹת וִילְעֵן דּוֹשְׂרָא וּמְנוּתוֹ כָּל מִן דִּי יַעִיר מִן כָּל
- 9 דִּי עֵלָה בִּירַח אִיר שְׁנַת תְּלָתִין וְחֲמִשׁ לְחֲרָתִי מִלְךְ נִבְטוֹ רַחֵם עִמָּה
- 10 אֶפְתָּח בְּרִי עֲבָדְעִבְדָּת וְחִלְפָּאֵלֵהִי בְּרִי חִמְלָנוּ פִּסְלִיא עֲבָדוֹ

This is the sepulchre which Kahlân the physician, son of Wa'lân, made for himself and his children and his posterity, <sup>2</sup>each legal kinsman, for ever. And this sepulchre is an inviolable place after the manner of the inviolable sanctuary <sup>3</sup>which is inviolably dedicated to Dûshara among the Nabataeans and Shalamians. It is incumbent upon every legal kinsman and heir that he do not <sup>4</sup>sell this sepulchre, nor pledge it, nor let it, nor lend it, nor write <sup>5</sup>in respect of this sepulchre any deed, for ever. But every man who shall produce in his hand a writ from Kahlân, <sup>6</sup>it shall hold good according to what is in it. And every man who shall write on this sepulchre any writing other than what is above, <sup>7</sup>he shall be charged to Dûshara in money three thousand *sela's* Harethite, and to our lord <sup>8</sup>the king Harethath the same amount. And may Dûshara and Manôthu curse every one who shall change aught of <sup>9</sup>what is above! In the month Iyar, the thirty-fifth year of Harethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. <sup>10</sup>Aftah, son of 'Abd-'obedath, and Halaf-allâhi, son of Hamlagu, the masons, did the work.

L. 1. רָאִלָן . . . כַּהְלָאֵן i. e. קַהְלָאֵן.

L. 2. מַצְבָּה בְּמַצְבָּה See 82 3 n.

L. 3. אֶפֶס אֶפֶס Afel ptc; cf. 69 16 (a place), and 79 8 n. יִרְחַ i. e. יִרְחַ or יִרְחַ = Hebr. יִרְשָׁ.

L. 4. יִסְשֵׁן See 81 5 n. יִכְתֹּב ב' Nöld. renders 'make any written contract for the use of this grave.'

L. 6. כָּל דִּי עָלָא Corp. renders as above, and the similar phrase with עִיר elsewhere (e. g. 81 5), supports this. Nöld., however, regards כָּן here as the Arab. مِنَ الْبَيَانِ (من *explanatory*), and renders 'a writing of the same kind as all that is above.' This usage is more distinct in 89 2. 5.

L. 8. עִיר Pael, = Arab. يَغْيِرُ *he shall change*; cf. غَيْرَ *another*, עִיר.

L. 10. אֶתְּחַת i. e. اَللّٰهُ. חֶלְפָאֵל i. e. حَلْفُ اَللّٰهِ *compensation from Allah*; often abbreviated حَلْف 89 1; cf. Ἀντίχου, Palm. חֶלְפִי p. 301 n. 1 = Ἀντίχου. 118 1. חֶלְפֵּנּוּ Nöld. suggests حَمَلَجَ (the vb. = *to make fast a line*) as an equivalent.

87. El-Hejra. CIS ii 207; Ent. 10. A.D. 27. In situ.

- 1 דנה קברא די עבד ארום בר פרן לנפשה ולפרן אבדוי  
 2 הפרכא ולקינא אנתתה ולחטבת וחמלת בנתהם וילד חטבת  
 3 וחמלת אלה ולכל מן די ינפק בידה תקף מן ארום דנה או  
 4 חטבת וחמלת את[נ]תה בנת פרן הפרכא  
 5 די יחקבר בקברא דנה או יקבר מן די יצבא  
 6 בתקפא די בידה כרי בכתבא הו או אצדק באצדק  
 7 בי[נ]ר[ח] ניסן שנת תלתין ושת לחרתת מלך נבמו רחם עמה  
 8 אפתח בר עברעכדת ודהבו בר אפצא וחורו בר אחיו פסליא  
 9 עב[ד]ו

This is the sepulchre which Arûs, son of Farwân, made for himself and for Farwân his father <sup>2</sup> the eparch, and for Qainu his wife, and for Ḥaṭibath and Ḥamilath their daughters, and the children of the said Ḥaṭibath <sup>3</sup> and Ḥamilath, and for every one who shall produce in his hand a warrant from the said Arûs, or <sup>4</sup> Ḥaṭibath and Ḥamilath his sisters, daughters of Farwân the eparch, <sup>5</sup> to be buried in this sepulchre, or to bury whom he pleases, <sup>6</sup> in virtue of the warrant which is in his hand, according to what is in that writ, or each legal kinsman. <sup>7</sup> In the month Nisan, the thirty-sixth year of Ḥarethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. <sup>8</sup> Aftah, son of 'Abd-'obedath, and Wahbu, son of Afṣa, and Ḥûru, son of Uḥayyu, the masons, <sup>9</sup> did the work.

L. 1. ארום The termination perhaps indicates a Gk. name. פרן i. e. ܦܪܐܢ. Arab. words in ܦܪܐܢ do not take tanwîn, hence this name does not end in ܐ.

L. 2. הפרכא 98 1 = ܦܪܚܬܐ, cf. Sin. ܦܪܚܬܐ = ܦܪܚܬܐ 107, the n as in Syr. ܦܪܚܬܐ, ܦܪܚܬܐ. 85 2 n. אנתתה i. e. the wife of Farwân, and step-mother of Arûs. חטבת i. e. ܡܚܬܒܬܐ (84 2 n.).

L. 3. אלה 94 3 prob. ܐܠܬܐ, plur. of דנה, דא; see add. note p. 26. תקף 79 3 n.



L. 4. אחתה An error for the plur. אחותה. Other errors in this inscr. are בית l. 7. עבו l. 9.

L. 8. אמחא 88 10 n.      ܐܡܚܐ i.e. ܐܡܚܐ 98 8 i.e. ܐܡܚܐ; the name occurs in the Lihyan dialect, Müller *Ep. Denk. aus Ar.* nos. 30. 32.      ܡܚܪ 90 5 i.e. ܡܚܪ, Hebr. חור Ex. 17 10 &c., Gk. Ὀρεος Wadd. 2270 &c.      ܐܡܚܐ i.e. ܐܡܚܐ dimin., little brother.

88. El-Hajra. CIS ii 208; Eut. 11. A.D. 27 (?). In situ.

- 1 דנה כפרא די עבד שלי בר רצוא
- 2 לנפשה וילדה ואחרה אצדק באצדק
- 3 ודי לא יתקבר בכפרא דנה להן אצדק
- 4 באצדק ודי לא יתובן ולא יתרחן כפרא
- 5 דנה ומן די יעבד כעיר די עלא פאיתי
- 6 עמה לדושרא אלה מראנא [כסף סלעין] אלף
- 7 חרתי בירח ניסן שנת 3 ... \
- 8 לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה אפתח
- 9 פסלא עבד

This is the tomb which Shullai, son of Raḏwa, made <sup>2</sup> for himself and his children and his posterity, each legal kinsman; <sup>3</sup> and that no one is to be buried in this tomb except each legal <sup>4</sup> kinsman, and that this tomb is not to be sold or mortgaged. <sup>5</sup> And whoever does otherwise than is above, he shall be <sup>6</sup> charged to Dûshara, the god of our lord, [in money] a thousand [*sela's*] <sup>7</sup> Harethite. In the month Nisan, the ... year <sup>8</sup> of Harethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. Aftah <sup>9</sup> the mason did the work.

L. 1. שלי 98 4 probably = Σουλλαῖος (ὁ τῶν Ναβαταίων ἐπίτροπος Strabo 663 ed. Müll.). This presupposes a form سُلَى or سَلْ, from سَلَّ, which, however, is not known. Prop. nn. of the form سُلَعَى are fem., e.g. سُلَعَى; Nöld. prefers a form سَلَا.      ܐܡܚܐ = ܐܡܚܐ; in which case, though not known in Arab., it will be one of the few mas.

names of the form  $\text{أَنْجَل}$ , fem. of  $\text{أَنْجَل}$  (Nöld.). Wellhausen takes it as  $\text{= ٠٠٠}$ , the name of an ancient Arab deity, and compares the Palm. names  $\text{חַיִּים רְצו}$  i.  $\text{רְצו}$  Vog. 84 3; *Reste Ar. Heid.* 58 f. Cf. perhaps *Risul* (? =  $\text{رِضَال}$ ) CIL v 4920.

L. 3.  $\text{לחן 79 8 n.}$

L. 4.  $\text{יחובן Ethpa.}$  This unusual form (for  $\text{יחובן}$ ) appears to have been current; cf.  $\text{מחובנא}$  ptc. fem. 147 ii c 33 and 94 4 n.

L. 6.  $\text{אלה}$  if it qualified  $\text{דושרא}$ , would be  $\text{אלהא}$ ; see 61 29 n.

L. 7. Eut. fills the lacuna with  $\text{3}$  i. e. 15, making a total of 36. The Corp. would add two or three strokes, making 38 or 39.

89. El-Hejra. CIS ii 209; Eut. 12. A. D. 31. In situ.

- 1 דנה כפרא די עבר חלפו בר קסנתן לנפשה ולשעידו ברה  
 2 ואחוהי מה די יתילד לחלפו דנה מן דכרין ולבניהם ואחרהם  
 3 אצדק באצדק עד עלם ודי יתקברון בכפרא דנה ו... שעידו דנה  
 4 ומנועת וזנושת וריבמת ואמית ושלימת בנת חלפו דנה ולא רשי  
 5 אנש כלה מן שעידו ואחוהי דכרין ובניהם ואחרהם די יובן כפרא דנה  
 6 או יכתב מוהבה או עירה לאנש כלה בלעדהן יכתב חד מנהם  
 לאנתתה  
 7 או לבנתה או לנשיב או לחתן כתב למקבר בלחד ומן יעבר כעיר  
 דנה פאיתי  
 8 עמה קנס לדושרא אלה מר[אנא כס] סלעין חמש מאה חרתי  
 9 ולמראנא כות כנסחת דנה יהיב בבית קישא בירח ניסן שנת ארבעין  
 10 לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה רומא ועברעברת פמליא

This is the tomb which Halafu, son of Qos-nathan, made for himself and for Sha'idu his son <sup>2</sup> and his brothers, as many male children as shall be born to the said Halafu, and for their sons and their posterity, <sup>3</sup> each legal kinsman, for ever; and that there be buried in this tomb... the said Sha'idu, <sup>4</sup> and Manû'ath and Kenûshath(?) and Ribamath (?) and Umayyath

and Shalimath, daughters of the said Ḥalafu. And no man shall be allowed, <sup>6</sup> either Sha'īdu, or his brothers male, or their sons, or their posterity, to sell this tomb, <sup>6</sup> or write a (deed of) gift or anything else to any man, with the sole exception that one of them write for his wife, <sup>7</sup> or for his daughters, or for a kinsman, or for a son-in-law, a deed of burial. And whoever does otherwise than this, he shall be <sup>8</sup> charged with a fine to Dūshara, the god of [our] lord, [in mon]ey five hundred *sela's* Ḥarethite, <sup>9</sup> and to our lord the same amount, according to the copy hereof deposited in the temple of Qaisha. In the month Nisan, the fortieth year <sup>10</sup> of Ḥarethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. Rauma and 'Abd-'obedath, the masons.

L. 1. חלפ i.e. *Ḥalf* 86 10 n. קסנת = *Qas gives*, cf. *Koosaravos* in a Gk. inscr. from Memphis (100-150 A.C.), where *Koosγρος*, *Koosβavos*, *Koosμалаχος* &c. also occur; Miller *Rev. Archéol.* (1870) 109 ff. *ḥp* was apparently the name of an Edomite deity, cf. *Ḳaušmalaka*, *Ḳaušgabri*, Edomite kings, Schrader *COT* 150; and the Edomite *Koosrīβavos* Jos. *Ant.* xv 7 9 f. In Sin. the name קסער is found, Eut. 423, though the reading is not quite certain; and in Hebr. ברקס Exr. 2 53. It is natural to compare קיש l. 9 (79 5 n.), but Nöld. is against the identification, *ZDMG* xli 714. סעיד i.e. *Se'id* *Fortunatus*, cf. סעד (سعد) Sin. 106, Palm. 127 3, and שעודת 95 3.

L. 2. מן דברין An Arabism, cf. l. 5 מן שעידו and 86 6 n. מן = من . . . من; Wright *Ar. Gr.* ii § 48 g.

L. 4. מנעת Cf. مَنِيْعَةٌ pr. n. fem. = *defended*, and מנעת 83 z. The two names which follow are uncertain. אמית Prob. dimin.

אמית from אַמִּית *handmaid*. שלמו i.e. سَلْمٌ, cf. שלמו (fem.) CIS ii 210 2. רש i.e. رَش 90 3; Targ., Talm. רש *one to whom something is allowed*.

L. 5. מן כלל 94 5 i.e. מִלְלָה *every one*; cf. מִלְלָה CIS ii 219 5, and מִלְלָה מִלְלָה, מִלְלָה מִלְלָה Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* § 218; see 62 17 n.

L. 6. מן עירא lit. or (any deed) other than it. בלעדון Lit. *except if*; 80 9.

L. 7. מן נשיב i.e. نَسِيبٌ = *kinsman* in the male line; but as these would naturally have the right of burial, the meaning here may be a descendant in the female line, a daughter's child; Rob. Smith

*Kinship* 315 f. בלחד In CIS ii 215 6 בלחד, Targ. בלחד *only*, *alone*, to be taken with בלעדון; cf. 90 6.

L. 8. קם 80 8.

L. 9. נסחח See p. 189, = נסחח; Assy. *nishu* 'excerpt' (ZA iv 267); cf. the late Rabbin. נסחח *a variant, another reading*. The word appears to be of N. Semitic origin, rather than native to Arab., the fem. ending in נסחח being equivalent to the Aram. emph. st.; see Fränkel *Aram. Fremdw.* 251. יחיבא For יחיבא. קשא See 79 5 n.

L. 10. רוסא 91 a perhaps روماء, or abbrev. from رومان, a common name.

90. El-Hejra. CIS ii 212; Ent. 14. A.D. 35. In situ.

- דנה כפרא די עבר עברעבדת בר אריבם לנפשה 1  
 ולאלת ברתה ולבני ואלת דא ובנתה וילדהם די יתקברון בקברא דנה 2  
 ולא רשין ואלת ובניה די יזבנן או ימשבנן או יזבנן כפרא דנה או 3  
 יכתבון בכפרא דנה כתב כלה לכל אלזש לעלם להן די יהוא כפרא 4  
 דנה ולאלת ולבניה  
 ובנתה וילדהם קים לעלם וקם על ואלת ובניה די הן יהוא חורו 5  
 דנה בחגרא ויהוא בה חלף מות די יקברון יתה בקברא דנה לחוריהו 6  
 ולא ינפק יתה אנש ומן די יעיר ולא יעבר כדי עלא כתיב 7  
 פאיתי עמה למראנא כסף סלעין אלפין תרין חרתי בירח 8  
 טבת שנת ארבעין וארבע לחרתת מלך נבז רחם עמה 9  
 אפתח בר עברעבדת פסלא עבר 10

This is the tomb which 'Abd-'obedath, son of Arbas, made for himself, <sup>2</sup> and for Wa'ilath his daughter, and for the sons of this Wa'ilath and her daughters and their children, that they may be buried in the said sepulchre; <sup>3</sup> and neither Wa'ilath nor her sons shall be allowed to sell or pledge or let this tomb, or <sup>4</sup> write in respect of this tomb any deed for any man, for ever; but that the said tomb shall hold good for Wa'ilath and for her sons <sup>5</sup> and her daughters and for their

children for ever. And it is incumbent upon Wa'ilath and her sons, if Hûru, brother of this 'Abd-'obedath, be <sup>6</sup> in Ḥejra, and the fate of death befall him, to bury him, and none but him, in this sepulchre; <sup>7</sup> and no man shall take him out. And whoever shall change (this provision), and not do according to what is above written, <sup>8</sup> he shall be charged to our lord in money two thousand *sela's* Ḥarethite. In the month <sup>9</sup> Ṭebeth, the forty-fourth year of Ḥarethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. <sup>10</sup> Aftah, son of 'Abd-'obedath, the mason, did the work.

L. 1. אריבם Hardly an Aram. name; possibly 'Αρύβας.

L. 2. ואלת See 80 1 n.

L. 3. רשין 80 4 n.

L. 4. אלש An error for אגש. לחן 79 8 n.

L. 5. קים The ptc. goes with יהוא l. 4. חורו Perhaps a merchant who was often absent from home (Nöld.).

L. 6. חגרא = الحجرة, the emph. st. in Aram. representing the Arab. art., lit. 'the guarded, forbidden place.' In the Targg. and Talm. חגרא occurs as a name of various places; the חגרא mentioned in *Jebamoth* 116a as the home of a Jew living at Neharde'a (Babyl.) may be El-Ḥejra (Nöld.). A good many Jews were settled in the N. of the Ḥejaz. חלק מות Lit. 'a mortal change.' לחורחי Lit. *he alone*; cf. בלחר 80 7.

91. El-Ḥejra. CIS ii 213; Eut. 15. A.D. 36. In situ.

1 דנה כפרא די עברו ענמו בר גזיאת וארסכסה

2 ברת תימו אסרתגא על רומא וכלבא

3 אחיה פלענמו תלת כפרא וצריחא דנה

4 ולארסכסה תלתין תרין מן כפרא וצריחא

5 וחלקה מן גוחיא מרנחא וגוחיא

6 ולענמו חלקה מן גוחיא מד[נ]ח מינא

7 וגוחיא די בה להם ולילדהם אצדק באצדק

8 ב[י]ר[ח] מבת שנת 333 לחרתת מלך נבמו

9 רחם עמה אפתח בר [עברעבדת] פסלא עבר

This is the tomb which 'Ānimu, son of Guzayath, and Arisoxe, <sup>2</sup> daughter of Taimu the *stratēgos*, made over Rauma and Kalba <sup>3</sup> her brothers;—and to 'Ānimu (belongs) the third part of this tomb and vault, <sup>4</sup> and to Arisoxe two-thirds of the tomb and vault; <sup>5</sup> and her portion of the niches is the east side and the niches (there); <sup>6</sup> and 'Ānimu has his portion of the niches on the south-east, <sup>7</sup> and the niches which are in it;—for them and for their children, each legal kinsman. <sup>8</sup> In the month Ṭebeth, the 45th year of Ḥarethath, king of the Nabataeans, <sup>9</sup> lover of his people. Aftaḥ, son [of 'Abd-'obedath], the mason, did the work.

L. 1. ענמו 140 B 1. Arab. names like غنم, غانم are suggested as equivalents. *Ḥanamos*, common in Ḥauran, prob. stands for انعم = אנעם (CIS ii 191 1) rather than for ענמו. The Arab. would be جَزِيمَة or جَزِيمَة; the mas. form occurs, جَزِي. Nöld. suggests that this is an abbreviation, 'Αριστοξην for 'Αριστοξην; for the omission of τ cf. אסרחא l. 2; the Corp. merely transliterates *Arsaxa*. She was the wife of 'Ānimu; note in this inscr. the predominance of the woman (80 1 n.).

L. 2. חיש = חיש, CIS ii 203 1 &c. 82 2 n. חסא 89 10. חסא An Aram. name = חסא, cf. Phoen. חסא CIS i 52 1; see 92 2 n.

L. 3. ארסחא i. e. ארסח; the suff. refers to ארסחא. 94 1 = חיש lit. *excavation*, so *underground chamber*, in poetry *a grave*; the vb. = 'to dig a grave.' Cf. in Hebr. צרח Jud. 9 46. 49 (see Moore in loc.). 1 S. 13 6, and the use of מערה in Gen. 23 9. 20. For the arrangement of an ancient Arab tomb see Wellhausen *Reste* 179.

L. 4. חלחח חרין Cf. חלחח חרין *three-quarters* 42 11.

L. 5. נחיא Sing. נחא CIS ii 211 1 ff., plur. נחין 94 1 = *loculus* or *niche* for a corpse. In Palm. the form is נחא 145 3. נחין 144 7, which suggests the Assy. *kimahhu* 'grave,' 'coffin' (Winckler *AF* ii 61, *Del. Assy. HWB* 587); hence the word is prob. of foreign origin. For the quiescence of the נ cf. נחין and the Aram. נחין, נחין. מרחא i. e. מרחא, from רחא to rise, of the sun; in Heb. מרח. For the interchange of נ and ר cf. רסח and רחא, נבוכדנאצר and נבוכדנאצר &c.; Wright *Comp. Gr.* 67. The Arab. ذريح (Wellh. *Reste* 65), prob. the god of the rising sun, comes from this root.

L. 6. מרח An error for מרח; other errors are ברח for ברח l. 8, בר for (?) בר עברעבוד l. 9.

92. El-Hajra. CIS ii 218; Eut. 21. A. D. 39. In situ.

- 1 דנה מסגרא די עבר  
 2 שכוחו בר תודא לאערא  
 3 די בבצרא אלה רבאל בירח  
 4 ניסן שנת חדא למלכו מלכא

This is the cippus which <sup>3</sup>Shakuḥu, son of Thôra, made to A'ra <sup>2</sup>who is at Boṣra, the god of Rabel. In the month <sup>4</sup>Nisan, the first year of Málíku the king.

L. 1. דנה מסגרא So usually, but CIS ii 176 דנא מ' The  $\sqrt{\text{سجد}}$  = *to prostrate oneself*; as used in Nab., מסגרא means, not 'the place where one prostrates' (مَسْجِدٌ mosque), but 'an object before which one prostrates'; the verbs used with it are די עבר (frequently), די קרב, 101, די הקים, 97 i, די בנה ועבר, CIS ii 188 (corr. by Dussaud et Macler *Voy. Arch.* no. 30). The *mesgida* was, in fact, a votive stele or column, in this case carved in relief under a canopy upon the face of the rock, but sometimes standing by itself in the sacred enclosure; thus 97 is a hexagonal column ornamented with busts, fillets, &c., CIS ii 185 is a square pillar with a moulding and plinth, 190 a pillar 6 ft. high. In the case of 188 the *mesgida* is a squared stone now serving as the abacus of a pillar in the narthex of an ancient church, and still the object of local veneration; see Dussaud et Macler l. c. 161 f. The *mesgida* was more than a memorial stone, it was dedicated to a deity, as here to A'ra, 101 to Dûshara and A'ra, CIS ii 190 to Dûshara. Perhaps it was regarded as a kind of votive altar, not, however, intended for sacrifice; 97 is shaped very much like a Gk. altar, 188 may have been originally an altar table or base. At any rate the monument was supposed to represent the person who erected it, and to plead for him before the deity. See Lagrange *Rel. Sémi.* 206 f.

L. 2. שכוחו Prob. Aram., from שכח *to find*. The form מַעְלֹ is rare in Nab. names. תורא Also Aram., תורא = *ox* (Hebr. שֹׁר); for the animal name cf. כלבא 91 a. The dedication perhaps implies that the donor came from Bostra. אערא Again in 101, and with the description די בבצרא; the god is not otherwise known. Dussaud and Macler, *Voy. Arch.* 169 f., take אערא as the Aram. form אַעֲרָ, one of the sons of Se'ir, Gen. 36 21 &c. This would corre-

spond to the Arab. امر, which, however, is not the name of a tribe. Lidzb., *Eph.* i 330, suggests that the root is غمر, which in Aram. would become עמר, and, to avoid the double guttural, מער, מערם; cf. *معرف* = *معرفة* double, *Driver Tenses* 223. In this case מערם will correspond to the Roman Abundantia, Ops; *غمر* wealth, plenty. Possibly the name מערם gives the clue to the mysterious 'Oporál mentioned by Herodotus as the consort of 'Αλλιάτ (see p. 222 n. 2); *Cl.-Gan. Rec.* ii 374. 'Oporál may = מלך מערם; but the τ is not easy to account for, and *Cl.-Gan.* has since offered a better explanation<sup>1</sup>.

L. 3. די בבוצא 101 7 f.; cf. די בצלח 99. The idiom די ב' indicates the transference of the worship from Bostra, in the N. of the Nab. kingdom, to El-Ḥejra. For the idiom see 24 2 n. מלך רבאל the god of Rabel; contrast מלך עבדת the god 'Obedath 95 1. For a god as patron of an individual cf. מלך חמיש 95 2. לאלך קצין 100 2. מלך שעידי CIS ii 176 4. מלך שראא 88 6. 101 6 f. (ε)ς θεόν [Α]μάρου Duss. et Macl. 205. מלך רבאל may be either the king of that name (see 97 iii n.), or a private person, for the name is not uncommon. If Rabel here is king R., then מלכו מלכא l. 4 must have come after him, and reigned between A. D. 96—the latest year of Rabel (ii) known from inscr.—and A. D. 106, when the Nab. kingdom was absorbed into the Roman province of Arabia; so Duss. et Macl. 171 f., who regard this מלכו as Málíku iii (iv). But there is nothing in this inscr. to prove that Rabel was more than a private individual; and if he were a king, he may have been an earlier R. (see on 97 iii) and not necessarily Rabel (ii), for the expression 'A'ra the god of R.' may imply that a devotion to this deity was by ancestral custom especially connected with the name and family of R. (*Cl.-Gan. Rec.* iv 178 f.; Schürer<sup>2</sup> i 742).

L. 4. מלכו i. e. Málíku ii, son of Aretas iv Philopatris, 99 3, the last Nab. king but one, A. D. 48–71 circ. He is mentioned by Jos. as contributing troops to the army of Vespasian in A. D. 67 for the Jewish war (*War* iii 4 2). It was during his reign that Damascus passed into the hands of the Romans, prob. under Nero, see p. 215 n. 1. The name מלכו = מלך was pronounced Málíku, as appears from the form Μάλίχας<sup>3</sup>; in Jos. Μάλιχος or Μάλλχος; cf. Μάλλχος Jn. 18 10. There is not sufficient reason for supposing that מלכו was a successor of Rabel, usually considered the last Nab. king; see note above.

<sup>1</sup> 'Oporál (= Διόνυσος ap. Herod.) is the actual name of the god otherwise called by the title Dúshara (p. 218); see *Rec.* v § 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Periplus maris Erythraei* (written circ. A. D. 70) Λευκή πόλις, διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐστὶν εἰς Πάτρας πρὸς Μάλιχαν, βασιλεῖα Ναβαταίων, Müll. *Geogr. Gr. Min.* i 272.



98. *Ḥi-Ḥajra*. CIS ii 221; Ent. 24. A. D. 49. In situ.

- 1 דנה כפרא די עבר עידו הפרכא בר עבדו
- 2 לה ולילדה ולאחרה ודי יתקברון בכפרא
- 3 דנה אפתיו אם עידו דנה ברת חביבו
- 4 ונאתת אנתתה ברת שלי ומן די ינפק
- 5 בידה שמר מן יד עידו דנה וכפרא דנה
- 6 עבד בירח אדר שנת עשר וחדה למלכו
- 7 מלכא מלך נבמו עברעברת בר והבאלהי
- 8 והנאו בר עבדת ואפצא בר חותו פסליא עברו

This is the tomb which 'Aidu the eparch, son of 'Ubaidu, made <sup>3</sup> for himself and for his children and for his posterity; and that there may be buried in this tomb <sup>2</sup> Aftiyu, mother of the said 'Aidu, daughter of Ḥabību, <sup>4</sup> and Na'ithath his wife, daughter of Shullai, and whoever shall produce <sup>5</sup> in his hand a deed from the hand of the said 'Aidu. And this tomb <sup>6</sup> was made in the eleventh year of king Māliku, <sup>7</sup> king of the Nabataeans. 'Abd-'obedath, son of Wahb-allāhi, <sup>8</sup> and Ḥāni'u, son of 'Obaidath, and Afṣa, son of Ḥuthu, the masons, did the work.

L. 1. עידו 79 1 n.      הפרכא 87 2 n.      עבדו 140 B 1 =  
 ʿOḇaidos Wadd. 1977.

L. 3. אפתיו 81 3 n.      חביבו = حَبِيبٌ, Syr. سَحْمَت, Gr. Ἀβιβος,  
 Ἀβιβος Wadd. 2099 &c.

L. 4. נאתת in Arab. probably would be نَات from نَات vacillare  
 (Nöld.).      שלי 88 1 n.

L. 5. שמר 84 3 n.

L. 6. מלכו See 92 4 n.

L. 7. והבאלהי 80 11 n.

L. 8. הנאו 97 1 = هَانِي, prob. Ḥanos, Ḥanos Wadd. 2185. 2021  
 &c.      אפצא 87 8 n.      חותו Perhaps = حَوَات, or حَوْت = Athos  
 Wadd. 1986 &c.

94. Petra 1. CIS ii 350. Circ. 1st cent. A. D. In situ.

- 1 קברא דנה וצריחא רבא די בה וצריחא ועירא די גוא מנה די בה  
בתי מקברין עבדת נוחין  
2 וברכא די קדמיהם וערכותא ובתיא די בה וגניא וגנת סמכא ובארות  
מיא וצהותא ומוריא  
3 ושארית כל אצלא די באתריא אלה חרם וחרג דושרא אלה מראנא  
ומותבה חרישא ואלהיא כלהם  
4 בשמרי חרמין כרי בהם פפקדון דושרא ומותבה ואלהיא כלהם די  
כרי בשמרי חרמיה אנן יתעבד ולא יתשנא  
5 ולא יתפצץ מן כל די בהם מנדעם ולא יתקבר בקברא דנה אנוש  
כלה להן מן די כתיב לה תנא מקבר בשמרי חרמיה אנן עד עלם

This sepulchre, and the large vault within it, and the small vault inside, within which are burying-places fashioned into niches, <sup>2</sup> and the wall in front of them, and the rows (?) and the houses within it, and the gardens and the garden of the ?, and the wells of water, and the ridge (?), and the hills (?), <sup>3</sup> and the rest of all the entire property which is in these places, is the consecrated and inviolable possession of Dûshara, the god of our lord, and his sacred throne (?), and all the gods, <sup>4</sup> (as specified) in deeds relating to consecrated things according to their contents. And it is the order of Dûshara and his throne (?) and all the gods that, according to what is in the said deeds relating to consecrated things, it shall be done and not altered. <sup>5</sup> Nor shall anything of all that is in them be withdrawn; nor shall any man be buried in this sepulchre save him who has in writing a contract to bury, (specified) in the said deeds relating to consecrated things — for ever.

The façade of the tomb, carved with Gk. columns, Egypt. cornice, and Assyrian battlements, like some of the tombs at El-Hejra, exhibits the style of Nab. monuments belonging to the 1st cent. A. D.; see

Vogüé *JA* viii (1896) 486. A ground-plan of the two chambers and the atrium in front of them is given *ib.* xi (1898) 140 f. A good description of Petra and the re-discovery of the inscr. is given by Lagrange, *RB* vi (1897) 208 ff.

L. 1. צריחא 91 3 n.; cf. the use of מערתא in Palm., 144 3 and Vog. 67 2 קברא ומערתא די בנוח 2 Cf. נא מנח 147 ii c 47; here נא has final א as in Dan. 3 6 &c. (Arab. جلة *intrare*), elsewhere in Nab., נ. מקברין בתי מקברתא Cf. Palm. Vog. 64 1. מקברין is a noun (מקבר or קבר); the sing. מקברתא occurs in 96 1 &c. Note the double plur. of a compound term; cf. שמרי חרמין l. 4. עבדות נחמן Lit. *a work of niches*, describing בתי מקברין; for *loculi* see 91 5 n. Two *loculi* exist in the tomb; prob. it was intended to make more if required.

L. 2. כרמא the wall surrounding the atrium in front of the tombs; ✓ כרך = surround, cf. סולל fenced city. ערכותא Plur. of ערכתא, prob. rows of pillars or arcades; cf. Hebr. מערכה a row Ex. 39 37. Vogüé explains by ערכת 8 6, but ערכת is prob. to be read there. גניא Gardens near a tomb were common in antiquity, e.g. John 19 41 and the Roman *cepolaphia* i.e. a grave with fields and gardens round it; Marquardt *Das Privatleben der Römer*<sup>3</sup> 369, quoted by Barth *Hebraica* xiii (1897) 275<sup>1</sup>. גנת סמכא Possibly a garden of reclining (גנת סמכא), i.e. a garden for funeral feasts. As Nöld. remarks, it is better to give גנת the same meaning as גניא, rather than derive it from גנא to lie down (*ZA* xii 3 f.), though it is tempting to compare ~~convivio~~ convivio *accumbe* &c., Payne Smith *Thes. Syr.* coll. 2662 and 744. צחותא The meaning of this and the foll. word is very uncertain. The Arab. مَهْدِي = (1) a cave from which water wells forth, so here perhaps water-tank (Barth), cf. مَهْدِي fish-pond; or (2) the ridge of a mountain, a tower on a hill-top; cf. the place-names Şahwet el-Ḥidr, Şahwet el-Belât in Ḥauran (Baed. *Paläst.*<sup>3</sup> 205 f.). Either meaning may be right here; but since in 95 2 צחות is more suitably rendered by (2), the latter rendering may be adopted in both places: it is unlikely that the same word would have different meanings in the two inscrs. Cl.-Gan. renders roof in 95 2, and here terrace, i.e. the upper part of the tomb. Nöld.'s dry places, from لَجْ be thirsty, is not probable. מוריא Rocks or rocky heights; or possibly low walls surrounding the wells and tank, cf. مَلَّار circle, or تَلَّار go round, דור, תור.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo mentions the gardens and wells for irrigating them at Petra, ἀγροὶ καὶ πηγαὶ . . . εἰς τὰς ἐδαφείας καὶ ἀγροὺς p. 663 ed. Müll. Cl.-Gan. *Rac.* ii 93. 129.

L. 3. **אֶמְלָא** Prob. = **أَمْل** landed property, lit. root, lineage; **أَمْلَة** a man's whole property. The precise meaning of most of the foregoing terms is not clear, nor is the disposition of the various appendages of the tomb. **Vogüé** (*JA* xi 143 f.) includes them all within the atrium in front. Some of them may be placed there, 'the portico with its buildings' (**עֲרֻכּוֹתָא וּבְתֵימָא**), the wells and tank (?)—a conduit has been discovered in one corner of the atrium; but it may be doubted whether the space (77 by 66 ft.) is sufficient for the houses, the gardens, the hells &c., the most obvious meaning of **גַּנִּיָּא**, **בְּתֵימָא**, **מִזְרֵיָּא**. These may have been outside the precincts; **דִּי בְּאַתְרֵיָּא אֵלֶּה** 'which are in these places' suggests, not the enclosed space, but localities outside of it. Perhaps the general plan resembled that of the Roman garden-tombs (supr.), with their *area* in front of the sepulchre, their *aediculae*, pavilions, wells, *taberna* &c. (Barth l. c.). Winckler suggests the arrangement of a Moslem mosque-tomb, and, disregarding the natural meanings of the words, takes **גַּנִּיָּא** **נֶגְתָּא** to mean a covered cloister and shrine; *AF* ii 60 ff. **חֵרֶם** 87 3 **נ.** **חֵרֶם** 79 8 **נ.** **חֵרֶם** = Arab. **حَرَمٌ** that which is forbidden, unlawful. The two nouns are so closely connected that they govern a common genit. (Nöld.). **אֵלֶּה מְרַאנָא** 88 6 &c., 'our lord,' either Aretas iv (78 4 **נ.**) or one of his immediate predecessors, Obodas ii, Malchus i. **מִתְחַבְּהָא** 80 4 **נ.** The form with **הָ**, and the absence of **ו** from the foll. **חֵרֶם**, are against taking **מִתְחַבְּהָא** as the name of a deity. Nöld. favours the explanation that **מִתְחַבְּהָא** (**وَحْب**) = his council, seated round the god; cf. **مَجْلِسٌ** council. Cl.-Gan.'s rendering *she who is seated*, i. e. his *Πάρεδρος* (*Rec.* ii 131), and Winckler's, *his spouse* (*Ethiop. wasaba* iv = 'to marry'), are etymologically improbable. **חֵרֶם** Ptcp. pass. emph. st. agreeing with **מִתְחַבְּהָא**, prob. = **حرس** guard, watch, so protected, holy.

L. 4. **שְׁמֵרֵי** Plur. constr., 84 3 **נ.** These documents were no doubt preserved in the temple archives. **דְּכִרָּן** as **כְּסֵפִיָּא** Nom. = **מִקְדָּן** Palm. Vog. 74 = **כְּסֵפִיָּא**; Hebr. **מִקְדָּן**, **מִקְדָּן**. **אֲנִי** Plur. of **הָא**, apoc. from **אֲנִי**; Baram. **הָאֲנִי**, **הָאֲנִי**; Talm. **אֲנִיָּא** (pl. of **אֲנִי**). Elsewhere in Nab. **חֵם** CIS ii 210 6; in Aram. **חֵם** 78 B 4. Cf. **יְחֵסָא** *Ezr.* 6 11. *Dan.* 6 9. 18. In this dialect the **ח** stands before the sibilant, e. g. **יְחֻזְכֵּן** 88 4 **נ.**

L. 5. **יְחַפֵּץ** Ethpa. impf. of **חַפֵּץ** = **فَضَّلَ** extract, disjoin, in iv to separate a part and give it away. **אֲנִשׁ כֵּלָּה** 75 2 **נ.** **אֲנִשׁ** 89 5 **נ.** **לָחֵן** 79 8 **נ.** **חֵנָּא** CIS ii 69 perhaps = Targ. **חֵנָּא**, Syr. **لُحْنָ** agreement, contract; in Nab. **חֵנָּא** may have been



28 to 9 a.c. He is mentioned by Strabo (663 f. ed. Müll.) in connexion with the campaign of Aelius Gallus against S. Arabia, 25-4 a.c., and by Josephus in the later period of Herod's reign, when Syllaëus his *ἐπίτροπος* was a suitor for Salome (*Ant.* xvi 7 6. *War* i 24 6), and at the time of Herod's expedition against Trachonitis (*Ant.* xvi 9 1. 4). חנינו 82 2. חמיש = \**Orauros*, \**Orauros* Wadd. 1984. 2226; cf. חמיש 1 Chr. 3 22. Neh. 3 10 &c. פסחון Perhaps from *be fat*, or *נעם* wean, cf. *نَاعِمَة*; for the ending cf. *פסחון*. An Egypt. derivation, Pet-ammon (99 9 a.), is not so likely. At the end of the l. either another set of donors was mentioned, or there was a verb, still governed by בני חנינו, describing the association of the new cult of 'Obadath with that of the family god of Ḥoṭaishu (Cl.-Gan.).

L. 2. חנינו Cf. O.T. *יְהוּדִי* (Midianite), *יְהוּדִי*, and the Minæan *חנינו* Glaser 299 3 (*Hommel Süd-ar. Chrest.* 116), *Οὐθρος* Wadd. 2537 <sup>1</sup>. Yaquṭ mentions a village in Ḥauran, *جَنَر* N. of Bostra, in Nab. country. אלה חמיש See 92 3 n. In these cases the god is not named as a rule; here it was prob. *Dūshara*, אלה חנינו 88 6. *בצחור* The Arab. *مروة* means both *fountain* and *crest of a hill, tower upon a hill*. In 94 2 *צחורא* may have the former sense; the latter would be suitable here. Cl.-Gan., however, explains צ as the *roof* of the house, where the statue or altar of the family god was set; cf. Strabo (p. 667) *ἡλίου τιμῶσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος ἱερουμένων βωμόν* (of the Nabataeans), 2 K. 17 12. *עמם* The context implies *kinsman, ancestor*. *פסחון* was great-grandfather to the בני חנינו; hence both here and in 99 2 Cl.-Gan. gives *עם* the specific sense of *great-grandfather*. But though this was the relationship in both cases, it is hardly expressed by the word *עם*, which at most implies *kinsman*; cf. Arab. *عمّ* *paternal uncle*, and the O.T. names *אליעזר* &c., *Gray Hebr. Pr.* N. 51 ff. In *רחם עמם* the meaning is certainly *people*, not *ancestors*; Schürer *Gesch.* <sup>2</sup> i 738. על חני

<sup>1</sup> The name occurs in the foll. inscr. on an altar (disc. 1895) from Kanatha (Josephus), now el-Qanawāt, NE. of Bostra, in Jebel Ḥauran:

נר וצד אל בני חנר וחמי נרא שלם  
קצי בר חטל אמסא שלם

'Vowed and sacrificed (?) by the family of the Benē Withro, lovers of Gad. Greeting! Qaṣṭu, son of Ḥann-el, the master-workman. Greeting!' נר is explained by Cl.-Gan. as Pael of *נר* = *to mount*, *نَرَّ* = O.T. *נר* in Saadya's version; *Rac.* iii § 10. The vb. *נר* is not actually used in the sense *to sacrifice*, nor is נר found in Aram. inscr. with the meaning *to vow*. Hence Lidzb. prefers to read נר וצד as pr. nn. (*Ephem.* i 74), though the names do not occur elsewhere. אל = Arab. *آل* CIS ii 164 f. נרא = *Τεύχης*, whose cult was popular in Ḥauran. See also *Rép.* no. 53.

תרתת Cf. 102 3 and לחיי נחש 70 4; see 20 11 n. חיים here practically = *σωτηρία*. שקילת So restored by Vog. Shuqailath must have been the second wife of Aretas iv, and, as we learn from this inscr., his sister too. Her name appears on copper coins at the closing period of Aretas' reign. His first wife was Huldu (102 4), associated with him for at least 20 years. Probably the second marriage took place not long before this 29th year of the king's reign. There was another queen Shuqailath<sup>1</sup>, perhaps the daughter of this one, sister-consort of Malchus ii (92 4) and mother of Rabel (97 iii n.).

L. 3. The six children are prob. those of the first marriage. The first three are all dynastic names. מציאל Cf. the Palm. מציאל Euting *Epigr. Misc.* 131, either mas. or fem., cf. Φασγέλης, Ούλπία Φασαυέλη Wadd. 1928. 2445. שועודת Prob. fem., as names of this form usually are, e.g. סנעות 89 4. כמולת CIS ii 225; for the name cf. שועידו 89 1 n. If these were princesses, one of them may well have been the unnamed wife of Herod Antipas (p. 215). בנודי Not necessarily *sons*, but *children*, cf. Palm. לחן . . אלהבל . . קברא דנא בנא אלהבל . . לחן . . לבנידח Vog. 37, and prob. בניחם 102 4. At the end of the line Cl.-Gan. restores [חנ[ר]דנח].

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned in an inscr. lately found at Petra, De Vogüé *JA* viii (1896) 496 f.: . . . עישו ואז שיקח מלכה נחשו בר . . . Cl.-Gan. has acutely discerned that ואז = not *brother*, but *grand-visitor*; cf. Strabo p. 663 ed. Müll. ἔχει δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἐταίρων τῶν, καλούμενον ἀδελφόν (*Rec.* ii 380).

## MOAB

96. Medeba. CIS ii 196. A. D. 37. Vatican Museum.

- 1 דא מקברתא ותרתִי נפשתא די  
 2 עלא מנה די עבר עברעבדת אסרתנא  
 3 לאיתִיבל אסרתנא אבוהי ולאיתִיבל  
 4 רב משריתא די בלחיתו ועברתא בר עברעבדת  
 5 אסרתנא דנה בבית שלמונהם די שלמו  
 6 זמנין תרין שנין תלתין ושת על שני חרתת  
 7 מלך נבמו רחם עמה ועבדתא די  
 8 עלא עבדת בשנת ארבעין ושת לה

This is the sepulchre, and the two monuments <sup>2</sup> above it, which 'Abd-'obedath the *stratēgos* made <sup>3</sup> to Aithi-bel the *stratēgos* his father, and to Aithi-bel <sup>4</sup> chief of the camp at Luḥithu and 'Abarta, son of the said 'Abd-'obedath <sup>5</sup> the *stratēgos*, in the seat of their jurisdiction which they exercised <sup>6</sup> twice, for a period of thirty-six years, in the time of Ḥarehath, <sup>7</sup> king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people; and the above work <sup>8</sup> was executed in the forty and sixth year of his (reign).

It is a peculiarity of this inscr. that the words are separated.

L. 1. מקברתא See 94 i n. 78 i n. תרתִי נפשתא

L. 2. עלא מנה i.e. עלא מנה, cf. Dan. 6 3 and Palm. מנה לעל מנה  
 Eut. *Epigr. Misc.* 5 3 f. אסרתנא Cf. CIS ii 195, where a *nefesh*  
 is erected (עבר) by יעמרו אסרתנא to his brother, the son of עביש  
 אסרתנא (A. D. 39). The inscr. 195 comes from Umm-er-Resas,  
 16 miles SE. of Medeba. These two inscr., which are almost con-  
 temporary, indicate that the Nab. *stratēgos* was the governor of  
 a small district, and that the office was to some extent hereditary<sup>1</sup>;  
 cf. 97 ii n. It is not impossible that both these *stratēgoi*, 'Abd-'obedath  
 and Ya'amru, may have assisted the wife of Herod Antipas in her

<sup>1</sup> Strabo says of the Nabs. *καὶ τὰ προσηγορεύματα καὶ βασιλεύουσιν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους καὶ ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἀρχουσιν* p. 666 ed. Müll.



flight to her father Aretas iv at Petra; she was passed on, says Josephus, from one *stratēgos* to another, κομμένη τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς *Ant.* xviii 5 1. The castle of Macherus would prob. have been in the district of Ya'amru; the boundary between the two governors was perhaps the W. Zerqa Ma'in. *Cl.-Gan. Rec.* ii 202.

L. 3. אִיחִיבֵּל i.e. אִיחִיבֵּל *Bel has brought* (i.e. the new-born), Afel of אָחַב, cf. the Syr. pr. n. ܐܝܚܝܒܐ, Nöld. *ZA* (1891) 149 n.; or, אִיחִיבֵּל *Bel exists*, cf. אִיחִי אֱלֹהִים Dan. 2 28 and אִיחִיבֵּל Neh. 11 7. אִיחִי 1 Chr. 11 31. *Bel* is the Babylonian deity (p. 269), and not another form of the Canaanite *B'dal*. The only other Nab. name in which בֵּל has been found is בְּנִתְבֵּל 102 5, and that is uncertain; in Palm. בֵּל and בִּיל are frequent in pr. nn. The second אִיחִיבֵּל was grandson of the first; it was a custom to repeat family names at this interval in the genealogy.

L. 4. מְשָׁרְיָתָא 140 B 3. 122 5, Syr. ܡܫܪܝܬܐ *camp, army*; in Targ. שָׂרָא = *encamp*. לְחֵיטּוֹ must have been within the jurisdiction of the *stratēgos*, and therefore near Medeba. The name suggests מְשָׁרְיָתָא Is. 15 5. Jer. 48 5; but according to the *Onomasticon* (136 23 ed. Lag.) this was between Areopolis (Rabbath-Moab, Rabba) and Zoar = Ṣarfa, to the N. of Wadi Kerak (Buhl *Geogr.* 272), and therefore too far south<sup>1</sup>. עֲבֵרְתָא Site unknown; evidently a fort commanding a *pass* in the highlands near Medeba or the *ford* of a river. The name recalls the O. T. הַר הָעֵבְרִים = the Nebo range, Num. 27 12. In Roman times there were several camps in the neighbourhood; e.g. cohors tertia . . in ripa vadi Apharis fluvii in castris Arnonensibus, *Notitia dignitatum* xxx.

L. 6. וְזִמְנָן תִּלְחָחָא Cf. וְזִמְנָן תִּלְחָחָא Dan. 6 11. זבני CIS ii 186 3. Palm. זכנן סניאן 121 5.

L. 7. עֲבִידְתָּא Noun formed from Pe. ptcp. pass., cf. 94 1. Ezr. 4 24 &c. אֱלֵתָא; see Marti *Gr. Bibl. Aram.* 86.

<sup>1</sup> If מ' חֵלְסָא = Tal'at Heisa, on W. slope of Mt. Nebo, some 5 or 6 m. NW. of Medeba, this would answer to the conditions; but the grounds on which Conder (*PEF Mem., East. Pal.* i 228, 253), followed by G. A. Smith (*Map of Pal.*), bases the identification, are extremely questionable; see Driver *Exp. Times* (1902) 460.

## DAMASCUS

97. Dumêr. CIS ii 161. A. D. 94. Louvre.

Col. ii

בגרת אם אדרמו אסרתנא  
ונקידו מן על מעמא  
עבדמלכו בני

Col. i

[דנה מ]סגרא די הקים  
[ה]נאו בר חרי גדלו ברת

Col. iii

אסרתנא בירח איר  
שנת X 93 במנין אדהומיא  
די הו שנת X 3 לרבאל  
מלכא

C

B

A

F

נקידו ברה אדרמו ברה הנאו לענו אתתה ...

Col. i [This is the c]ippus which Hānī'u set up, the freed-man of Gadlu, daughter <sup>u</sup> of Bagarath, mother of Adramu the *stratēgos* and Neqīdu, by adoption sons of 'Abd-māliku <sup>u</sup> the *stratēgos*, in the month Iyar, in the year 405, by the reckoning of the Romans, which is the 24th year of king Rabel.

The place now called Dumêr (دُمير) was the first station on the Roman road from Damascus to Palmyra. The inscr. is written on the sides of a hexagonal column, a little over 3 ft. high, resembling a Greek altar. Round the upper part is a series of busts, each with a name below it (A B C F); two busts (D E) are missing.

Col. i. מסגרא See 92 i n. Lit. בר חרי 93 8 n. *filius libertatis*, so *libertus*; in Hebr. cf. בן חורים Qoh. 10 17; in Palm. 147 ii b 12 קלקים בר חרי קימר, and the inscr. found at South

Shields (Lidzb. 482) <sup>1</sup>רנימא בת חרי ברעתא חבל. In Syr. <sup>2</sup>Pa. = *set free*, and similarly the Pi. of חרר in NHebr., whence חר *freeman*.

Col. ii. בנרת See 85 i n. אדרמו = <sup>3</sup>אֲדָרְמוּ *toothless*. נקדו Cf. נקדא; Ezr. 2 48 = Neh. 7 50 &c. על מן על Lit. *on the ground of, by reason of*; cf. על in 147 i 6 על צבורא אלן. על צבורא מעמא To be explained by the Syr. <sup>4</sup>ܥܠܐ *a graft*, <sup>5</sup>ܥܠܐܗܐ *he grafted*; hence used of adoption (Cl-Gan. Rec. i 61). בני עברמלכו It is clear that Hānī'u was both the freedman and husband of Gadlu<sup>6</sup>. Their sons were adopted by 'Abd-mālikū, prob. a kinsman of Gadlu, in order to secure a social position which their father could not give them. It would seem that 'Abd-mālikū transmitted his own office to the elder of the two sons, cf. 96 2 n. For עברמלכו see 80 i 1 n.

Col. iii. איר 85 i 10 n. The sign of the numeral 4 is unusual. The date is given by the Seleucid era, which began in 312 B. C.; see 9 5 n. <sup>7</sup>ܡܢܝܢ ܐܪܝܬܝܐ i. e. <sup>8</sup>ܡܢܝܢ ܐܪܝܬܝܐ, for the orthography cf. Clement's <sup>9</sup>ܡܢܝܢ ܐܪܝܬܝܐ *Thes. Syr.* s. v.; <sup>10</sup>ܡܢܝܢ lit. = *counting*. The reference, as Cl-Gan. l. c. 71 f. has shown, is to the Seleucid era reckoned, not by the old style or Macedonian calendar, which was on the lunar system, but by the Roman or Julian calendar (solar), which had been introduced recently into Syria. <sup>11</sup>ܪܒܐܠ Rabel, the last Nab. king (92 3 n.), known only from inscr. (e. g. 95 2 n. 101 9) and coins<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Lat. part of this inscr. runs: D[is] m[anibus]. Regina liberta et conjuge Barates Palmyrenus natione Catuallauna an[nis] xxx. The stone, now in the Free Library, S. Shields, was found in the neighbouring Roman camp.

<sup>2</sup> The relation was not unknown: Cl-Gan. quotes Orelli 8024 TL Claudius Hermes . . Claudiā M. Titī filiā . . patronā optimā, item conjugem felicissimā—id. 8029 D. M. Lucretiae Eutychidi, Lucretius Adrastus conjugī et patronae dulcissimae. Cf. preceding note.

<sup>3</sup> The name occurs in an inscr. lately found (1897) at Petra; see Cl-Gan. Rec. ii § 58, *Album* Pl. XLV; Schürer *Gesch.* i 732. 742 f.

[רעה]למא די רבאל מלך נבטו  
 . . . . . ת מלך נבטו די חקים לו  
 . . . . . גי ? י ? י רבאל חדודו  
 . . . . . בידח כאלו די [דו] שטרא  
 . . . [שטח] xvi לחדודו מלמא [מלך נבטו]

This statue must have belonged to another king Rabel, for his father's name ended in n, and he was succeeded by a king Harethath, who reigned at least for 16 years; Rabel, the last Nab. king, is therefore out of the question. On the strength of a passage in Steph. Byz. which says that Antigonus the Macedonian was slain by Rabilus the king of the Arabians, Cl-Gan. dates this inscr. 70-69 B. C., correcting Antigonus to Antiochus (i. e. A. xii). Josephus, however, clearly implies that the Arabian king who defeated and slew Antiochus at Cana was Aretas (*Ant.* xiii 15

This inscr. tells us that his reign began in A. D. 71; the latest inscr. is dated in his 26th year, i. e. A. D. 96 (p. 255 n. 1); the Nab. kingdom came to an end in A. D. 106. Rabel, as this inscr. from the NE. of Damascus shows, must have ruled over an extensive territory.

The series of busts and inscrr. is not complete. It began with Hâni'u in the centre, and followed from the left with Adramu, the eldest son, and then with Neqfdu. Whose wife was represented by F, to the right of A, is not certain; the Corp. restores עבדמלכו for E; the remaining name at D was prob. נדלו.

1. 2)—i. e. Aretas iii. There is evidently some confusion in the statement of Steph. Byz. (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 525). It is not at present clear where this king Rabel is to be placed.

## HAURAN

98. Ḥēbran. CIS ii 170. A. D. 47. Louvre.

1 בִּירַח תִּשְׁרִי שְׁנַת שִׁבְעָ לְקִלְדִּים

2 קִיסָר

3 דְּנָה תִרְעָא דִּי עֵבֶר מַלְכוּ בֵּר

4 קִצְיָן כְּמַר אֵלֶּת שְׁלָם קִרִּי

In the month of Tishri, the seventh year of Claudius Caesar: this is the gate which Mālīku, son of Qas[īu], priest of Allath, made. Call a greeting!

L. 1. תִּשְׁרִי The 7th month, Sept.–Oct.; in 128 5 = Ὑπερβερεταῖος. קִלְדִּים Claudius, Jan. 41–Oct. 54 A. D. The inscr. dates from the interregnum (44–52) between Herod Agrippa i and ii, when Ḥauran and Trachonitis were governed directly by the Roman imperial power. For קִלְדִּים the more correct form would be קִלְדִּים, as אֹרְלִים in Palm.

L. 2. קִיסָר The form with י is derived from the Gk. Καῖσαρ, in Palm. usually קִסָּר 121 3 &c.

L. 4. קִצְיָן 99 2 is everywhere the name of a person, not of a god, 100 2 n. כְּמַר See 64 1 n. אֵלֶּת 80 4 n. קִרִּי Imperat.; cf. the Arab. formula قرا عليه السلام.

99. Ṣalḥad. CIS ii 182. A. D. 65. In situ.

1 דְּנָה בִּיתָא דִּי בְנָה רוּחוּ בֵּר מַלְכוּ בֵּר אַבְלָבוּ בֵּר רוּחוּ  
לְאֵלֶּת אֱלֹהֵתָהֶם

2 דִּי בַצְלַחַד וְדִי נִצַּב רוּחוּ בֵּר קִצְיָן עִם רוּחוּ דְּנָה דִּי עֵלָא

3 בִּירַח אֲב שְׁנַת עֶשֶׂר וּשְׁבַע לְמַלְכוּ מֶלֶךְ נִבְמוּ בֵּר חֲרַתָּ  
מֶלֶךְ נִבְמוּ רַח[ם] עֲמָה

This is the temple which Rûḥu, son of Mālīku, son of Aklabu, son of Rûḥu, built to Allath their goddess<sup>2</sup> who is in Ṣalḥad, and whom Rûḥu, son of Qasīu, ancestor (?) of the said above-named Rûḥu, had established. <sup>3</sup> In the month Ab, the seventeenth year of Mālīku, king of the Nabataeans, son of Ḥarethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people.

L. 1. רחוו 140 B 2 = Arab. *ḥayyūn*, *Ḥayyūn* Wadd. 2034. אכלבו = Arab. *al-kalb* *rabidus*. אלה אלהותם See 80 4 n. and cf. אלהותם CIS ii 336 3; the suff. as in שלמותם 96 5.

L. 2. די בצלחר 92 3 n. This idiom implies that the worship of Allath at Ṣalḥad was introduced from some other place (24 2 n.); this appears to have been done by an ancestor of the Rūhu who now builds a temple for the goddess. צלחר is the present *Ṣalḥa*, in Yaquṭ *Ṣalḥa*, situated on one of the southernmost heights of Jebel Ḥauran. It has been identified with the O.T. מלכה Deut. 3 10. Josh 12 5 &c., mentioned along with Edre'i as marking the S. frontier of Bashan. נצב The pf. to be rendered by plupf.: the introduction of the worship would take place before the building of the temple (Lidzb. 150 n.). קציו 98 4. 100 2. עם רחוו may be rendered with R., i. e. the introduction of Allath was the joint enterprise of R. son of Qaṣṭu and R. son of Māliku. But in 95 2 עם = *kinsman*, *ancestor* (*great-grandfather*, Cl-Gan. *Rec.* ii 373 f.), and this seems to be the meaning here. The worship of Allath had been established at Ṣalḥad for three generations, or about 100 years, before the date of the inscr., i. e. at a period which corresponds with the occupation of this region by the Nabataeans after the capture of Damascus by Aretas iii in B.C. 85 (see p. 216). It is possible, as Cl-Ganneau points out, that the קציו of Bostra (100 2) was the קציו of this inscr., evidently an important person; if this was the case, the father introduced his family god (prob. אערא 92 2 n.) at Bostra, the son did the same for Allath at the neighbouring Ṣalḥad.

L. 3. אב The 5th month, July-Aug. מלכו 92 4 n. Between the death of Aretas iv in A.D. 40 and the reign of Malchus ii we must probably insert the reign of Abias, *ὁ Ἀράβων βασιλεύς* Joseph. *Ant.* xx 4 1. Hence the accession of Malchus ii cannot be placed earlier than about 48 A.D. (Schürer 739); his 17th year will then be A.D. 65.

100. Bostra. CIS ii 174. Circ. 40 B.C. Louvre.

1 די קרב נמראל בר  
2 נמראל לאלה קציו  
3 בשנת 1 / למלכו מלכה

Offered by Naṭar-el, son of Naṭar-el, to the god of Qaṣṭu; in the 11th year of king Māliku.

Bostra, in Gk. *Βοστρά*, now *بُستري*, was the chief city of Ḥauran in the 1st cent. A.D. The Nabataeans made it a great centre for commerce with Palmyra, Babylonia, and the south. Cf. 125 5.

L. 1. *נמראל* i. e. *El keeps*, *Ναταρίλος* Wadd. 2351; an Aram. name.

L. 2. *אלה קציו* See 92 3 n.; the god was perhaps *אערא*, the patron of the family (99 2 n.).

L. 3. *מלכו* The inscr. is evidently an early one, judging from the rude and somewhat archaic style of the writing. Hence the king will be the earlier rather than the later *Māliku* (92 4), i. e. Malchus i (Schürer 735, not ii), circ. 50–28 B.C., who appears again in 102. His relations with Herod the Great are described by Josephus (*Ant.* xiv 14 1–2. *War* i 14 1–2). He refused Herod assistance at the time of the Parthian invasion B.C. 40, and was subsequently fined by Ventidius for the support which he gave to the invaders (Dio Cass. 48 41). Part of his territory was made over by Antony to Cleopatra; after a time the tribute was withheld, and by Antony's order Herod made an expedition into the territory of the Nabataeans, and in the end succeeded in inflicting a severe defeat upon Malchus, B.C. 32–31 (Joseph. *Ant.* xv 5. *War* i 19). The last that we hear of him is in connexion with a plot against Herod, which led to the death of the aged Hyrcanus (*Ant.* xv 6 2–3).

101. Imtān. A. D. 93. In situ.

- 1 דנה מסגרא
- 2 די קרב
- 3 מנעת בר
- 4 גריו ל
- 5 דושרא ו
- 6 אערא אלה
- 7 מראנא די
- 8 בבצרא בשנת
- 9 ז' לרבאל
- 10 מלכא מלך

11 נבטו די

12 אחיי וש

13 יב עמה

This is the cippus offered by Mun'ath, son of Gadiyu, to Dûshara and A'ra the god of our lord who is in Bošra, in the 23rd year of king Rabel, king of the Nabataeans, who brought life and deliverance to his people.

Imtân lies SE. of Bostra. The inscr. was discovered by Dussaud and Macler; *Voy. Arch.* (1901) no. 36. See also *Rep.* nos. 83 and 86.

L. 1. מסנורא See 92 i n.

L. 3. סנעת See 88 2 n.

L. 4. נריו In Sin. Eut. 93. 95 &c.; in Palm. נרמא = Arab. جَدِّي.

L. 6. מערא See 92 2 n. 3 n. אלה מראמא the god of our lord  
i. e. of the king, as in 88 6. 89 8.

L. 9. רבאל 97 iii n.

L. 12. For the title cf. CIS ii 183 . . . די אחיי עמה ו (25th year) and the inscr. below<sup>1</sup>. It may point to some historical act of deliverance, or perhaps rather (like the רחם עמה of Aretas iv) to a patriotic policy at a time when the independence of the Nab. kingdom was threatened by Rome; cf. the Hellenist title Σαῦρα. In the earlier inscr. of the reign Rabel has no such title; it is omitted, however, in 97 iii (24th year) possibly for political reasons. Af. of חיי cf. the pr. n. חייאל CIS ii 224 7. For שיוב see 69 9 n.

<sup>1</sup> Duss. et Macl. no. 62; *Rep.* no. 86:—

א ונ[ח] ארמא די עבר עזרו

בר גשם לשיע אלקום [אלה]

ב א בשנת עשר[ו] שח לרבאל מלמא מל

ך נבטו די אחיי ושנב עמה

D. et M. explain ארמא as = Lat. *arca*, i. e. sarcophagus. Cl.-Gan. thinks of part of a building, *Rec.* iv 175; but it is prob. that נכא couch, bridal seat = מרמא 70 i n., Lidsb. *Epik.* i 332. At the end of the next l. Cl.-Gan. plausibly reads לשיע אלקום [אלה] to the god *Shē'a-alqūm*; the reading is brilliantly confirmed by 140 B 4 n. The 26th year of Rabel was A. D. 96.



## ITALY

102. Puteoli. CIS ii 158. A.D. 5. Naples Museum.

- 1 דא מחרמתא [די ח]רתו ..... ת ועלי נחשא .....  
 2 ..... ל ..... ומרתי די מתקרא זברת .....  
 3 .... צי צידו בר עבת מן דילה על חיי חרתת מלך [נבמו ודי]  
 4 [ח]לדו אתתה מלכת נבמו ודי בניהם בירח אב שנת / א [111]  
 למלכותה]  
 5 ... אחור זמן אבני מחרמתא קדמיתא די עבר בנהבל בר במ .....  
 6 [בשנת 111] 111 111 למלכו מלך נבמו יהבו בגו מחרמתא דא

This is the sanctuary [which] ..... restored, and 'Ali the copper-smith .....<sup>2</sup> ..... and Marthi, who is called Zubdath .....<sup>3</sup> ..... Šaidu, son of 'Abath, at his own expense, for the life of Ḥarethath, king of the N[abataeans, and of] <sup>4</sup> Ḥuldu his wife, queen of the Nabataeans, and of their children, in the month Ab, the 14th (?) year [of his reign] <sup>5</sup> ... after the time when the former sanctuaries were built (?), which Ben-hobal, son of Bm ... made <sup>6</sup> [in the 8th (?) year] of Māliku, king of the Nabataeans, they placed within this sanctuary.

L. 1. מחרמתא See 79 8 n. חרתו 23 2 n. עלי = Arab. עלי, Sin. 'Alaios Wadd. 2520. נחשא a worker in bronze, Syr. نُسُفَا, or possibly, *diviner*.

L. 2. מרתי Cf. Palm. 120 1 = Μάρθαι (fem.). די מתקרא Ethpe. ptc., cf. 123 2. זברת = Arab. زَبْرَة.

L. 3. צידו = Arab. مَلَيْد, cf. Palm. 137 2. עבת Perhaps from כניסה to play. מן דילה i. e. *ἐκ τῆς οἴκου*, cf. Palm. 116 4. 123 6. רחם עמה 95 2 n. The usual title על חיי ח' is omitted.

L. 4. חלדו 95 2 n., cf. O.T. חלד K. 22 14 (fem.) and חלד weasel Lev. 11 29; so in the Mishnah חולדא, Arab. حَلْد. בנייהם Prob. children, not merely sons; 95 3 n. אמ 99 3 n. To fill up the space three units are required, and prob. למלכותה, Corp.

L. 5. זמן 84 3 constr. st. before a verbal clause. אבני Prob. pf. 3 plur. fem.; but the form is not clear: it has been explained as contracted from אבני, or as an internal pass. מחרמא ק' Both plur. fem. Either בנהבל (נ 3 96) or בנהבל, Hobal being an old Arab deity, ھبل at Mekka, the chief god of the Ka'aba; see Baethgen *Beitr.* 113. For compounds with בנא cf. O.T. בנהדר (?), בניה, &c.

L. 6. The Corp. supplies בשנת and two units to fill the lacuna. למלכו i.e. Malchus i, 100 3 n. The inscr. is too mutilated to enable us to make out the general sense with certainty. It appears that Šarḏu in the 14th year of Aretas iv dedicated some object for the life of the king and his family, and deposited it (L 6) in the recently restored sanctuary, which had been built some 50 years before. This inscr., like CIS ii 157 (also from Puteoli), is a witness to the extent and enterprise of Arabian commerce during the prosperous days of the Nab. kingdom. Nab. merchants had established themselves and the worship of their native deity on the shores of Italy, at the important harbour of Puteoli (cf. Acts 28 11. 13).

## NABATAEAN: SINAITIC

The Sinaitic inscriptions are written in the Nabataean dialect and script<sup>1</sup>. Most of them are to be seen on the rocky sides of the Wadi Mukatteb ('covered with writing'), through which one of the ancient trade routes passed; they occur also in other valleys of the Peninsula, e. g. W. 'Aleyyât, W. Leja', W. Ferân, W. Ma'arah. For the most part they consist of proper names with short formulae of greeting ('שלם פ'), or blessing ('ברוך פ'), or commemoration ('זכיר פ'), varied in different ways. Very few are dated (see 107. 108 n.); but from the character of the writing, a ruder and more cursive form of the normal Nab., we may conclude that they belong to the first four centuries A. D.; not later, for by the 6th cent., when Cosmas Indicopleustes travelled through this region, their origin was already forgotten<sup>2</sup>. It may be explained in the manner suggested by Euting. The caravans which brought merchandise from India to the markets of Egypt and the Levant travelled up from S. Arabia by the Red Sea coast, and then struck inland through the passes of the Sinaitic Peninsula. For the stage from S. Arabia to El-'Ôlâ or El-Hejra they would have an escort of Himyarites; for the next stage, from El-'Ôlâ to Petra, a Nab. escort would take them through Nab. territory. Here the caravans would be joined by Nab. clerks, writers, customs officers; and these were the authors of the inscriptions. When their services were not wanted they would spend their leisure with the Bedouin and their camels at the pasture-grounds. This explains how the inscriptions are found both along the trade routes and in out-of-the-way valleys which only lead to pasturage. Euting has published the standard collection of Sin. inscr., numbering 677; *Sinaitische Inschriften*, 1891.

<sup>1</sup> A few are in Greek, Arabic, and Latin.

<sup>2</sup> "Ὅθεν ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐρήμῳ τοῦ Σαναίου ὄρους ἐν πάσαις καταπαύσεσι, πάντας τοὺς λίθους τῶν αὐτοῦ, τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὄρων ἀποκλαμένους, γεγραμμένους γράμμασι γλυπτοῖς Ἑβραϊκοῖς, ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐγὼ πεζεύσας τοὺς τόπους μαρτυρῶ. ἃ τινὰ καὶ τινὲς Ἰουδαῖοι ἀναγνόντες διηγούντο ἡμῖν λέγοντες γεγράφθαι οὕτως, ἀπαρσις τοῦδε, ἐκ φυλῆς τῆσδε, ἐται τῆδε, μηνὶ τῆδε, καθὰ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν πολλὰς τοῖς ἐν ταῖς γενεαῖς γράφουσιν Migne PG lxxxviii 217; Lidzb. 91.

103. Eut. 519. W. Mukatteb.

שלם אוישו בר פציו בטב

Greeting! Uwaisu, son of Faṣiyyu; good luck!

The inscr. begins with a greeting and ends with a farewell. שלם Lit. *peace* (106); similarly in Egypt. Aram. CIS ii 152, and in Nab. at El-Ḥejra ib. 253 &c. אוישו = אוֹשִׁי dim. of אוֹשִׁי = אוֹשִׁי *gift*, both common names in Sin.; cf. אוֹשִׁי Eut. 566. אוֹשִׁי 104, and the frequent אִשׁוֹס Wadd. 2034 &c. The pr. nn. in Sin. are generally Arabic, seldom Aramaic. פציו Found in various forms, פציו, פציו, פציו &c.; the Arab. would prob. be فَيْضِي. בטב Lit. *in good*, similarly at El-Ḥejra CIS ii 243 &c.; cf. فَيْضِي Qoh. 7 14.

104. Eut. 559. W. Mukatteb.

שלם עבדדושרא בר תנתלו  
ואושלבעלי בר גרמלהי בר חיטמו

Greeting! 'Abd-dushara, son of Thantalu, and Aus-alba'ali, son of Garm-allāhi, son of Ḥaiṭamu.

תנתלו Cf. the Arab. نَتَلَة rotten egg, from نَتَل to soil oneself. אושלבעלי See 103, *gift of the Ba'al*, elsewhere אושלבעלי. The ל or אל is the Arab. art., cf. אלבעלו 105. אלמברשו Eut. 548. אלמברשו 539 &c. The combination of Arab. and Aram. in this name is noteworthy. גרמלהי = גרמלהי Eut. 79 &c., Garmallae (dat.) CIL x 2638; cf. גרמלהי 106 &c. The prefix גרם, which occurs frequently before the name of a deity in Sin., may = جَرَم body (cf. Hebr. גֶּרֶם bone), so *member of Allah* &c.; cf. the Phoen. ברעשתרת 6 2 n. Another suggestion is that the word = *fear*, like the Eth. gērām; in modern Abyss. many names begin with *germa* (Cook *Aram. Gloss.* s. v.). חיטמו Nöld. quotes the Arab. names حَيْطَمَة, حَيْطَمَة with a large nose.

105. Eut. 327. W. Ferân.

שלם ואלו בר חלצת קדם אלבעלו

Greeting! Wa'ilu, son of Ḥālīṣat, before the Ba'al.

ואלו See 88 4 n. (אל). Like חלצת, a very common name in these inscr. ; it is found also at El-Hejra CIS ii 307 and in Hauran, 'Αλασαθς Wadd. 2042. 2047 (but according to Nöld. = עלשת, *ZDMG* xlii 474). Wellhausen suggests a derivation from خَلَصَ, خَلَصَة a *creeping plant* resembling the vine, which is prob. the meaning of Dhu 'l Halasa, the name of a heathen Arab deity. חלצת itself cannot be the name of the god used as the name of a man, because ذر الخلة is merely a title, 'of the creeping plant' (which perhaps had wreathed itself round the sacred stone), the actual name of the deity not being uttered (see on דושרא 79 5); *Reste Ar. Heid.* 47 f. The pronunciation of חלצת was prob. خالصة. קדם אלבעלו before the Ba'al (104 n.); prob. supply in thought 'may there be remembrance,' as in CIS ii 338 דכרן עריש מן קדם דושרא. For the ellipse here cf. ib. 320 F קדם מן קדם דושרא and Eut. 437 במישו בר ואלו and דושרא ומגנו.

106. Eut. 186. W. 'Aleyyât.

דכיר במב ושלם  
שעדו בר  
גרמאלבעלי  
עד עלם V  
ש

Remembered in welfare and peace be Sa'adu, son of Garm-alba'ali, for ever! . . .

שעדו CIS ii 231 &c., Palm. 127 3 (in Gk. σσαδου), also in the Sin. names שעדאלחי 107 and גרמאלבעלי 140 B 2. שעדו = Arab. سَعْدُ happiness, good fortune. גרמאלבעלי 104 n.

107. Eut. 463. A. D. 189. W. Mukatteb.

בריך ואלו בר שעדאלהי  
דא בשנת 6666 להפרכיה די  
בה אחרבו ע[רב]יא ארעא

Blessed be Wa'ilu, son of Sa'ad-allâhi. This (was written) in the year 85 of the Eparchy, in which the Arabs (?) devastated (?) the land.

שְׁעָרָאֵלֹהִי See 106 n. A similar sign for 20 occurs in an early Arab. inscr. from Harran given by Vogüé in *Syr. Centr.* 117; for the usual Nab. form see 97. 101. The date is reckoned from the Eparchy (87 2 n.), i. e. the establishment of the Roman *governorship* over Arabia in A. D. 106 (see p. 216). This reckoning was known as the Era of Bostra (March 22, 106 A. D.)<sup>1</sup>, and was used throughout the province of Arabia. מַחְרְבוֹ עַן[רַב]ִּיָּא So read by Eut., Lidzb. (or מַחְרְבוֹ עַרְיִיָּא *the strangers*, *Eph.* i 339), supposing an allusion to some Bedouin attack upon the oases of Sinai. Cl.-Gan., however, prefers מַחְרְבוֹ עַן[נ]ִּיָּא—a reading certainly justified by Euting's copy, Taf. 26—and renders the line 'in which the poor of the land were allowed to glean (the fruit)'; מַחְרְבוֹ he explains as = أَخْرَفُوا (conj. iv), or pass. أَخْرَفُوا *allow or be allowed to gather fruit*, and עַן[נ]ִּיָּא as constr. st. = עַנִּי with נ as in Palm. הִנָּא, הִנָּא (but see below), cf. עַנִּי מִן Am. 8 4 &c. He finds in the words thus interpreted a religious institution, analogous to the Jewish Sabbatical year, which assigned at fixed yearly intervals the fruit-gleanings to the poor; see *Rec.* iv § 33 = *Rép.* no. 129. There is absolutely no evidence, however, that such an institution ever existed; and it may be doubted whether מַחְרְבוֹ, an Ofal, passive, form, would be used in Nab. instead of the usual Ethp.; حَرَب means only 'to gather fruit fallen on the ground.' In the *Rev. Bibl.* xi (1902) 137 it is proposed to read מַחְרְבוֹ עַנִּיָּא *the wells of the land were dried up*, עַנִּיָּא for עַנִּיָּא; the objection to this is that the plur. constr. in Nab. does not end in נ (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 339). The inscr. has recently been examined afresh on the spot by Fathers Jaussen and Savignac of Jerusalem; their investigations confirm Eut.'s reading מַחְרְבוֹ, *RB* xi 467.

108. Eut. 457. A. D. 210-211. W. Mukatteb.

דְּכִיר תִּימָאֵלֹהִי בִר יַעֲלִי שְׁנַת מֵאָה ע ו  
דְּמִן עַל תִּלְתָּת קִיסְרִין

Remembered be Taim-allāhi, son of Ya'ali! The year one hundred (and) 6, equivalent to (the year of) the three Caesars.

<sup>1</sup> So in Gk. inscr., e. g. *ἔτους . . ἡδὲ Βοστρονικῶν* [scil. *ἡρώδης*], or *ἔτους . . ἡδὲ τραπεζίων* [-as] Wetzstein *Ausgew. Inschr.* (*Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1863) 111. 112.

יַעֲלִי = יַעֲלִי. רַמְּן i. e. רַמְּן ptc. See 84 1 n. חִסְמָלְהִי pl. fem. of רַמְּן agreeing with שָׁנָן understood; the usual prep. after רַמְּן is ל. The 106th year of the Era of Bostra=210-211 A.D. During this year the Emperor Septimius Severus died (Feb. 4th, 211), and both his sons Caracalla and Geta became joint emperors; the year, therefore, was remarkable for having witnessed three Caesars on the throne. With חִלְתָּה קִיסְרִין cf. the form AVGGG (i. e. tres Augusti) on Lat. inscr. (Cagnat *Cours d'épigr. Lat.*<sup>3</sup> 373); it is possible that קִיסְרִין may be the equivalent of the official title Augustus. Cl-Gan., *Rec.* iv § 32=*Rép.* no. 128, interprets the date differently; for the numeral, which is irregular in form (see 107), he reads עֵל, and רַמְּן for רַמְּן. Supposing רַמְּן to be an error for רַמְּן lords, or our lords (=מַרְיָא), he renders 'the year 100. For (the salvation of) our lords, the three Caesars.' But it may be doubted whether an inscr. of this fugitive, personal character would be written for the sake of (עֵל) such august beneficiaries; analogy leads us to expect merely a date after the pr. nn. Moreover, there are historical objections; the 100th year (Bostra)=204-205 A.D.; it would thus fall well within the reign of Severus (193-211 A.D.)<sup>1</sup>, and though Caracalla became joint emperor in 201, he and his brother did not share the imperium with their father till 210-211.

109. Eut. 410. W. Mukatteb.

דְּנָה סוּסִיָּא דִּי  
עִבְדָּא שַׁעְדִּלְהִי בֶר אַעֲלָא

This is the horse which Sa'd-allâhi, son of A'la, drew.

Rude drawings sometimes accompany the Sin. inscr.; cf. the pictures on the rocks near Têma and El-Ĥejra, Eut. *Nab. Inscr.* 8 f. In this case Sa'd-allâhi has drawn his horse; cf. Eut. 416. סוּסִיָּא The form is Aram., cf. سَيْسَل. אַעֲלָא = اَعْلَى most illustrious.

<sup>1</sup> The fact that in several Lat. inscr. from Africa Geta is styled Augustus before 209 (CIL viii p. 974) is not sufficient to support Cl-Gan.'s contention.

## PALMYRENE

Palmyra, called in Gk. Πάλμυρα, in the O. T. and in the native inscriptions Tadmor<sup>1</sup>, lay 150 m. NE. of Damascus in an oasis of the Syrian desert. Its situation afforded a meeting-place for the trade which crossed from E. to W., or came up from Petra and S. Arabia. The city existed for commerce. The 'chief of the caravan,' the 'chief of the market,' appear in the inscriptions among the principal citizens, 118. 121, holding magistracies and imperial posts; influential trade-guilds witness to the importance of the local industries, 126; the splendour and wealth of the city may be judged from the ruins of temples, streets, and tombs which still exist. The prosperity of Palmyra began to rise probably about the time when the Romans established themselves on the Syrian coast; for political reasons it was desirable to keep the direct route between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean in the hands of a vassal power. Probably in the reign of Augustus Palmyra became a part of the Roman empire, but the exact date is not known; later on it received special favours from Hadrian, who visited the city about 130 A.D. and granted it the privileges of the *jus Italicum*, perhaps also the rank of a colony<sup>2</sup>, and adorned it with new buildings; from his time it took the name of Hadriana Palmyra, הדריאנה תדמור 147 ii. With the Romans on the one side and the Parthians on the other, the Palmyrenes had a difficult part to play<sup>3</sup>, but they always knew how to use the rivalry of the two empires for the advancement of their trade, and in the later Parthian wars both their policy and their active services were attended with signal success. For 150 years, from 130-270 A.D., Palmyra's fortunes were at their height. Under Odainath and Zenobia, during a brief period, the state held a foremost place in the Eastern empire; after Zenobia's overthrow in 273 it fell into decay and never recovered.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chr. 8 4 is the earliest reference to the city. The original source had תדמור, a place in Judah, 1 K. 9 18 Kt.; this was altered by the Chronicler or a later scribe to תדמור (so in 1 K. 9 18 Qerl) evidently with a view to increasing the extent of Solomon's kingdom. Joa. says that the Syrians pronounced the name *Thadamera*, Θαδάμωρα, Ant. viii 6 1: the Arabs call it تَدْمُر.

<sup>2</sup> By the 3rd cent., at any rate, it had become a colony, 121. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny 5 21 Palmyra urbs . . . privata sorte inter duo imperia summa, Romanorum Parthorumque, et prima in discordia semper utrinque cura.



As a vassal of Rome, Palmyra enjoyed a liberal measure of military and civil independence. It was allowed to use the native language for official purposes, and, like other communities in the Asiatic and Syrian provinces<sup>1</sup>, to farm the customs for the benefit of the community, independently of the sovereign power (147). The organization of the city was that of a Greek municipality under the empire. The government was vested in the Council and People (בולא ודמס), and administered by civil officers with Greek titles, the proedros (מלחדרותא), title of the office), the grammateus (גרמטוס), the archons (ארכונים), the syndics (סדקיא), the dekaprotai (עשרותא); see 147 i and 122. Along with these there was, at least in the 3rd cent., a *Ras* or *head* of the state (רש 125), virtually a prince, chosen from the leading family, of senatorial rank (סנקלטיא 125) and Roman appointment. The office was handed on by Septimius Hairân (125) to his son Sept. Odainath, who received even higher rank, the consular dignity (הפטיא 126). After his death, Odainath was actually styled *king of kings* (130), but no inscription contains the title during his life-time. See Mommsen *Provinces of the Rom. Emp.* ii 92-112.

The language spoken at Palmyra was a dialect of Western Aramaic<sup>2</sup>. In some important points, indeed, the dialect was related to Eastern Aram. or Syriac, e. g. the plur. in א—, חנרא 113 3. מלכא 130 1; the dropping of the final *i* and *u* in אבוה, אחוה, בנוה (but אבחי &c. also occur), נחח 113 4. אקים 113 3. 130 4 (but אקינו 114 2); the adverbial ending *dh*, שכחית 121 6; the infin. ending *d*, מרחשבו 147 ii c 4; also the words מלל 121 6. חנן 121 3. כלמא 147 i 12. עמרא life 121 6. עלתא 135 1. תמלילא 117 5 &c. But the relation to Western (Palestinian) Aram. is closer. Specially characteristic are the following features: the impf. with י, not as in Syr. and the E. dialects with נ or ל; the plur. in אִי—; the rel. די as in Bibl. Aram. and in the Targ. Ps.-Jon. (Dalman *Gr.* 85); the conj. ברילדי; the pers. pron. דנה, רח, אלן, כוח 121 6 &c.; the distinction between ש and ס, as in Bibl. Aram., e. g. סניאן and ש'סר, סרר 121 5. 6. 147 i 4. The bulk of the population of Palmyra was of Arab race, hence many of the proper names are Arabic, and several Arabic words occur, e. g. סנר 112 3. חרם 112 4. פחד 136 6. The technical terms of municipal and administrative life are mostly Greek; even under the Roman government the Greek terminology

<sup>1</sup> See Dessau *Hermes* xix 528 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Like the Egypt. Aram. and Nabataean. Cf. Epiphanius *Haer.* 66 13 [PG xlii 48] 'Ἄλλοι δὲ ᾔθεν τὴν βαθυτάτην τῶν Σύρων διάλεκτον σεμνύνονται, τὴν τε [τῆς] κατὰ τὴν Παλμύραν διάλεκτον, αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν στοιχεῖα' εἰκοσιδύο δὲ ταῦτα ὑπάρχει.



The Council and People have made these two statues <sup>2</sup> to A'ailami, son of Hairân, son of Moqîmu, son of Hairân, (son of) Mattâ, <sup>3</sup> and to Hairân his father, lovers of their city and fearers of the gods, <sup>4</sup> because they were well-pleasing to them and to their gods in everything whatsoever: <sup>5</sup> to their honour. In the month Nisan, the year 450.

The honorary inscr. (110–182) are written upon Corinthian columns which were ranged along the principal streets, or stood in the courts and porticos of the temples. On the column there is generally a bracket for the bust to which the inscription refers.

L. 1. בולא ודמס i. e. בולא ודמס. אילן Plur. of דנה, regularly in Palm.; see add. note ii p. 26. תריוחון Lit. *the two of them*, תריוחון (= תריוחון), cf. 111 2 and the Palest. forms תריוחון, תריוחון, Dalman Gr. 98.

L. 2. אעילמי 'Aailâmis. The name is Arab., and may be explained as a diminutive of the elative form with the ending <sup>2</sup>سى ('relative'), i. e. أَعْيَلَمِي from علم *know*, cf. أَزْهَر from ازهر &c. As the Gk. form shows, the pronunciation does not strictly represent the Arab.; perhaps this is due to the influence of Aram., which rarely recognizes dimin. forms; cf. also Χεῦλος = كَهْلٌ, Σεμίας = سُمَيْيَا &c. The pr. n. Αἰλαμος Wadd. 2086 is similarly explained as = عَيْلَم (J. Mordtmann *Palmyrenisches* 15 f.). חירן = حَيْرَانٌ an ancient name in the tribe of the Beni Hamdân (Blau *ZDMG* xxviii 75), very common in Palm. מתי 78 2 n.<sup>1</sup> מתא The preceding בר is left out, as frequently in Palm.—a strong proof of Gk. influence; see the Gk. version. מתא is abbreviated from some form like מתי בול (= מתן-בול).

L. 3. מדינתא (147 ii b 7 &c.) = מדינתא (from דין); in Palm. and Syr. *city*, πάτρις; in Bibl. Aram. *province*. For the assimilation of נ cf. אתנת (= אנשת), and in foreign words סדקיא 147. סקלטיקא Vog. 21 (p. 285 n. 1).

L. 4. ברילדי 118 4 f. &c. *on account of*, frequent in Palest. Aram. but not in Syr., Dalman Gr. 187. בריל is Hebraized בשל Jonah 1 7 (= באשר v. 8). 12. Qoh. 8 17. מכו An error for צכו lit. *purpose, intention*, as in Syr. with a vague sense, *matter, thing*, Dan. 6 18; plur. צכוותא 147 i 6.

<sup>1</sup> Final *f* in Palm. is represented in Gk. by *eis*, *ei*, *eiv*, e. g. ברילי 111 2 Βαρείχων; also medial *f*, e. g. מתי 78 Μορείμων and Μορείμων, Ζαβειδαν 118 2. Where *i* = diphth. *ai* the Gk. writes *ai*, as here, חירן Αἰφανος, בריל 118 3 Βαυδᾶ &c.; Nöld. 88 f.

L. 5. שנת Constr. st. before the number. The name of the month in the Gk. version comes from the Macedonian calendar. The date is reckoned by the Seleucid era which began Oct. 312 B. C.; see § 5 n. 97 iii n.

111. Vog. 2. A. D. 139.

1 בולא ודמס עבדו צלמיא אלן  
2 תרויהן לבריכי בר אמרשא בר  
3 ירחבולא ולמקימ[ן] ברה רחמי  
4 מדייתהן ודחלי א[לה]יא ליקרהן  
5 בירח ניסן שנת 33

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Βαρεΐχειν Ἀμρισάμσου τοῦ Ἰαριβωλέους καὶ Μόκιμον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεῖς καὶ φιλοπάτριδας τιμῆς χάριν . . . Wadd. 2587.

The Council and People have made these two statues <sup>2</sup> to Bariki, son of Amri-sha, son <sup>3</sup> of Yarhi-bôlē, and to Moqim[u] his son, lovers <sup>4</sup> of their city and fearers of the g[od]s: to their honour. <sup>5</sup> In the month Nisan, the year 450.

The form is identical with that of the preceding inscription.

L. 2. בריכי i. e. *Benedictus*. אמרשא An abbrev. for שמשא (see the Gk.) *Shamash has promised*, cf. the O.T. אמריהו 1 Chr. 24 23 &c., and the Sab. יתעאמר *KB* ii 54; for שא = שמשא cf. תימשא אלחשא, Vog. 34. Prob. the Hebr. pr. n. בעשא (= בעלשא) is to be explained in this way; see S. A. Cook *Expos. Times* x (1899) 525 ff.

L. 3. ירחבולא Derived from the name of the Palm. deity ירחבול 121 6 n.; cf. 115 5 n. The nom. of Ἰαριβωλέου would end in -ης, cf. כתא 112 2 *Barréous*; hence the final vowel in both names was pronounced ē, cf. בולא = βουλῆ; Nöld. 90.

112. Vog. 3. A. D. 140.

1 צלמא דנה די אצ[מ]לי בר חירן שבא בר  
2 חירן בונא שבת די עבדת לה בולא די  
3 מגד לה. ח. . . לעלמא ו. . . מל. תא ואקם

4 חר[מן] ל[מ]לכבל ולג[ר] תימי ולערתעתה  
 5 [א]לד[י]א [מב]י[א] בת. די. ת. ליקרה בירח  
 6 [תמח שנ]ת [33] / 6

Ἡ βουλή Ἀστάλειν Αἰράνου τοῦ Σαβᾶ τοῦ [Αἰρά]νου  
 τοῦ Βωννέους ἐπαγγειλάμενον αὐτῇ ἐπίδοσιν αἰωνίαν  
 [εἰς] θυσίαν κατ' ἔτος ἀναθέματα [Μαλα]χβήλφ καὶ  
 Τύχη Θεαιμῆος καὶ [Ἀτερ]γάτει πατρώοις θεοῖς τειμῆς  
 καὶ μνήμης χάριν ἔτους ανύ πανήμον. Wadd. 2588.

This statue is that of Aṣṭali, son of Ḥairan, (son of) Sabā, son <sup>2</sup> of Hairân, (son of) Bōnnē, (son of) Shabbath, which has been made to him by the Council to whom <sup>3</sup> he presented . . . for ever . . . and set up <sup>4</sup> consecrated things to Malak-be[l and to the Fort]une of Thaimi and to 'Athar-'attheh, <sup>5</sup> the good gods . . . . . to his honour. In the month <sup>6</sup> Tammuz, the year 451.

L. 1. אצטלי An Ethpe. form from צלל ? *pray*; cf. תפני 118 1. שבא Sometimes סבא, prob. = Talm. שבא, Nab. שבי CIS ii 215, from شب *byfall*, cf. Βαρσαββᾶς Acts 1 23; Dalman *Gr.* 143 n.

L. 2. בנתא Perhaps = בול נא [א] *Bol is dear*, or = בולנא Vog. 95 2 from ענא or בול לנא; but see 148 6 n. The Gk. form with double ν shows that ל has been assimilated; cf. בעששם 30 1 and 111 3 n. שכת may be a cognomen.

L. 3. מנר 128 4 = مَنَر to make a generous gift; in Aram. the noun is used, מנרנא a costly gift. After some word corresponding to ἐπίδοσιν is to be supplied; Vog. מתנא.

L. 4. חרמן See 70 8 n. מלכבל A solar deity who stood at the head of the Palm. gods, as the inscr. below shows <sup>1</sup>. The Gk. and Lat. transcriptions Μαλαχβήλος, *Malachibelus*, *Malagbelus* indicate

<sup>1</sup> Rom. 2, in the Capitoline Mus., A. D. 236.

עולא דח לסכלבל ולאלד תרסר

קרב סבירים קלודים סלקס

תורסרמא לאלדחוקן שלם

Soli sanctissimo sacrum. Tl. Claudius Felix et Claudia Helpis et Tl. Claudius Alypus fil[ius] eorum votum solverunt libens merito Calbienses de coh[orte] iii.

מַלְכָּבֶל = מַלְאָךְ בֶּל messenger of Bel (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 256 f.) rather than מַלְכָּבֶל Bel is king. The god Bel came from Babylon. The name is not found on public inscr., but only on small tesserae, and often accompanied by the symbol of the sun with rays, e. g. Vog. 132 ff. בֶּל בֶּל As a sun-god Bel could easily be adapted to שֶׁמֶשׁ, undoubtedly the chief god of Palmyra; he was further identified with Ζεύς, Wadd. 2606 a, 140 A 2 n. Lidzb. suggests that the native שֶׁמֶשׁ was interpreted as בֶּל מַלְאָךְ, the messenger, or the revealer of Bel. If this is correct we can understand how שֶׁמֶשׁ בֶּל, מַלְכָּבֶל are all really the same chief deity, under various aspects. Malak-bel is sometimes associated with 'Agli-bōl, the latter, as the moon, being named before the sun, 189 6 n., cf. 81 2 n. [נ.] or [נ.] חִימִי. Cl.-Gan. reads [נ.] in appos. to מַלְכָּבֶל (*Rec.* iii 244 f.), but the Gk. has καὶ. The two deities are named together on a Palm. seal, מַלְכָּבֶל מִרְחִימִי Mordtm. no. 88. נִר חִימִי = Τύχη Θαιμαῖος, gen. of Θαιμαῖος (Nöld. 88), the patron deity of the clan חִימִי. The name חִימִי = חִימִי slave requires, like עֶבֶר, the name of a god to complete its meaning, e. g. חִימִי אֱלֹהֵי 84 1. The worship of Gad-Tyche was widely popular in Syria and Hauran; cf. the pr. nn. נִרְעָה Vog. 143, נִרְעָה ib. 84, and 27 3 n. עֲתַרְגַּתִּי Atergatis, the great goddess of the Aramaeans. The chief centres of her cult in Syria were at Hierapolis in Mesopotamia and Damascus<sup>2</sup>; outside Syria her most famous temple was at Ashqelon<sup>3</sup>. Another temple occupied an ancient shrine at 'Ash-taroth-qarnaim, the 'Atergátion at Karnion 2 Macc. 12 26, τὸ τέμενος ἐν Καρνάιν 1 Macc. 5 43; both here and at Ashqelon Atergatis took the place of an earlier Astarte. The name is compounded of עֲתַר = עֲתַרְתָּה and עֲתַר. As עֲתַרְתָּה (mas.) the deity was worshipped in S. Arabia (see 4 1 n.). There are traces of the form עֲתַר among the Aramaeans, e. g. the pr. n. עֲתַרְשׁוּר Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 118 (עֲתַרְשׁוּר CIS ii 52 is doubtful); it was known to Strabo, who writes it Ἀθάρα<sup>4</sup>, the θ being a softening of the original doubled letter; cf. Hesych. Ἀτταγάθη

<sup>1</sup> Cf. מִרְחִימִי בֶּל נִרְחִי מordtm. no. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo p. 636 ed. Müll. ἡ Βαμβούνη ἦν καὶ Ἐβασσαν καὶ Ἱερὰν πόλιν καλοῦσιν, ἐν ᾧ τιμῶσι τὴν Σὺριαν θεὸν τὴν Ἀταργάτην. Her name occurs on coins of Hierapolis, Babelon *Pers. Ach.* pp. liii. 45. For Damascus see Justin xxxvi 2 Nomen urbi a Damasco rege inditum, in cuius honorem Syri sepulcrum Athares [MSS. Arathis] uxoris eius, pro templo coluere deamque exinde sanctissimae religionis habent.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. ii 4. Near Askalon is a temple of the goddess ἡν δομοῦνται οἱ Σύροι Δερατροῦν κ.τ.λ.; her image was that of a woman with a fish-tail. See Schürer *Jüd. Volk.* ii. 23 f.

<sup>4</sup> P. 667 Ἀταργάτην δὲ [ἰσάλασαν] τὴν Ἀθάραν Δερατροῦ δ' αὐτὴν Ἐτῆσις καλεῖ.

'Αθάρη παρὰ τῷ Ἐάνθῳ *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 629. A hint as to the nature of the deity is given by an inscr. of Ašurbanipal, *KB* ii 220 f., which mentions a N. Arabian tribe as worshippers of *Atar-samaim* i.e. Atar of the heavens. The second part of the compound, עתא, עת, or עתי<sup>1</sup>, occurs frequently in pr. nn., e.g. זברעתה, ברעתה, עתנחי, and with a mas. verb, e.g. עתנקב, עתנתן; but whether עתה was a male or female deity is not clear. The Syr. ܐܬܪ of Adiabene was a goddess (*Cureton Spic. Syr.* 99 9); in a Gk. inscr. from Batanaea, *Wadd.* 2209, a god \*Εθαος is named, perhaps = עתא. The usual Gk. transcription is -γαθη<sup>2</sup>. Of the nature of this deity nothing certain is known. As 'Athar-'athec was specially connected with Hierapolis, it is possible that 'Atheh was the Phrygian god Attis = Adonis, whose cult was established there; 'Athar-'athec will then represent a union between the Syrian goddess and the youthful god of foreign origin (*Lagrange RB* x 559 f. = *Rel. Scm.* 132, following E. Meyer, Hommel &c.); at any rate עתרעתה denotes 'Ashtart who has assumed the attributes of 'Atheh, cf. מלכבל above. At Ashqelon she was a fish-goddess, but her worship seemed to Herod. to be that of 'Αφροδίτη οὐρανίη (i 105), and such no doubt was her character at Palmyra; cf. an inscr. from Delos quoted by Schürer l. c. 24 Ἀγνή Ἀφροδίτη Ἀταργάτι. In the Talm. her name is חרעתא *Ab. Zar.* 11 b; in Gk. and Lat. it is often Δερκετώ, Derceto.

L. 6. Πάνημος = תמוז, the 10th month, July.

118. Vog. 4. A. D. 247.

צלמא דנה די יולים אורלים 1  
 זבידא בר מקימו בר זבידא עשתור 2  
 בידא די אקים לה תגרא בני שירתא 3  
 די נחת עמה לאלגשיא ליקרה בריל 4  
 די שפר להון בירח ניסן שנת ע 5  
 33 33

<sup>1</sup> The differences are merely orthographical; *Lidzb. Epheem.* i 84 (against *Cl.-Gau.*).

<sup>2</sup> *Athenaeus* viii 37 . . . Γάντις ἡ τῶν Σύρων βασίλισσα . . . ὅτι ἀγροίας δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῇ μὲν Ἀτεργάτιν ὀνομάζουσιν . . .

Ἰουλίον Αὐρήλιον Ζεβείδαν Μοκίμου τοῦ Ζεβείδου  
Ἀσθώρου Βαιδᾶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ κατελθόντες εἰς Ὀλογε-  
σιάδα ἔμποροι ἀνέστησαν ἀρέσαντα αὐτοῖς τειμῆς χάριν  
Ξανδικῷ τοῦ ἡνφ' ἔτους. Wadd. 2599.

This statue is that of Julius Aurelius <sup>2</sup>Zebida, son of Moqîmu, son of Zebida, (son of) 'Ashtôr, <sup>3</sup>(son of) Baida, which has been set up to him by the merchants of the caravans <sup>4</sup>who went down with him to Ologesias: to his honour, because <sup>5</sup>he was well-pleasing to them. In the month Nisan, the year 558.

L. 2. זבִּידָא i. e. *Donatus*, cf. זכרנו, זכרבל 138 1; O.T. זכִּידָא, זכִּידָא, זכִּידָא, זכִּידָא, N.T. Ζεβεδαῖος; Arab. زَبْدٌ *gift*, Aram. זכר *to present*. עשתור Mas. form of עשתרה; the full form would be בר ע', cf. the name of the Jewish proselytes בר עשתור (בִּית) Talm. J. *Bikk.* 64 a. The long *o* has, of course, nothing to do with the Massor. punctuation עֲשִׁתְרָה; it is an original long vowel, represented sometimes by —, e. g. Phoen. Οὐλώμος, Assy. *Hirummu* חִירָם &c. The name here was prob. borrowed from the Phoenicians; cf. עברעשטר 22 1 n. and עסחורנא 148 2. See Hoffmann *Über ein. Phön. Inschr.* 6. 22 n.

L. 3. זכִּידָא Perhaps abbr. from זכִּידָא אֶפֶל Afel pf. 3 plur., the final vowel being quiescent, as in the Syr. ܐܦܠܐ; cf. נחח l. 4 and p. 264. חנרא 147 i 7. ii c 16, i. e. חנרא plur. emph., with the ending חנ— (shortened from חנ—), as in Syr. ܡܢܗ, from חנר Pa. *to sell*. For the form cf. עברא 126 4. מלכא 130 1; it was prob. common in the spoken language (see p. 264). בני שירתא 114 2 lit. *sons of the caravan*, συνοδεία (Lk. 2 44); cf. 116 2 רב ש' סν-οδιάρχης, and Syr. ܡܢܗ, Arab. سَيَّارَة; the Aram. word is perhaps borrowed from Arab. (Fraenkel *Aram. Fremdw.* 180). For בני ש' cf. 122 4. בני כדיתא

L. 4. נחח Pf. 3 plur.; see l. 3 n. ܐܠܝܨܝܐ Vologasias, a town on a tributary (*Ναυροσάκη*, Ptolemaeus) of the Euphrates, about 55 m. SE. of Babylon, and 62 Rom. miles S. of Seleukeia and Ktesiphon, founded by Vologasus i, who became king of the Parthians in A.D. 51. This able ruler succeeded in diverting the trade of Palmyra towards his new city, whence it was carried by river to Charax, the great emporium of the Persian Gulf (114. 115).



114. Vog. 5. A.D. 155.

- 1 [צל]ם מרקם אלם תיד[רום די מתקרא  
 2 שם]עגד די אקמו לה בני שירתא די  
 3 [סלק]ת מן כרך אספסנא בדילדי עדרה  
 4 [בכל צב]ו [כל]ה ליקרה ברבנות שירת[א]  
 5 [די זברע]תא בר זבדלא ידי בירח אב שנת 155 333 y

. . . . [ἡ Σπασίνου] Χάρακος συνοδία βο[θη]σαντα  
 αὐτῇ παντὶ τρόπῳ διὰ Ζαβδεαθοῦς Ζαβδελᾶ τοῦ Ἰα-  
 [δδαίου] συνοδιάρχου. Ἔτους 55' μηνὸς λῶου. Wadd.  
 2590.

[Stat]ue of Marcus Aelius Theod[ōros who is called  
 2 Shem]a'-gad, which has been set up to him by the members  
 of the caravan which 3 [cam]e up from Karak Hispasina,  
 because he helped it 4 [in everyth]ing [whatso]ever: to his  
 honour; the chief of the caravan being 5 [Zabde-'a]thē, son of  
 Zabd-ila, (son of) Yaddai. In the month Ab, the year 466.

L. 1. The restoration is that of J. Mordtmann *Palmyrenisches* 17 f.,  
 based upon Mordtm.'s copy. תידרום Again in Sachau no. 1,  
*Cl.-Gan. Rec.* iii 157.

L. 2. שמעגד Cf. the Phoen. שמעגל 33 2. בני ש' See 113 3 n.

L. 3. [סלק]ח 115 2. The outward journey to the Euphrates was  
 called *going down* נחת 113 4, the return journey *coming up*. כרך  
 אספסנא = Σπασίνου Χάραξ, the great mercantile town at the mouth  
 of the Tigris, near the modern village Bassra, founded first by  
 Alexander the Gt. and called Alexandria, then after its destruction  
 by a flood called Antioch, prob. after Antiochus the Gt., and finally  
 re-founded by Ὑσπασίνης, an Arab chief who made it the capital  
 of a small kingdom and gave it his name, early in the 2nd cent.  
 כרך 115 is Aram., from קרן *surround*, לבל *fenced city, citadel*,  
 cf. כרמא 94 2 and Kerak the capital of Moab. כ' אספסנא = *the*  
*fortress or city of Hispasina*; in ordinary pronunciation the first  
 syll. was dropped, as appears in the Gk. Spasinou Charax (115 Gk.  
 version). עדרה i.e. עדרה.

L. 4. בכל צבו כלה So restored by Reckendorf *ZDMG* xlii 397 n.;

110 4; cf. the Gk. ברבנות Lit. *in the chieftainship*, 'ר being the title of the office of 'ר 115 2.

L. 5. זבדלא = זבדלא, cf. זבדלה 140 A 3. יי 115 &c. 'Iaddaios. The doubled letter indicates a pet name, which is also abbreviated from some such form as ידעבל; cf. בני Vog. 34 Bέννιος from . . . בנה, זבי 180 Ζαββαίος from . . . זבד, Vog. 116 Μακκαίος from מקימו; Lidzb. *Eph.* i 76. אב Δῶος, the 5th month, July–August.

115. Vog. 6. A.D. 193.

- 1 זלמא דנה די תימרצו בר תימא בר מקימו
- 2 גרבא רב שירתא די עברו לה בני שירתא די סלקו
- 3 עמה מן כרכא בדילדי חסכנן ווד דנרין די דהב
- 4 עתיקין תלת מאה ושפר להון ליקרה וליקר די
- 5 [ועבר] בול בנוהי [ב]ירח ניסן שנת ע פ

Τὸν ἀνδρ[ιάντα ἀ]νέστησαν [Θαιμαρ]σῆ Θαιμῇ τοῦ [Μο]κίμου τοῦ [Γ]α[ρβᾶ συν]οδιάρχῃ οἱ σὺν[ν αὐτῷ ἀ]ναβάντε[s ἀπὸ] Σπασίνου Χάρ[ακος ἀ]φειδήσαν[τι αὐτο[ῖ]ς χρυσᾶ παλαιὰ δηνάρ[ι]α τριακόσια ἀναλ[ω- μ]α[τ]ω[ν καὶ ἀρέσ]αντι αὐτοῖς εἰς τειμῆν [αὐτοῦ] καὶ 'Ιαδδαίου καὶ 'Αβδιβώλου υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ἔτους δφ' Ξανδικου. Wadd. 2596.

This statue is that of Taim-arṣu, son of Taimē, son of Moqīmu, <sup>2</sup>(son of) Garbā, chief of the caravan, which has been made to him by the members of the caravan who came up <sup>3</sup>with him from Karak, because he saved them (their) expenses, three hundred denarii of gold, <sup>4</sup>ancient currency, and was well-pleasing to them: to his honour, and to the honour of Yaddai <sup>5</sup>[and 'Abdi]-bōl his sons. In the month Nisan, the year 504.

L. 1. תימרצו 140 A 5 Θαιμάρας, and prob. *Themarsa* (in an African inscr., Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii 165) = *slave of Rudd*, 'رود', an ancient Arab god; 88 1 n., and p. 295 n. 1 (אריצו).

L. 2. גרבא Vog. נבא after Wadd. 2591 Γαββᾶ, which, however, is prob. to be emended Γαββᾶ; for גרבא cf. 147 ii b 27 and גריבא Vog. 141, Hebr. גַּרְבַּ 2 S. 23 38 &c., = *scabby*.

L. 3. כרבא 114 3 n. חסכנן 121 5 Pa. pf. with suff. כן from חסך, ܡܫܚܝܢ, Hebr. חָשַׁךְ to *hold back, spare*, here followed by two accusatives, lit. *he held them back from expense*, i.e. he paid their expenses himself; hence the word comes to = ἀφαιδῆν to *bestow lavishly*. וד i.e. וְדִן expenses for a journey, e.g. וְדִין וְדִין לְסִימָן לְחֵן וְדִין Onk. Gen. 42 25. The Gk. equivalent is ἀναλώματα. דנרין = δηνάρια, with Aram. pl. ending.

L. 4. עתיקין *ancient*, i.e. belonging to an earlier currency, heavier in weight; παλαιὰ δηνάρια. In 1 Chr. 24 22 'y occurs as an Aramaism.

L. 5. עבדבול *servant of Bôl*, the Palm. god; cf. the divine names ירחבול 121 6. ענלבל 130 6, and the pr. nn. ירחבול 111 3. נברבול 140 A 6 &c. The form is peculiar to Palm. It has been explained as 'the god of the month Bôl,' or as a dialectical form of בל *Bel* in מלכבל 112 4 or of בעל in שמן ב' 122 6; but the Palm. *ô* could not have arisen from 'a (Nöld. *ZDMG* xlii 474), and the first explanation is very doubtful.

116. Vog. 7. A.D. 257-8.

1 צלמא דנה די יולים אורלים  
2 שלמלת בר מלא עבדי רב שירתא  
3 די אקימת לה בולא ודמס ליקרה  
4 די אסק שירתא מגן מן כיסה  
5 שנת ע 333 — 333 y IIII 3

Ἡ βουλ[ῆ] καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰουλίον Αὐρήλιον . . . . .  
τὸν καὶ Σαλμάλ[α]θον Μαλή τοῦ [Ἀβδαίου ἀ]ρχέμπορον  
ἀνακομίσα[ντα τὴν] συνοδίαν προῖκα ἐξ ἰδίων τειμῆς  
χάριν ἔτους θξφ'. Wadd. 2608.

This statue is that of Julius Aurelius <sup>2</sup> Salm-allath, son of Malē, (son of) 'Abdai, chief of the caravan, <sup>3</sup> which the Council and People have set up to him to his honour, <sup>4</sup> because he brought up the caravan gratis, at his own expense. <sup>5</sup> The year 569.

L. 2. שלם אלח = שלמלת. For אלח see 117 6 n.; and for the abbreviation cf. ובלח Vog. 21. עברלת 94. אמחלת Lidzb. p. 221. מלא In Gk. Μαλής (nom.), -ῆ (gen.), -ῆν (acc.) 122 1, the Aram. מ... representing the Gk. ἡ(s), 111 3 n.; for the name cf. Talm. מלאי, Lk. 3 31 Melai, Nab. מלא CIS ii 215, possibly connected with מלא be full, cf. the pr. n. מלא Vog. 85; Lidzb., however, suggests that מלא is abbr. from מלכי, cf. μελχια Chron. 458 (Tischendorf on Lk. 3 31).

L. 4. אסס i.e. אסס Af. of סלק; cf. 114 3 n. ססן i.e. ססן Lit. emptiness, Arab. سفسف, used like the Hebr. חסם in the sense for nought, e.g. Targ. Job 1 9. מן כיסח Lit. out of his purse 117 5. 122 6, cf. Nab. מן דילח 102 3.

117. Vog. 8. A.D. 129.

- 1 [צלמא דנה די . . . די אקיו בני . . .]
- 2 כלהון ליקרה בריל [די שפר להון]
- 3 ועברד הו ולשמש אחוהי בא . . .
- 4 ק ה עמודין שתא ושריתחן ס
- 5 ותמלילהון מן כיסהון ליקר שמש
- 6 [[אלת ורחם אלהיא מביא בירח
- 7 אדר שנת 33

[This statue is that of . . . which the sons of . . . have set up] <sup>2</sup> all of them to his honour, because [he was well-pleasing to them], <sup>3</sup> and made, himself and Lishamsh his brother . . . <sup>4</sup> . . . six pillars and their beams <sup>5</sup> and their coverings, at their own expense, to the honour of Shamash <sup>6</sup> [and] Allath and Rahām, the good gods. In the month <sup>7</sup> Adar, the year 440.

L. 3. לשמש i.e. *Belonging to Shamash*, cf. Διοράμσου (gen.) Wadd. 2458. For the form cf. Phoen. Διόραπρος (Jos. c. Ap. i 18), Arab. الله, Hebr. לאל Num. 3 24 *Belonging to El*, לסיאל Prov. 31 1. At the end of the line J. Mordtmann suggests באב[סדרא] in this *exedra*; Lidzb. מלא[סלמא] basilica 119 3 n.

L. 4. עמודין שתא It is a peculiarity of Palm. that the numeral follows its noun, cf. 115 3 f. 119 3. We gather from this inscr. that the colonnades which lined the streets of Palmyra were built by degrees at the cost of public-spirited citizens. שריחחן 188 1; Targ. שריחחא beam.

L. 5. חמללהן = Syr. ܡܠܠܗ covering from ܡܠܠܗ, 133 1. שמש  
For the worship of Shamash at Palmyra see 136, and 61 2 n.

L. 6. אלת See 80 4 n. and 116 2 n. רחם The name of a god,  
the attribute *Compassionate* being personified and treated as a distinct  
divinity, cf. רחמא 139, elsewhere רחמא 138; the pronunciation was  
prob. רחם, רחמא i. e. رَحَام, Nöld. 89. The deity occurs in Sabaeen, e. g.  
רחם סנה *Rahām Sujuh* CIS iv 40 5; similarly רחמן = الرحمن ib. 6 3.

L. 7. אדר The 12th month, Δύστρος, Feb.-March.

118. Vog. 9. A.D. 162.

- 1 צלם חליפי בר אתפני בר חליפי  
2 [די] עבד לה חליפי [ב]ר חגנו בר מלכו  
3 [ב]ר[ל] די [שפ]ר לה ליק[ר]ה יאשמה...  
4 ... בעמודא דנה למקמו ועלוי  
5 ... תנכרי יחא בירח [אד]ר שנת  
6 /// 333 ///

Stat[ue of Hā]lfi, son of Ethpani, son of Hālifi, <sup>2</sup>[which]  
has been made to him by Hālifi, son of Hāggāgu, [s]on of  
Māliku, <sup>3</sup>[be]cause he was [well-pleas]ing to him, to his  
honour: ... <sup>4</sup>... on this pillar to set up, and upon it <sup>5</sup>...  
while (?) he shall live. In the month [Ad]ar, the year 473.

L. 1. חליפי Cf. חלפו 89 1 n. אתפני For the form cf. אצמלי  
112 1.

L. 2. חנו 140 A 3 = ܡܚܢܐ, cf. חנוא *Rép.* no. 148 and חני Lidzb.  
270, Phoen. חני, חנת, Hebr. חני *festal* (?), LXX Ἀγγαῖος.

L. 4. למקמו If the reading is correct, an infin. לְמַקְמו, as in Syr.  
ܠܡܩܡܐ, Nöld. 104.

L. 5. כרי יחא Reading uncertain; perhaps impf. יחא, Nöld. ib.

119. Vog. 11. A.D. 179.

- 1 צלמא דנה די שריכו בר חירן בר עלינא  
2 צפרא די אקימת לה בולא ליקרה



This statue is that of Marthi, daughter of Yad[ē, son of Wahab-allath], <sup>2</sup> son of Shim'on, which has been set up to her by Sorai[ku, son of Ḥairān, her husband], <sup>3</sup> because she was ? : to her honour. In the month Adar, the y[ear 4]90.

L. 1. צלמא Fem., because the statue is that of a woman; cf. Phoen. נפשא דא 18 2 n. רנה, however, keeps its mas. form; contrast דא נפשא Vog. 31. מרת Cf. N.T. Μάρθα and 102 2. ידא 'Iadḥās, cf. ידא 'Iadḥaios 114 5 n.

L. 2. שמעון Like מרת, a Jewish name. These persons prob. belonged to the Jewish colony in Palmyra, or were related to Jewish families there. שריכו See 119 1 n.

L. 3. מלחת Perhaps = Arab. مَلَحَتْ *she was pleasant*, instead of the usual שפּר; cf. the Arab. pr. n. مَلَحَة (Nöld. 106). But the omission of לַה (the prep. always follows שפּר) makes this explanation doubtful.

121. Vog. 15. A. D. 242-3. Plate VIII.

- 1 צלם יולים אורלים זבדלא בר מלכו בר מלכו  
2 נשום די הוא אסמרטג לקלניא במיתותא די  
3 אלהא אלכנסדרום קסר ושמש כדי הוא תנן  
4 ק[ר]ספינוס היגמונא וכדי אתי לכא ית לגיניא  
5 זבנן סגינאן והוא רב שוק וחסך רואין שגינאן  
6 דבר עמרה שכייתית מטלכות סהר לה ירחבול  
7 אלהא ואף יולים === די ספא ורחים מדתא  
8 אקים לה בולא ודמוס ליקרה שנת י 33 33 33

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰούλιον Αὐρήλιον Ζηνόβιον  
τὸν καὶ Ζαβδίλαν δις Μάλχου τοῦ Νασσοῦμου στρατη-  
γήσαντα ἐν ἐπιδημίᾳ θεοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ὑπηρετήσαντα  
παρουσίᾳ διηνεκεῖ Ρουτιλλίου Κρισπείνου τοῦ ἡγησα-  
μένου καὶ ταῖς ἐπιδημησάσαις οὐξηλλατίοσιν ἀγορανο-  
μήσαντά τε καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀφειδήσαντα χρημάτων καὶ  
καλῶς πολειτευσάμενον ὥς διὰ ταῦτα μαρτυρηθῆναι

ὑπὸ θεοῦ Ἰαριβώλου καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰουλίου ≡ τοῦ  
ἐξοχωτάτου ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ τῆς  
πατρίδος τὸν φιλόπατριν τεμῆς χάριν ἔτους δνφ'. Wadd.  
2598.

Statue of Julius Aurelius Zabd-ilā, son of Māliku, son of Malikū, <sup>2</sup> (son of) Nassūm, who was *stratēgos* of the Colony at the coming <sup>3</sup> of the divine Alexander Caesar; and he served when <sup>4</sup> C[r]ispinus the governor was here, and when he brought hither the legions <sup>5</sup> many times; and he was chief of the market, and spent money in a most generous manner; <sup>6</sup> and he led his life peaceably (?); on this account the god Yarhi-bōl has borne witness to him, <sup>7</sup> and also Julius ———, who fosters and loves the city: <sup>8</sup> the Council and People have set (this) up to him, to his honour. The year 554.

L. 1. זבדילא 114 g n. The *stratēgos* had another name beside this, Zenobios (Gk. text); cf. 123. Here and in 123, 127 all three *stratēgoi* are called Jul. Aurelius in addition to their native names; the emperors [Aurelius] Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius no doubt made these names popular.

L. 2. אסטרטג One of the chief civil magistrates. Another title for the executive officials of the municipality was ארכונתא 147 i 2 ἀρχοντες; both were equivalent to the Rom. *duumviri* (Cagnat *Cours d'épigr. lat.* 150); contrast the Nab. אסרתנא 96 2 n. ארניא 127 4. At what period Palmyra received the Jus Italicum and the title of Colonia is not known; probably it was under Hadrian, when he visited the city in 130–1 A. D. (see p. 263). ארניא An infin. noun, of the form מִפְּרֹלָה (see Barth *Nominalb.* 257), from ארנא, i. e. ארניא = Pal. Syr. ܐܪܢܝܐ *adventus* Mt. 24 3: Pesh. ܐܪܢܝܐ.

L. 3. אלה = the title *divus*, given to the emperor after his death; cf. 95 i n. 122 3. אלכסנדרוס i. e. Severus Alexander 222–235 A. D. He stayed at Palmyra prob. in 230–1 A. D., during the indecisive campaign against the Persians under Ardashir or Artaxerxes; see Mommsen *Provinces* ii 90. שש Pa. 123 3. תנ = Syr. ܬܢ; cf. חנ 68 5.

L. 4. ארניא 147 ii b 15. 24 = ἡγεμών i. e. praeses provinciae. ארניא i. e. ארניא, Targ. O. Gen. 39 14 ארניא, Af. of ארנא. ארניא = Pal. Syr. ܐܪܢܝܐ. ית The old accus. particle is not found in Palm. elsewhere.



In this dialect the object is usually not marked by any sign, though ל occasionally appears, e. g. יברך לבני חלא Vog. 132.

L. 5. וּבְנֵי סַנְיָאן i. e. וּבְנֵי סַנְיָאן, cf. 147 i 6; ' is the plur. of וּבְנָא (= וּבְנָתָא), Syr. וּבְנָא fem. *time*; Reckendorf ZDMG xlii 394 n. Palm., Syr., Mand. (וּבְנָתָא) use the form with ב, other Aram. dialects have מ, e. g. זַמְנָן in Nab. 96 6 n. Note the form שַׁנְיָאן in this line; see p. 264, and cf. 148 2. 13. ἀγορανομήσαντα, i. e. praepositus annonae. שֶׁן = *street*, O.T. and Targ.; then *broad place, market*, Talm. οὐκ ἔλεγον ἀφειδήσαντα χρημάτων, lit. 'he spared (others from) many expenses'; for חֶסֶךְ Pa. see 115 3 n. Vog. gives רוֹזָאן = רוֹזָן 123 5, accepted doubtfully by Nöld. 97. Mordtm., however, reads רוֹזָאן, which may be derived from رَزَا, *to make a person poorer in something* (two accus.); hence رَزَا one who has been reduced, i. e. by his generosity, so *generous*, and רוֹזָאן δαπαναί. In the S. Arab. inscr. from Ma'rib רוֹא has the sense of *bestow, expend* (Lidzb. Eph. i 239).

L. 6. רַבֵּר ע' וּדְבַר עֲמֵרָה שְׁכִיתָיָא καὶ καλῶς πολιτεύσάμενον. For 'ע (Pa.) cf. the Syr. ܠܗܝܠܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ *to lead a pure life* (Cureton Spic. Syr. 21), no doubt a rendering of the Gk. idiom βίον ἀγνόν, *vilam agere*. עֲמֵרָה *his life* = the Syr. ܠܗܝܠܐ *victus, modus vilae*, from ܠܗܝܠܐ *habitavit*. Mordtm. reads עֲמֵרָה וְכִיתָיָא *his life purely*; but except in the case of אֲבוּי, אֲחוּי, חֲיוּי, בְּנוּי, עֲלוּי, the 3 sing. mas. suff. in Palm. ends in ִי; and as he allows that the letters י look like ש in his squeeze, we may read עֲמֵרָה שְׁכִיתָיָא, or ע' שְׁכ' (Nöld. 103). The Syr. ܠܗܝܠܐ *quiescit* (cf. Hebr. שָׁקַט) would give the rendering *quietly* for שְׁכ'; but the expression is jejune, and the reading שְׁכִיתָיָא καλῶς is more likely to be right: Reckendorf l. c. 395 n. 1. Note the Syr. adverbial ending *dlit*, p. 264. מִשְׁלֵי נְתָן i. e. מִשְׁלֵי נְתָן 147 i 6 *on that account*.

The combination is not found in other Aram. dialects; but מִשְׁלֵי is common in Syr. and Pal. Aram., cf. מִשְׁלֵי כֵּן, *because* Targ. Pa.-Jon. Lev. 8 15; נְתָן is also used in Pal. Aram. for *according, as* (Dalm. Gr. 178), cf. Nab. 81 8 (*accordingly*) and Syr. ܠܗܝܠܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ. יְחַבֵּל Cf. θεῷ μεγίστῳ Ἰεραβ[ώ]λ in an inscr. from Egypt (Coptos), Cl.-Gan. Rec. ii 118. The god's approval was perhaps conveyed by an oracle; cf. ἐπιμελητῆς ἀρεθῆς Ἐφκᾶς πηγῆς ὑπὸ Ἰαριβῶλου τοῦ θεοῦ Wadd. 2571 c. The name of the deity is composite, like עֲלֵבֵל, and the first part of it suggests a moon-god (יְרַח); but what evidence there is implies a sun-god, e. g. CIL iii 1108 Deo soli Hierobolo &c., and יְרַח = Ἡλιόδωρος p. 301 n. 1; J. Mordtmann *Palmyren.* 44 f. Further light on the subject may be expected from a Palm. inscr.

discovered at Homs, not as yet published; *RB* xi 410 n. 7. Cf. the pr. n. ירחבולא 111 3 n.

L. 7. Both in the Palm. and Gk. texts a name has been erased after *Julius*; it was prob. *Philippus*, i.e. Jul. Philip, an Arabian from the Trachonitis, who was praefectus praetorio = *ἐπαρχος τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου* (Gk. text) in A. D. 242-3, the year of this inscription. He instigated the murder of Gordian iii, and succeeded him as emperor (A. D. 244-249). מנא i.e. מנא ptc. lit. *gives to eat, nourishes*; cf. Targ. Ps.-Jon. Num. 11 18 יספיקנא בישקרא 'who will give us flesh to eat?' מדינתא So Mordtm., rather than מדינתא *his city*; elsewhere the form is מדינתא. Cf. זרקחא 181 1.

L. 8. אקים Prob. plur., 118 3 n.

122. Vog. 16. A. D. 131.

- 1 [בולא ודמס עברו צלמא דנה למלא הגרפא]
- 2 בר ירחי [לשמש ?] רעי די הוא גרממוס די תרתיא
- 3 וכדי אתנא תנן] הדרינוס אלהא יהב משחא
- 4 לבני מדינתא ול[אסטרטור[יא] ולאכסניא די א[ת]א
- 5 עמה . . . . . [מש]ריתה בכל מרען ובנא הכלא
- 6 ופרנאי . . . [ותצב]יתה כלה מן כיסה לבעל שמ[ן]
- 7 ולדר . . . . . ה ד . . . . . מן בני ידיעבל
- 8 ב[ירח] . . . שנת [////] 33 //

[Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ] ὁ δῆμος Μαλῆν τὸν καὶ Ἀγρίππαν Ἰαραίου καὶ Ῥααίου γραμματέα γενόμενον τὸ δεύτερον ἐπιδημίᾳ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἄλιμμα παρασχόντα ξένοις τε καὶ πολεΐταις ἐν πᾶσιν ὑπηρετήσαντα τῇ τε τῶν στρατευμάτων ὑπο[δοχ]ῇ καὶ τὸν ναὸν τὸν [τοῦ Ἡ]λίου σὺν τῷ . . . ναι . . . [καὶ τ]αῖς ἄλλα[ις] . . . το . . . Wadd. 2585.

[The Council and People have made this statue to Malē Agrippa], <sup>2</sup>son of Yarḥai, (son of) [Lishamsh ?] Ra'ai, who was secretary for a second time; <sup>3</sup>and when the divine



להון באספרמנותה ומגר לבולא 4  
 וזון רבו ליקרה בירח תשרי שנת 5  
 ס / γ 333 — ρ γ σ 6

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰουλίῳν Αὐρή[λιον Ὀγγαν  
 τὸν καὶ] Σέλευκον [δὲς τοῦ Ἀζίζου] τοῦ Σεειλά δνα[ν-  
 δρικὸν φιλοτειμῶς στρατ[ηγῆσαντα κ]αὶ μαρτυρηθέν[τα  
 καὶ φιλ]οτειμησάμεν[ον τῇ αὐτῇ] κρατίστη βουλῇ Ἀπ[τι-  
 κᾶς] μυρίας τεμῆς ἕνεκεν ἔτους 556 Ὑπερβερεταίῳ.  
 Wadd. 2601.

The Council and People to Julius Aurelius <sup>1</sup> Ogga, who is called Seleukus, son <sup>2</sup> of Azizu, (son of) Azizu, (son of) She'eilā, who served and was well-pleasing <sup>4</sup> to them in his office of *stratēgos*; and he presented to the Council <sup>5</sup> ten thousand drachmae: to his honour. In the month Tishri, the year 566.

L. 2. ונγ Prob. an abbreviation of ענלבל (Lidzb.), as ידד from ידחבל. מחרר י 102 2. סלחוס For the additional name see 121 1 n., and cf. 122 2 n.

L. 3. ונγ = ܢܓ strong. The name is found in Egypt. Aram. CIS ii 136, in Nab. ib. 311 B, in late Hebr. מנγ Ezr. 10 27, and elsewhere in Palm. In the inscr. given on p. 295 ונγ is the name of a god = Ares. מלש Σεειλά, with the consonantal value of מ preserved; contrast the Talm. מלש (Dalm. Gr. 124) and the Syr. ܡܠܫ = Σλας (i. e. מלש) Acts 15 22. The meaning is the same as that of the O.T. מלש. שדש 121 3.

L. 4. סגר See 112 3 n.

L. 5. זון = drachmae, Ἀττικός (Gk. text). The drachm was a quarter of a shekel in Jewish money; thus 1 Sam. 9 8 כסף רבע is rendered by the Targ. דכספא זון. The Attic drachm was the universal silver unit in the East; after the Roman conquest it was adopted as practically equivalent to the Roman denarius, hence in Josephus δραχμή Ἀττική or Ἀθῆς always = denarius. The value of the drachm-denarius was about 9½d. ישרי Ὑπερβερεταίος = Sept.-Oct., the 7th month.

124. Vog. 20. A. D. 258-9.

- 1 לאורלים ורוד הפקא  
 2 ובילוטא תדמריא עבר  
 3 בלעקב בר חרשא ליקרה  
 4 שנת 333

Αὐρήλιον Οὐορώδην ἱππικὸν καὶ βουλευτὴν Παλμυ-  
 ρηνὸν Βηλάκαβος Ἀρσᾶ τὸν φίλον τειμῆς χάρις ἔτους  
 οφ'. Wadd. 2604.

To Aurelius Worod, knight <sup>2</sup> and councillor, of Tadmor,  
 made by <sup>3</sup> Bel-'aqab, son of Ḥarshā, to his honour. <sup>4</sup> The  
 year 570.

L. 1. ורוד 127 &c., a name of Persian origin, borne by several  
 Arsacid kings. הפקא Here with an Aram. ending, in 129  
 3 סנקלטיקא ἱππικός. For the ending א' = os cf. הפטיקא 126. סנקלטיקא  
 125. אפטרמא 127.

L. 2. בילוטא βουλευτής, cf. 122 2 n. תדמריא Adj. sing.; the  
 plur. has the same form, see Rom. 2 on p. 268, l. 3. The vowel in  
 the second syll. was ō, e. g. חרמור 125; the Arab. نَمْرُور, however, has  
 preserved what was prob. the original pronunciation.

L. 3. בלעקב 140 B 8 probably *Bel follows* (? ptcp.); this is the  
 meaning of עקב both in Arab. and Syr. The name occurs in a Gk.  
 inscr. from Coptos, Βηλάκαβος (as here), Cl.-Gan. Rec. ii 118; cf.  
 עקעק Vog. 32 &c. חרשא Ἀρσᾶ = *la-ia enchantment*.

125. Vog. 22. A. D. 251.

- 1 צלמא דנה די ספטמיום חירן בר  
 2 אדינת סנקלטיקא נהירא ורש  
 3 תדמור די אקים לה אורלים  
 4 פלינטס בר מריא פלינא רעי פלחא  
 5 דבלגיונא די בצרא ליקרה בירח  
 6 תשרי די שנת 333

Σεπτίμιον Αἰράνην Ὀδαινάθου τὸν λαμπρότατον συν-  
κλητικὸν ἑξα[ρχον Παλμυ]ρηνῶν Αὐρήλι[ος Φίλινος] [Μα]ρ.  
Ἡλιοδώρου . . . . . στρατιώτης λεγ[έωνος Κυρηνα]ϊκῆς  
τὸν πάτρωνα τειμῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας χάριν ἔτους γξϛ'.

This statue is that of Septimius Hairân, son <sup>2</sup> of Odainath, the illustrious senator and chief <sup>3</sup> of Tadmor, which has been set up to him by Aurelius <sup>4</sup> Philinus, son of Marius Philinus, (son of) Ra'ai, the soldier <sup>5</sup> who was in the legion of Bostra: to his honour. In the month <sup>6</sup> Tishri of the year 563.

L. 1. חִירָן מִמְּמִיָּם was at this time the head of the house of Odainath, the leading family of Palmyra, which by the 3rd cent. had acquired almost the position of a reigning dynasty; see p. 264. This Sept. Hairân appears to have been the first of his race to receive the title of *Ras* l. 2, in addition to his Roman rank as a senator. He was the son of Odainath the senator<sup>1</sup>; and though the relationship is nowhere stated, it is prob. that he was the father of the famous Sept. Odainath (126), the grandson bearing the same name (see footnote) as the grandfather according to Palmyrene custom. Vogüé suggests that the name Septimius was given to the family by the Emperor Sept. Severus (193–211 A.D.), in recognition of their services during the Parthian wars; it was also borne by Sept. Worod (127), who was probably connected with the family of Odainath by alliance or otherwise; cf. 129 3. 180 2.

L. 2. מִרְיָתָא Cf. the Arab. diminutive اَلْأُذُنُّ *a little ear*. מִרְיָתָא = συγκλητικός *of senatorial rank*. מִרְיָתָא λαμπρότατος = clarissimus, a title which went with the dignity of senator; see Cagnat l.c. 89. 131. רִשׁ Head i.e. prince; Arab. رَأْس, Syr. رَاس, in the same sense; cf. רִשׁ 1 20.

L. 4. רִעִי 122 2 Παίσιον. The Gk. here gives Ἡλιοδώρου. מִרְיָתָא = στρατιώτης, from מִלַּח *work, serve*; cf. מִלַּח 75 4 *worshipper*.

L. 5. דְּבִלְיִנָּא So Mordtm., as there is no diacritic point over the first letter. Vog.'s reading רַב לְיִנְיָא is, moreover, inconsistent with the Gk.: the donor is merely στρατιώτης. For ר in Palm. cf. דְּבִתָּא for דְּבִנְתָּא Vog. 71. דְּעִנָּא 83 a 3 (corr.). 105 3. דְּשִׁנְתָּא 18. The legion stationed at Bostra was the iii Cyrenaic; hence the restoration of the Gk. text. מִצְרָא The capital of the Province of Arabia; 100 n.

<sup>1</sup> Vog. 21: ὁ δὲ Σεπτίμιος Ὀδαινάθος δὲ λαμπρότατος συγκλητικός κ.τ.λ. The Gk. has τὸ μνημαῖον . . . ἔκτισεν . . . Σεπτίμιος Ὀδαινάθος δὲ λαμπρότατος συγκλητικός κ.τ.λ.

126. Vog. 23. A.D. 258.

צלם ספסמיוס אדינת 1  
 נהירא הפסיקא מן די 2  
 אקים לה תנמא די קיניא 3  
 עברא דהבא ונספא ליקרה 4  
 בירח ניסן די שנת ע 333 י 5

Σεπ[τίμιον Ὀδαίναθον] τὸν λαμ[πρότατον ὑπατικ]ὸν  
 συντέ[λεια τῶν χρυσοχ]όων καὶ ἀργ[υροκόπων τ]ὸν  
 δεσπότην τειμῆς χάριν [ἔτ]ους θξφ' μηνεὶ Ξανδικῶ.  
 Wadd. 2602.

Statue of Septimius Odainath, <sup>2</sup> the illustrious consul, our lord, which <sup>3</sup> has been set up to him by the guild of smiths <sup>4</sup> who work in gold and silver: to his honour. <sup>5</sup> In the month Nisan of the year 569.

L. I. אדינת 'ס 125 י n. 130. The famous prince under whom Palmyra reached the summit of its fortunes (p. 263). He came to the front by the effective aid which he gave to the Romans in the Persian wars, especially in the defeat of the Persian king Sapor. After this event, during the rivalries for the purple, he took the side of Gallienus, and to the end, whatever his ultimate intentions may have been, maintained his allegiance when the latter became emperor. Gallienus, much engaged in the affairs of the West, practically left the East to the government of Odainath, who became, 'not indeed joint-ruler, but independent lieutenant of the emperor for the East' (Mommson *Provinces* ii 103); see 130 י n. In the local administration of Palmyra Sept. Worod (127 ff.) acted as his viceroy and imperial procurator; while Odainath himself, by a series of brilliant victories over the Persians, succeeded in re-establishing the frontiers and prestige of the Eastern empire, A.D. 264-5. He was assassinated in A.D. 266-7 at Hemesa <sup>1</sup>. His authority passed to his wife Zenobia

<sup>1</sup> His eldest son Herodes, 'non Zenobia matre, sed priore uxore genitus' (Treb. Pollio *Trig. Tyr.* § 16), was killed at the same time. The same authority states that Odainath left two sons by Zenobia, besides Wahb-allath, Harennianus and Timolaus. The statement is open to question; other authorities know of only one son, who succeeded his father. Mommson l. c. 106 n.

(181) and their son Wabb-allath, who endeavoured not merely to maintain but to surpass the extensive powers held by Odainath.

L. 2. אַפְּרִימָא נַחֲרָא *λαμπρότατος ὑπατικός* = *vir clarissimus consularis*. At this period, and up to the time of Diocletian, the title denoted not the office of consul but the consular rank. Note the progression of dignities in the family (p. 264). מֶרֶן 180 4 *δεσπότης*. The name does not necessarily imply a *king* or *ruler*, because in 128 it is given to a procurator (Sept. Worod); cf. מֶרְחוּחַן 181 4 *τὴν δέσποιναν*, of Zenobia.

L. 3. אַנְחָא = *τάγμα*, Syr. ܐܢܬܐ *ordo*; here the Gk. equivalent is *συντάγμα*. קִינִי i. e. קִינִי plur.

L. 4. אַבְרָא i. e. אַבְרָא ptc. plur. constr. For the ending see אַבְרָא 118 3 n.

127. Vog. 24. A.D. 263.

סַפְּטִימִיּוֹס וְרֹד קְרִטְסָטִס אַפְּרִימָא 1

דוקנרא די אקים ליקרה 2

יוליס און[ר]לים נבוכר בר שעדו חירא 3

אסטרנא די קלניא רחמה 4

שנת 574 י"ג כ"ג ב' כ"ג ב' ב' כ"ג ב' ב' כ"ג ב' ב' 5

Σεπτίμιον Ουορώδηγ τὸν κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον Σε-  
βαστοῦ δ]ουκεηνάριον Ἰούλιος Αὐρη[λιος Νεβ]ο[υ]βαντος  
Σοάδου τοῦ Αἰ[ρ]ᾶ στρατηγὸς τῆς λαμπροτάτης κολω-  
νείας [τ]ὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον τειμῆς ἔνεκεν ἔτους δοφ' μηνεὶ  
'Απελλαίφ. Wadd. 2607.

Septimius Worod, most excellent *procurator* <sup>2</sup> *ducenarius*, which has been set up to his honour <sup>3</sup> by Julius Au[r]elius Nebu-bad, son of So'adu, (son of) Hairā, <sup>4</sup> *stratēgos* of the Colony, his friend. <sup>5</sup> The year 574, in the month Kislul.

L. 1. סַפְּטִימִיּוֹס 128. 129. The inscr. and statues dedicated to his honour show that he was one of the most distinguished citizens of Palmyra at the time of its greatest prosperity, in position next to the prince himself. He held an imperial office under the emperor Gallienus (128 2 f.), as well as the highest local dignities. A Gk.



inscr. (Wadd. 2606 a) mentions that he was the chief of a caravan and defrayed the cost of the return journey, and *agoranomos* (121 5 n.), and *stratēgos* i. e. chief magistrate, and president of the banquets of Bel (συμποσίαρχον τῶν . . . Διὸς Βήλου ἱερῶν). He was viceroy, *argapetes* (129 2 n. 126 1 n.), of Odainath. The inscr. say nothing about his family; the name ספסטיס may indicate an alliance with the reigning house (125 1 n.), while ורוד (124 1 n.) perhaps points to a Persian or Armenian origin (Vog.). 'אפטרפא = ἐπίτροπος δουκηγάρμιος, procurator of the second class (ducenarius), an imperial revenue officer.

L. 3. נבו נבוכד Prob. contracted from נבו עבד; J. Mordtm. would read נבחד 184 2. In Palm. the god Nebo is met with only in pr. nn., e. g. זבדנו 188 1. ברנו 134 2; in Aram. pr. nn. it is frequent, e. g. נבדנו CIS ii 139 B, 2. נבוסרין = Assy. *Nabû-šar-iddin* ib. 29. שערן See 106 n. חירא An Arab. name, cf. חירן 110 2.

L. 4. רחמא i. e. רחמא lit. *his lover*, 129 5. 140 B 8.

L. 5. כסלול 'Απελλαῖος = Jewish כסלו, the 9th month, Nov.-Dec.

128. Vog. 25. A. D. 263.

1 צלמא דנא די ספסטימיוס

2 ורוד אפטרפא דוקנרא די

3 קסר מן די אקים לה

4 בולא ודמוס ליקרה

5 בירח ניסן די שנת ע 333

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Σεπτίμιον [Ο]υ̅ρωδην τὸν κράτιστον ἐπι[τρ]σπον [Σεβ]αστο[ῦ τοῦ κυρίου] δουκα[γ]νάρμιον . . . . τειμῆς χάριν [ἔτους δοφ' μηνὶ Ε]α[δικῶ]. Wadd. 2606.

This statue is that of Septimius <sup>2</sup> Worod, *procurator ducenarius* of <sup>3</sup> Caesar, our lord, which has been set up to him by <sup>4</sup> the Council and People: to his honour. <sup>5</sup> In the month Nisan of the year 574.

See on 127.

L. 3. קסר i. e. Gallienus. The official in Lat. inscr. is called procurator Augusti. מרן See 126 2 n.

129. Vog. 26. A. D. 264.

ספטימיוס ורוד קרטסמוס אפטרפא 1  
 דקנרא וארגבטא אקים יוליס 2  
 אורליס ספטימיוס ידא הפקוס 3  
 בר אלכס[נדר] חוס חירן סריכו ליקר 4  
 רחמה וקיומה בירח סיון ד' 5  
 שנת 333 6

Σεπτίμιο[ν] Οὐροώδην τὸν κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον Σε-  
 βαστοῦ δουκηνάριον καὶ ἀργαπέτην Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος  
 Σεπτίμιος Ἰάδης ἱππικὸς Σεπτιμίου Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ  
 Ἡρώδου ἀπὸ στρατιῶν τὸν φίλον καὶ προστάτην τειμῆς  
 ἔνεκεν ἔτους εοφ' μηνεὶ Ξανδικῷ. Wadd. 2610.

Septimius Worod, most excellent *procurator* <sup>2</sup> *ducenarius* and commandant, (this statue) has been set up to him by Julius <sup>3</sup> Aurelius Septimius Yadē, knight, <sup>4</sup> son of Alexander Hairān, (son of) Soraiku, to the honour <sup>5</sup> of his friend and patron. In the month Sivan of <sup>6</sup> the year 575.

L. 2. אַרְגַּבְטָא *ἀργαπέτης*, a Persian word, compounded of *arg* אַרְגַּבְטָא 'fortress' and *bed* בַּד 'lord' or 'chief,' hence 'commander of a fortress.' The title is actually found in Persian at this period (Nöld. 107); in the Targ. it appears as אַרְגַּבְטָא 2 Chr. 28 7; in Wadd. 2606 a it seems to be paraphrased by *δικαιοδότης τῆς μητροκολωνίας*. The office was an exceptional one in this case, owing to the unique position of Odamath as practically emperor of the East. A deputy became necessary for the local administration of Palmyra; hence the military command of the city as well as the chief civil authority was committed to Sept. Worod.

L. 3. דא 120 1 n. חפס Cf. חפס 124 1 n.

L. 4. סריכו Cf. שריכו 119 1 n.

L. 5. קיומה A verbal noun of the form קיומ, Syr. ܩܝܡܐ, lit. *one who stands up* (to protect &c.)=the Lat. *patronus*, Gk. *προστάτης*. In the Pesh. it occurs in the sense of *prefect*, e.g. 1 K. 4 5. 7; in 3 Esdr. 2 12 ܩܝܡܐ? ܩܝܡܐ = ὁ *προστάτης* τῆς Ἰουδαίας. סיון The 3rd month, May-June. The Gk. text gives Ξανδικός i.e. ניסן, April.

180. Vog. 28. A. D. 271.

- 1 זלם ספטמיוס אדאי[נת] מלך מלכא  
 2 ומתקננא די מדינתא כלה ספטמא  
 3 זברא רב חילא רבא חבי רב חילא  
 4 די תדמור קרשטמא אקים למרהון  
 5 בירח אב די שנת ע כ 3333 //

Statue of Septimius Odaí[nath], king of kings,<sup>2</sup> and restorer of the whole city. The Septimii, <sup>3</sup> Zabdá, general in chief, and Zabbai, general <sup>4</sup> of Tadmor, the most excellent, have set (it) up to their lord. <sup>5</sup> In the month Ab of the year 582.

L. 1. אדית. ס' See 126 i n. מלך מלכא 118 3 n. is an oriental title borrowed from the Persian kings, 71 3 n. There is no evidence that it was adopted by Odainath himself; this inscr. was not erected till after his death, at a time when his generals were organizing a revolt against Rome<sup>1</sup>. It is perhaps not without significance that there is no Gk. version of this inscr.; the Romans would scarcely have allowed Od. to be called 'king of kings' had the title been publicly exhibited in a language which they could understand. That Od. assumed the title of king is not unlikely (*Hist. Aug.* xxiv 15 a adsumpto nomine regali); but that he ever usurped the name of *Augustus*, or received it from the emperor as Treb. Pollio asserts<sup>2</sup>, is not borne out by the evidence. As a reward for his distinguished services Od. received from Gallienus the title of *αὐτοκράτωρ* or *imperator* in 264 A. D., a dignity which no doubt implies a position beyond that of a governor or vassal-king; it was probably this which gave rise to Pollio's statement. The absence of *Augustus* from the coins of Od., and the designation *vir consularis*, *ὑπατικός* (126 2), only possible for a subject, are sufficient, in Mommsen's opinion, to prove that the assumption of the imperial title is imaginary. After the death of Od., Zenobia is called *βασιλισσα*, and her son Wahab-allath governed Egypt under Claudius with the title *βασιλεύς*. In 270 A. D. his coins

<sup>1</sup> A Gk. inscr. lately found at Palmyra is dedicated [βασιλ]ει[βασιλευς], and may refer to Od.; but the text is too fragmentary to justify definite conclusions. Cl.-Gan.'s reconstructions in *Rec.* iii § 36 can hardly be supported; see 126 i footnote.

<sup>2</sup> *Vit. Gallieni* 10 Odenatus rex Palmyrenorum optinuit totius Orientis imperium. *Ib.* 12 Gallienus Odenatum participato imperio Augustum vocavit.

display *v(ir) c(onsularis) R(omanorum) im(perator) d(ux) R(omanorum)*, and his head appears beside Aurelian; in an inscr. from Byblus (CIG 4503 b, Vog. p. 32) Aurelian and Zenobia are mentioned together as *Ζεβαοτός* and *Ζεβαοτή*<sup>1</sup>. Then, during the year 270-1, the breach with Rome becomes apparent. In Palmyra Zenobia is still *βασιλισσα* (181 = Wadd. 2611, cf. 2628<sup>2</sup>), but in distant quarters, as in Egypt, both she and her son claim the dignity of *Augustus*; Wahab-allath (5th year) begins to issue coins, struck in Alexandria, without the head of Aurelian and bearing the imperial title, and Zenobia's coins bear the same. The assumption marked a definite rejection of all allegiance to Rome; it was strenuously avenged by Aurelian, the true Augustus, in 273. See Mordtm. 26; Mommsen *Prov.* ii 103 f. n.; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii § 28; Bury's *Gibbon* i Appendix 18. 19.

L. 2. מִתְקַנֵּן A verbal noun formed from Pael ptcp. of תָּקַן *make straight, establish*, with the ending *ān*, i. e. מִתְקַנֵּנָּא. It is the equivalent of *κρίστης*, a title used by the Arsacid kings; in Syr. ܡܬܟܢܢܐ is used in the same sense, and of God as *conditor, stabilitor*. Cl.-Gan. (l. c.) proposes to make the whole title כֹּלֵי דִּי מְרִיתָא כֹּלֵי = the technical *corrector totius provinciae*. 'מ' may well mean *corrector*, but Roman titles are avoided in this inscr., and native ones ostentatiously substituted. סַפְטָמִיּוֹ *Σεπτιμιοι*, in 181 סַפְטָמִיּוֹ, with the Gk. plur. ending, cf. קְרַסְטָמִיּוֹ 181. Perhaps they were related to the family of Odainath, 125 1 n.

L. 3. Cf. 181 2 f. זְבַרְא *Zabdas*, like זְבִי *Zabbaïos* and זְבִרִי 188 1, is abbreviated from some name beginning with זְבַר, cf. זְבִרְלָא for זְבִר; אֵלָא; see 114 5 n. זִי occurs in the O. T., Ezr. 10 28. Neh. 3 20; cf. בתְּזִבִּי 181 1.

L. 4. קְרַסְטָמִיּוֹ Plur., referring to the two generals; either for קְרַסְטָמִיּוֹ, or a plur. in אֵלָא, like מְלִכָא l. 1. אֲקִימוֹ = אֲקִימִים 113 3 n.

L. 5. אֲב i. e. July-August; 181 4.

181. Vog. 29. A. D. 271.

1 צֶלְמַת סַפְטָמִיּוֹ בְּתֻזְבִּי נִהֲרִיתָא וְדִקְרָא 1

2 מְלִכְתָּא סַפְטָמִיּוֹ זְבַרְא רַב חֵילָא 2

3 רַבָּא זְבִירִי רַב חֵילָא דִּי תְרִמּוֹר קְרַסְטָמִיּוֹ 3

4 אֲקִימִים לְמִרְתְּהוֹן בִּרְחָא אֲב דִּי שְׁנַת ע 3333 4

<sup>1</sup> This may have been allowed to pass, for *Augusta* was an honorary title, while *Augustus* belonged to an office.

<sup>2</sup> Διὶ ὑψίστῳ καὶ ὑπακόφῃ ἡ πόλις ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Σεπτιμίας Ζηνοβίας τῆς λαμπροτάτης βασιλίσσης μητρὸς τοῦ λαμπροτάτου βασιλέως Οὐαβαλλάθου Ἀθηνοδώρου.

Σεπτίμιαν Ζηνοβίαν τὴν λαμπροτάτην εὐσεβῇ βασί-  
λισσαν Σεπτίμιοι Ζάβδας ὁ μέγας στρατηλάτης καὶ  
Ζαββαῖος ὁ ἐνθάδε στρατηλάτης οἱ κράτιστοι τὴν  
δέσποιναν ἔτους βπφ' μηνεὶ Λώφ. Wadd. 2611.

Statue of Septimia Bath-zabbai, the illustrious and the  
pious, <sup>3</sup> the queen. The Septimii, Zabdā, general <sup>3</sup> in chief,  
and Zabbai, general of Tadmor, the most excellent, <sup>4</sup> have set  
(it) up to their mistress. In the month Ab of the year 582.

L. 1. לטב 120 1 π. בחבי For the form cf. בחבינא Vog. 84,  
'בתחב, בחחנא &c.; for 'ב' see 180 3 π. The queen is better known  
by her Gk. name Ζηνοβία, which perhaps marks relationship with  
Ζηνοβίος; several persons of this name are mentioned in the  
inscriptions. ח' נחירמא = *clarissima pia*; see 125 2 π. מרמא =  
מרמא; for the omission of ' cf. מרמא 121 7: here perhaps the ' was  
pronounced short in a shut syllable. The final נ can be faintly traced  
on the stone.

L. 2. After the death of Odainath in 266-7 Zenobia succeeded to  
his position, and practically governed the state on behalf of her young  
son Wahab-allath = Athenodōrus (p. 291 π. 2). Not content with  
pursuing her husband's policy, she determined to make Palmyra  
mistress of the Eastern empire; see 180 1 π. Under her general  
Zabdas, the Palmyrenes possessed themselves of Egypt in 270,  
garrisons were pushed even into the W. of Asia Minor, and Zenobia  
still professed to be acting in concert with the Roman government.  
But when Aurelian became emperor (270), he detected at once the  
object of this aggressive policy and took strong measures to arrest it.  
At the end of 270 Egypt was recovered for the Empire by Probus,  
but not without a struggle. The Palmyrenes were now in open  
conflict with Rome. Towards the close of 271 Aurelian marched  
through Asia Minor, overthrowing Zenobia's forces in Chalcedon, and  
capturing Ancyra and Tyana, and passed into Syria. The main army of  
the Palmyrenes in vain endeavoured to check his advance at Antioch;  
they were driven to Hemesa (now Ḥomṣ), where a great battle was  
fought; again, under Zabbai and Zenobia herself, they were de-  
feated, and compelled to fall back upon their native city. Undeterred  
by the 70 miles of desert, Aurelian led his army up to Palmyra and  
laid siege to it. In the spring of 272 the city surrendered; Zenobia  
and her son were captured on the banks of the Euphrates as they

were flying to Persia for help; the queen was carried a prisoner to Rome to grace the conqueror's triumph. A few months later, in the autumn of 272<sup>1</sup>, the Palmyrenes again revolted; Aurelian instantly returned, surprised the city, and without mercy destroyed it in the spring of 273.

L. 2. קרמסמא, קרמסמא For the plur. forms see 180 2 n.

L. 4. מרתחן See 126 2 n.

182. Ent. 102. A.D. 21.

- 1 צלם חשש בר נשא בר בולחא חשש די  
 2 עבדו לה בני כמרא ובני מתבול מן די קם  
 3 ברשהון ועבר שלמא ביניהון ופרנס  
 4 ברמנהון בבל צבו כלה רבא וזערא  
 5 ליקרה בירח כנן שנת 333

Μάλιχον Νεσᾶ τοῦ Βωλλᾶ τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου Ἀσάσου  
 φυλῆς Χομαρηνῶν Παλμυρηνῶν ὁ δῆμος εὐνοίας ἔνεκα.  
 Wadd. 2578.

Statue of Ḥashash, son of Nesā, son of Bōl-ḥa Ḥashash, which <sup>2</sup>the Benē Komāra and the Benē Mattā-bōl have made to him, because he stood up <sup>3</sup>at their head and made peace between them, and superintended <sup>4</sup>their agreement (?) in everything whatsoever, the great and the small: <sup>5</sup>to his honour. In the month Kanūn, the year 333.

L. 1. חשש Ἀσάσου, בני חשש Mordtm. no. 57; cf. Arab. حَسَّاس *ḥasās* *bad fortune*. The Gk. Μάλιχον = מלכו is difficult to account for; perhaps it is not correctly copied. נשא 147 i 3 prob. abbreviated from נשאא Νασαήλου Wadd. 2070 c. בולחא 144 4 prob. = נשא B. is brother (Lidzb.), or = נחא B. washes away (sin), Syr. ܢܚܐ, cf. ܢܚܐ Wright *Martyrol.* 10 (*Journ. Sacr. Lit.* ser. 4, vol. 8). CL-Gan. rightly corrects ΚΩΜΑ in the Gk. text to ΒΩΛΛΑ, *Rec.* ii § 33.

L. 2. כמרא i.e. φυλῆ Χομαρηνῶν, again in CL-Gan. *Ét.* i 118 (inscr. G); cf. 140 A 3 and the pr. n. Χόμου (gen.) Wadd. 2389. The Gk. forms point to נחמא, cf. Targ. נחמא, Syr. ܢܚܡܐ *priest*.

<sup>1</sup> The latest inscr. is dated Aug. 272, Vog. 116.

In the Palm. text the בני ב' are the joint donors of the statue; in the Gk. they are the tribe to which Bôl-ha belongs, and the dedication is made by δ δῆμος. Cl.-Gan. l. c. rightly renders the Gk., 'of the tribe of the Palmyrene Chomarenians'; the expression Παλμυρητῶν δ δῆμος = 'the People of the Palmyrenes' is unsupported. Possibly, as Cl.-Gan. suggests, the mention of δ δῆμος without the usual ἡ βουλὴ καὶ implies that the local senate was not yet in existence; it may not have been constituted till the time of Hadrian (circ. 130 A. D.), and the grant of the *jus Italicum*. This inscr. is dated A. D. 21, and after 141 (A. D. 9) is the second oldest known. בני מתבול i. e. Μαθητῶν φυλῆ Wadd. 2579, not named in the Gk. text; מתבול = מתן בול. 110 4 ב' ד' = מן ד'.

L. 3. פרנס In Syr. فَرَس = *administravit, aluit, curam gessit*; in the Targ. it is used for *nourish, feed*, e. g. Eze. 34 8 = רעה; cf. 122 5 n. The rendering given above is indefinite, owing to the uncertain sense of the following word.

L. 4. ברמנתן Evidently not Aram. It is perhaps a noun (with suff. *an*) from the Arab. بَرَم *twist*, in conj. iv *to twist two threads*, so *to make firm, consolidate*; thus ابرم العقد *he established the contract*. Prof. Margoliouth, in a private communication, suggests a connexion with the Persian فرمان *mandate, order &c.*, 'firman,' which gives a fairly good sense: 'he administered their government.' בבל צבו בלה 110 4 &c.

L. 5. כנן The 8th month, Δῖος, Jewish מרחשן, Oct.-Nov. This inscr. was published by Euting *Sitzungsb. Berl. Akad.* (1887) 410.

## VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS

188. Eut. 4. A.D. 67.

1 עמודיא אלן חמשא ושריתתון ותמלילהון קרב זבדי בר  
 זבדנבו קחון די מן בני מעזין לבעל שמן אלהא טבא  
 2 ושכרא על חייה וחיי בנוהי ואחוריי בירח אלול שנת

/// y — 333 — ///

These five pillars and their beams and their coverings Zabdai, son of Zabd-nebu, (son of) Qahzân, who is of the Benê Ma'ziyân, offered to Ba'al-shamin, the good <sup>2</sup> and bountiful god, for his life and the life of his sons and his brothers; in the month Elûl, the year 378.

L. 1. שריתתון ותמ' See 117 4. 5 n. קרב Cf. 70 x. 188 3. 127 זבדנבו 3 n. זבדי Cf. 180 3 n. Rom. 2 (p. 268 n. 1). מעזין An Arab. pr. n. from قَهَز or قَهَزَن *push, strike*. 3 n. The name of a tribe, in Arab. prob. مَعَزِيَان or مَعَزِيَان Nöld. ap. Eut. SBBA (1885) 669 ff., where this inscr. is published. לבעל שמן Elsewhere in Palm. 184, where he is called כרא עלמא, and the inscr. on p. 296 n. 1 = *Zeûs μέγιστος καραύνιος*, and in 122 6 (rest.). In name and attributes the *Lord of Heaven* transcends all other deities. He was not, however, included among the national gods of Palmyra (see 112 4), or officially recognized in public documents; and though he probably had a temple there, his worshippers seem to have been few. See 9 1 n.

L. 2. שכרא i.e. שְׂכָרָא 140 B 4, lit. *giving reward*, Hebr. שְׂכָר *reward, wages* (שְׂכָר Pi. not used). The אלהא שכרא is a god שמשלם שכר טוב לצדיקים Talm. B. *Berakoth* 4 a, quoted by Lidzb. *Eph.* i 202; cf. the Minaean pr. n. ישכראל Hommel *Süd-ar. Chrest.* 113. 136. In the inscr. below the word is written שכר'א plur.<sup>1</sup>, as שכרים for ש in Ezr. 4 5. אלול Cf. 29 11 n. Aug.-Sept.

1

1 [ל]ארצו חשיו אלהא טבא ושכרא עבד בעל...

2 בר ירחולא אשכלא די עזיו אלהא טבא

3 ורחמטא על דחיה חמא אחוריי בירח חסור

4 שנת 500 רכד ירדו גלמא

'To Arpu and 'Asizu, the good and bountiful gods, (this) has been made by Ba'al ... , son of Yarhi-bôlê, augur (?) of 'Asizu, the good and compassionate, for his



184. Vog. 73. A. D. 114.

- 1 לבעל שמן מרא עלמא עברו  
 2 נבחבר וירחבולא בני ברנבו  
 3 בר נבחבר בר [מ]לא ארנבי על  
 4 [ח]ייהון וחיי [בנ]יהון ואחיהון  
 5 בירח אב שנת 3 y 3

To Ba'al-shamin, lord of eternity, (this) has been made by <sup>2</sup> Nebu-zabad and Yarhi-bôlē, sons of Bar-nebu, <sup>3</sup> son of Nebu-zabad, son of [M]alē Arnabi, for <sup>4</sup> their [l]ives and the life of their [so]ns and their brothers; <sup>5</sup> in the month Ab, the year 425.

L. 1. 188 בעל שמן. n. Similarly in the inscr. from ct-Ṭayyibe (near Palmyra)<sup>1</sup>; cf. *Deus Aeternus* of Jup. Dolichenus, *Opt. Max. Caelus Aeternus Iuppiter* in Lat. inscr. of this period. But, as Lidzb. has pointed out, the other possible meaning of the title, *lord of the world*, is prob. implied at the same time, and influenced by the Jewish רבון של עולם, רבון העולמין. The latter formula has made its way into Islam as رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ; cf. the *šar kiššati* 'lord of all things,' assumed by the Assy. kings (*Eph.* i 258).

L. 2. 127 נבחבר. n. 111 ירחבולא. n.

L. 3. So Vog.'s copy; ? from ܐܪܢܒܐ = *a hare*. Mordtm. 28, however, reads אכנבי *Acnebiensis*; J. Mordtm. compares the family

life and the life of his brothers: in the month Tishri, the year 500. Remembered be Yarhai the sculptor.' Vog. 189, cf. 115 ירחבולא. n. = Ares, the god of the Edessenes, ܐܪܝܫ ܕܥܠܡ Cureton *Spic. Syr.* 24. 'Αρης, 'Αἰὼς λεγόμενος ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκουμένων τῆς Ἐδεσσαν Σύρον Ἑλίου προσομνέει Julian *Apost. Orat.* iv 154. Deo Azizo (neco conserva)tori CIL iii 875. Θαῖμος 'Αἰὼς ἐποίησα Wadd. 2814. אכנבי 80 n. probably borrowed from the Assy. *abkalu* 'a specially wise man,' *KB* vi 320; Delitzsch *Assyr. HWB* 9. Here the word is a priestly title, such as temple magician; the Arab. أَكَلْ gives no suitable sense. See *Rép.* no. 30; Cl-Gan. *Rec.* iv § 37; Lidzb. *Eph.* i 201 ff. 349.

<sup>1</sup> Διὶ μεγίστῳ κεραυνίῳ ἐπὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ Τρα[ιανού] Ἀδριανού Σεβ[αστοῦ] τοῦ κυρίου Ἀγαθάνγγελος Ἀβιληγὸς τῇς Δεκαπόλεως τὴν καμάρων ψευδόμνησεν καὶ τὴν κλητῆ[ν] ἐξ ἱλίου ἀνέθηκεν. "Ετους ἑμῶ' μνηστὸς Δάου (= 134 A. D.).

לבעל שמן מרא עלמא עברו

נבחבר וירחבולא

נבחבר = a vaulted niche for a statue; Vog. 70. שנת 70 י n. The inscr. is in the Brit. Mus.

ῥῶν Χερνάβα (ZDMG xxxv 747 f.); but if 'N is a gentile name we should expect מנביא. Lidzb., *Eph.* i 198, reads מכלדי (surname or title), which is supported by Mordtm.'s facsimile; the name thus written has been found recently in an inscr. published by Sobernheim (Lidzb. l. c.).

L. 4. This line, omitted from Vog.'s copy, is supplied by Mordtm.

135. Vog. 75. A. D. 125.

1 לברוך ש[מה] ל[ע]למא

2 מבא ור[ח]מנא

3 עבר פרנך בר חרי

4 לשמש בר שמשגרם

5 נרקים בר חרי מלא

6 ברפא על חייהן וחיי

7 בניהן בירח כסלול

8 שנת 3 י"ז

To him whose na[me] is blessed for [e]ver, <sup>2</sup>the good and the com[p]assionate, <sup>3</sup>(this altar) has been made by Parnak, freedman <sup>4</sup>of Lishamsh, son of Shamsi-geram, <sup>5</sup>(and by) Narcissus, freedman of Malē, <sup>6</sup>(son of) Borefā, for their life and the life of <sup>7</sup>their sons: in the month Kislûl, <sup>8</sup>the year 437.

L. 1. לברוך שמה לעלמא A common formula in Palm. dedications; grammatically the phrase בריך ש' לע' (138) is treated as a single adj., and ל prefixed. It is remarkable that, like other epithets of the Palm. gods (cf. 184 1 n.), this has a distinctly Jewish character; cf. ברוך לעולם Ps. 72 19, also 113 2. Dan. 2 20, and the Hebr. or early Samaritan inscr. ברוך שמו לעולם Lidzb. 440. Out of reverence the actual name of the deity was not used (cf. p. 21), and can only be conjectured: most likely it was שמש=מלכל=בל (112 4 n.). Though avoiding it in this formula the Palmyrenes did not object to use בל in pr. nn. (עברל, זכרבל, ידעבל, &c.), any more than the later Jews, who read ארני for יהוה, objected to such names as ישעיהו &c. In Gk. the title is rendered Ζεὺς ὁμοῦς καὶ ἀκαὸς Vog. 101. 124 &c.; it implies a monotheism such as appears sporadically in the worship of

Ζεὺς ὑψίστος, Θεὸς ὑψ. from the 1st cent. onwards<sup>1</sup>. The spread of monotheistic ideas was in part due to the Jewish Diaspora, whose influence no doubt made itself felt in Palmyra (cf. pp. 45. 278. 296).

L. 3. מרנך Sachau, *ZDMG* xxxv 737, suggests Φαρνάκης as an equivalent; cf. the Pers. מרנו = Saturn, and the O.T. מֶרְנָךְ Num. 34 25. Vog. reads מרנר; Mordtm. מרד. בר חרי See 97 i n. Strictly the phrase = *son of a freeman*, בֶּן חַיִּי, i. e. *liber* not *libertus* = בְּנֵי חַיִּי, but in ordinary speech it was used in the latter sense.

L. 4. שמשנרם 145 i ? *Shamash has appointed*, שֶׁמֶשׁ; in Gk. Σαμουράματος Wadd. 2564, Σαμουράματος a king of Hemesa, Jos. *Ant.* xviii 5 4.

L. 5. נרקיס Νάρκισσος, a common name for a freedman in the time of the Empire. Here 'נ' is the joint donor of the altar; the conjunct. ו must be supplied.

L. 6. ברמא Cf. בורמא Vog. 109 = בול רמא.

186. Oxoniensis 1. A. D. 85. Ashmolean Mus., Oxford.

1 [ב] ירח אלול שנת /// 333 [3]

2 [א] ע / חמנא דנה ועלתא דה

3 [ע] בדרו וקרבו לשמש חביר[א]

4 בני מלכו בר ידיעבל בר נשא

5 די מתקרא בר עבדבל די מ[נ]

6 פחד בני מגדת לשמש

7 אלה בית אבוהן על

8 חייהן וחיי אחיהן[ן]

9 ובניהן

[In] the month Elul, the year 396<sup>2</sup>, this sun-pillar and this altar <sup>3</sup> have been [m]ade and offered by Lishamsh and Zebd[a], <sup>4</sup> sons of Māliku, son of Yed'f-a-bel, son of Nesā, <sup>5</sup> who was called son of 'Abd-bel, who was o[f] <sup>6</sup> the family of the Benē Migdath, to Shamash, <sup>7</sup> god of their father's house, for <sup>8</sup> their life and the life of their brothers <sup>9</sup> and their sons.

<sup>1</sup> Thus Gk. Inscr. from the Bosphorus (Tanais) contain the remarkable expression εἰσπορευτοὶ ἀδελφοὶ συμβόμενοι θεῷ ὑψίστῳ, cf. Acts 10 2. 22. 18 43. 50 &c. Jos. *Ant.* xiv 7 2. See Schürer *SBBA* (1897) 200 ff., and *Gesch.* <sup>2</sup> iii 123 f.

L. 1. אלול The 6th month, Aug.-September.

L. 2. חסנא A pillar dedicated to שמש, standing beside the altar; see 37 4 n., and cf. למעלה מעליהם אשר למעלה חסנא א Chr. 34 4. altar, common in Syr.

L. 4. ידעבל 140 A 6, in 122 7 the name of a tribe, Ἰεδαβήλος, cf. O. T. ידעבל 1 Chr. 7 6 &c., and Sab. ידעאל (Hommel *Sūd-ar. Chrest.* 101); ידע perhaps = ידעאל notable, illustrious one. נשא 147 i 3 = Nesā.

L. 6. פחד Vog. 32. 33 = فخذ lit. thigh, cf. Gen. 46 26 &c., a subdivision of a tribe. The word implies a clan whose descent is reckoned by the male line, just as the Arab. *ḥafn* is a clan of female ancestry; see Rob. Smith *Kinship* 33 f. מנרת The name comes from the √ مجد 112 3 n.; cf. the Sin. pr. n. מנריו, Syr. منري (Lidzb. 305), the Edomite מנראל Gen. 36 43, Sab. מנרעל. שמש The sun-god, whose worship was predominant at Palmyra, as appears from numerous pr. nn. and dedications, e.g. 117 5 n., Vog. 108 לשמש, the inscr. on tesserae, e.g. Vog. 135 שמש שרן רבא, see further on מלכבל 112 4 n.; ירחכול 121 6 n. was also worshipped in connexion with the sun. The great temple of the sun-god is still the most imposing building among the ruins of Palmyra.

L. 7. אלה בית אבוה. Cf. 61 29. 95 2.

187. Vog. 76. A. D. 135.

1 לברוך שמה לעלמא עבר שלמן בר נשא

2 צידא ברק על חייהי וחיי בנהי

3 X בירח ניסן שנת 333 y //

To him whose name is blessed for ever (this) has been made by Shalman, son of Nesā, <sup>2</sup>(son of) Šarda, (son of) Baraq, for his life and the life of his sons. <sup>3</sup>In the month Nisan, the year 447.

L. 1. שלמן Again in Vog. 33 a. 49 &c., Σαλαμάνης Wadd. 2147, in Nab. CIS ii 294. 302 = Arab. شلمان, Assy. šalamanu Schrader *COT* 441. The name is not distinctively Jewish.

L. 2. צידא From ציד to hunt, 102 3 n. ברק Either nomen or cognomen, in Sab. ברקס, Pun. *Barcas*, surname of Hamilcar, Hebr. ברק Jud. 4 6 ff.; cf. אברוק 140 A 6.

L. 3. The cross at the beginning and end of the line may be the Christian symbol, somewhat disguised. It is questionable, however, whether the cross was used in this way in the first half of the 2nd cent.; nor is it likely that a Christian would write such an inscr. upon a pagan altar, though in itself the formula in l. 1 might not be objectionable, 185 1 n. The inscr. may have a Jewish origin; the name ברק has a Jewish sound; but no Jew would 'make' a Palm. altar.

188. Vog. 79. A. D. 256.

1 בריך שמה לעלמא [מבא]  
 2 ורחמא מודא ה... ד... ח  
 3 לשמש לרחמנא די ק[ים]הי  
 4 בימא וביבשא וע[ניה]  
 5 די קרההו ו..... חה  
 6 בירח אלול שנת [ע כ] 333 //

Blessed be his name for ever, [the good] <sup>2</sup> and the compassionate! offered in thanksgiving by... (son of) <sup>3</sup> Lishamsh, to the compassionate one who de[liv]ered (?) him <sup>4</sup> by sea and land, and an[swered him] <sup>5</sup> who invoked him, and.....

<sup>6</sup> In the month Elûl, the [5]67.

L. 1. בריך ונ' 185 1 n.

L. 2. רחמא 189 3 is perhaps a mistake for the usual רחמנא  
 l. 3. מודא Afel ptc. of ידא (אוד') confess, used in votive inscr. with the special sense of *giving thanks* for some benefit, e.g. Vog. 101  
 עבר ומודא εὐχαρίστως ἀνέθηκεν.

L. 3. ק[ים]הי i.e. קימיה Pael of קים, so Vog. Nöld. (99), however, restores ק[רים]הי = ק[רים]הי, which has the support of the Syr. form. As in Syr., the final י was prob. not pronounced, hence it is usually not written, e.g. עניה l. 4. Vog. 92. 103. קריה 103. In l. 5 קרההו is a form contrary to all analogy, and is prob. incorrectly copied.

L. 4. יבשא . . . ימא Cf. Gen. 1 10. [וע[ניה]] The restoration is based on Vog. 92 &c. לה ועניה; in Gk. εὐξάμενος καὶ ἐπακου-  
 σθεις ἀνέθηκεν κ.τ.λ.

L. 5. אלול 186 1 n.

139. Vog. 93. Circ. A. D. 230.

- 1 מִדָּן כָּל יוֹם נִדְרָבֹל  
 2 וּמִקִּימוֹ בְּנֵי דָדָא בֵּר  
 3 מִקִּימוֹ דְּנָאֵל לְרַחֲמָא  
 4 טַבָּא וְתִירָא עַל חֵיהֶון  
 5 . תִּיא דְנָה ו . . . יִלְהֶון  
 6 כֻּלָּה . . . יִלְעַנְלָבֹל וּמִלְכָּבֹל אֵלָן  
 7 שְׁנַת 33 —

Giving thanks every day, Nadar-ból <sup>2</sup> and Moqîmu, sons of Dada, son <sup>3</sup> of Moqîmu, (son of) Daniel (?), (dedicate this) to the compassionate one, <sup>4</sup>the good and the merciful, for their life. <sup>5</sup> . . . this and their . . . <sup>6</sup>all of it . . . to the gods (?) 'Aqli-ból and Malak-bel <sup>7</sup> . . . the year 54 . .

L. 1. מִדָּן Ptcp. plur.; 138 2 n. נִדְרָבֹל ? *Ból has vowed.*

L. 2. Δάδος Wadd. 2081 &c. = 𐤠𐤁𐤕 paternal uncle; cf. the pr. n. חלא Eut. 103 1 &c. = 𐤠𐤁𐤕 maternal uncle.

L. 3. דְּנָאֵל ? = Hebr. דְּנִיֵּאל, in Nab. CIS ii 258. But such a form in Palm. may be questioned; Nöld. (88) reads חנאל = Ἀννης Wadd. 2320 &c. 138 2 n. רַחֲמָא

L. 4. וְתִירָא . . רַחֲמָא = the Assy. *rēmēnu laidru* (Lidzb. 153 n.); the latter word = *pitiſul* (תור/√) in Assy., see Delitzsch *HWB* 604 f. 703. In *Eph.* i 79, however, Lidzb. suggests תִּירָא, as in Mand. with רַחֲמָא.

L. 5. Perhaps read חֵון [ב]נִתְוִין [וב]י[ת]חֵון כֻּלָּה, J. Mordtm. from his father's copy, and Cl-Gan. *Rec.* ii § 37. The only objection is that the sign after חֵון l. 4 usually marks the end of a clause. If דְנָה is right, the preceding word ought to be a sing. noun; the suff. חֵון' must refer to the donors.

L. 6. The suggested reading כְּדִי as well as to 'Aqli-ból and M., carrying on לְרַחֲמָא l. 3, is doubtful because it ignores the full stop at the end of l. 4. עֵנְלָבֹל The Palm. moon-god, associated with Malak-bel, the solar deity (112 4 n.), e.g. 140 A 2. Vog. 140, and the inscr. below <sup>1</sup> from a stele which represents the god as a young Roman

<sup>1</sup> Rom. 1, in the Capitoline Museum: Ἀγλιβόλῳ καὶ Μαλαχβήλῳ πατρίοις θεοῖς καὶ τῷ στόχῳ ἀργυροῦν σὺν πατρὶ μέσῳ ἀνέθηκε Τ. Αὐρ. Ἐλευθέριος Ἀντιόχου

warrior, with a large crescent attached to his shoulders (cf. *Syr. Centr.* pl. 12. 141). The meaning of the name is uncertain; the  $\sqrt{\text{עגל}} =$  *be round*, in Pa. *to roll*, so perhaps *chariot of Bēl*, in Aram.  $\text{עגלתא}$ ,  $\text{עגלת}$  *chariot*; cf.  $\text{רבבאל}$  81 2 n.  $\text{אלון}$  Apparently for  $\text{אלון}$  69 20. 76 C 7; we should expect  $\text{אלחיא}$ .

140 A and B. Littmann 1 and 2. A—A. D. 29; B—A. D. 132.  
Discovered 1900.

## A

- 1 [בירח] שבט שנת 33  $\text{—}$  עלתא דה [עברו]  
2 בני] פרוחא אלן לעגלבל ולמלכל אלה[יהן]  
3 .. בי בר עתנורי עודו וחגנו בר זבדלה כמרא  
4 [ונ]בחד בר מלכו מתנא ותימו בר עגילו רבבת  
5 [ון]מלכו בר ירחבולא חתי וירחבולא בר תימרצו  
6 אברוק חבדבל בר ידיעבל אלהו ועגילו בר  
7 נורי זבדבל ומלכו בר מקימי תימעמד

In the month Shebat, the year 340. This altar [has been made] <sup>2</sup> by the following [members of] the *thiasos* to 'Agli-bōl and Malak-bel [their] gods:—<sup>3</sup> . . bai, son of 'Athē-nūri (son of) 'Audu, and Ḥaggāgu, son of Zabd-ilah (son of) Komāra, <sup>4</sup> [and N]ebu-zebad, son of Māliku (son of) Mathna, and Taimu, son of 'Ogēlu (son of) Rabābat, <sup>5</sup> [and] Māliku, son of Yarḥi-bōlē (son of) Ḥattai, and Yarḥi-bōlē, son of Taim-arṣu <sup>6</sup> (son of) Abrōqa, and Zabdi-bōl, son of Yed'fa-bel (son of) Alihu, and 'Ogēlu, son <sup>7</sup> of Nurai (son of) Zabdi-bōl, and Māliku, son of Moqīmu (son of) Taimo-'amad.

'Ἀδριανὸς Παλμυρηνοὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰδλιαν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς συμμοῦ καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἐτους (μυ) πέμπτου Περσίου.

- 1 לעגלבל ומלכל ומסמיתא די כסמא חוצב  
2 יתח עבר מן כיסה ירדו בר חליסי בר  
3 ירדו בר לשמש שערו על חיהי חזיא  
4 בנודי בירח שבט שנת 547

מסמיתא = a standard, σημεῖον, signum. 119 4 n. ירדו Note = 'Ἡλιόθεος; cf. 122 2 = 'Iapalou. חליסי 86 10 n.

These inscr., engraved on small altars, were first published by Littmann, *Journal As.* (1901) ii 374-390.

L. 1. שבט The 11th month, Jan.-February; cf. p. 302 footnote.

L. 2. בני מרחא The idiomatic expression for *members of a guild*, cf. 118 3 n., and the O.T. בני קרח. בני הנביאים, בני קרח. For מרחא see 42 16 n.; the existence of religious symposia at Palmyra is proved by the inscr. Wadd. 2606 α συμποσίαρχον τῶν . . . Διὸς Βήλου ἱερῶν (127 1 n.). לעגלבל ולמלבל 189 6 n.

L. 3. Restore prob. וחבאלי = חבני. Already known in Palm.; cf. Cl-Gan. *Ét.* ii 96 and 112 4 n. עורו = عور, Aḥdos, a name common in Sin.; cf. عور مناة Wellhausen *Reste* 6. חנו 118 2 n. 114 5 n. 182 2 n.

L. 4. נחבד Prob. abbreviated from מחב, cf. 182 2 n.; Lidzb., *Eph.* i 344, compares the Pun. מחנא [ם] = מחנא, and the Talmudic מחנה = מחנה. Cf. 112 4 n. חיו Oγῆλου Vog. 70 1; for the ענל see 189 6 n. רבב = رَبَابَة from *רבב*, a white cloud; cf. the fem. pr. n. רבב in Sab. (Lidzb.).

L. 5. ירחבלא 111 3 n. חתי Perhaps abbreviated from the well-known Arab. pr. n. حاتم 115 1 n.

L. 6. אברוק Prob. a variation of the name ברק 187 2, cf. the Talm. *פירקא* *flashing light* (cf. פאיר); the latter form is found in Palm., Lidzb. *Eph.* i 206 inscr. D. Littmann explains the name as = ابو رواق, and compares the name of the place رواق. אלו 186 4 n. Cf. the Safaite אלה, Littmann *Zur Entziff. d. Safa-Inschr.* 39, where the Gk. Ἀλῆος, Ἀλλέου, and the Arab. 'Ulaiha are suggested as possible parallels. The fem. form אלות used as a mas. pr. n. also occurs in Safaite, e. g. Littmann *ib.* 57.

L. 7. נורי Abbr. from some such name as נורבל Vog. 124; cf. the Talm. נוריה = נורי. Vog. 124 θαιμοαμίδου.

## B

- 1 [ת]רתן עלותא אלן עבר עבירו בר ענמו
- 2 [ב]ר שעדלת נבמא רוחיא די הוא פרש
- 3 [ב]חירתא ובמשריתא די ענא
- 4 לשיעאלקום אלהא טבא ושכרא די לא
- 5 שתא חמר על חייהו וחיי מעית



6 ועבדו אחוהי ושעדלת ברה בירח  
 7 אלול שנת 333 ודכיר זבידא בר  
 8 שמעון בר בלעקב גירה ורחמה קדם  
 9 שיעאלקום אלהא מבא ודכיר כל  
 10 מעיד עלותא אלן ואמר דכירין  
 11 א . . אלן כללהן בטב

These two altars have been made by 'Ubaidu, son of 'Ānimu, <sup>2</sup>[s]on of Sa'd-allath, the Nabataean, of the Rûhu tribe, who was a horseman <sup>3</sup>in the fort and camp of 'Ana, <sup>4</sup>to She'a-alqûm, the good and bountiful god, who does not <sup>5</sup>drink (?) wine, for his life and the life of Mu'tthi <sup>6</sup>and 'Abdu his brothers, and Sa'd-allath his son; in the month <sup>7</sup>Elûl, the year 443. And remembered be Zebîda, son <sup>8</sup>of Shim'on, son of Bel-'aqab, his patron and friend, before <sup>9</sup>She'a-alqûm the good god; and remembered be every one <sup>10</sup>. . visits (?) these altars, and says, 'Remembered be <sup>11</sup>all these . . for good!'

The inscr., though written in Palm., is thoroughly Nabataean in character. The donor of the altars, the deity to whom they are dedicated, and most of the pr. nn. are all Nabataean.

L. 1. עלותא = ܥܠܘܬܐ. 93 x עבדו. 91 x ענמ.

L. 2. שעדלת = שעדלת; see 106 n. רוחא i. e. a member of the family of רוחו 99 x. 2 n. מרש Not a member of the equestrian order, ῥαῖος ἄναξ, but simply a soldier in the cavalry.

L. 3. חירתא = ܚܝܪܬܐ camp, cf. Arab. ܚܝܪ sheep-fold; but perhaps this is the name of a place ܚܝܪ, on the Euphrates. משריתא 96 4 n. ענא The name of a place; Littm. suggests 'Avaḥa, now عانة, on the Euphrates.

L. 4. שיעאלקום A Nab. inscr. from Ḥauran contains a dedication to this deity, see p. 255 n. 1; in the Safa inscr. he is frequently mentioned as שיעדקם וגרעוד ובעלסטן חשר, e. g. שיעדקם, Littm. ܦ ܗܠܬ (= אלת) ושעדקם וגרעוד ובעלסטן חשר, Safa-Inscr. p. v. The name = ܫܝܥܐܠܩܘܡ protector of the people, the god who accompanies the people, prob. the special deity of the caravan; for the conception cf. Ex. 23 20. 23. 33 14 f. Ia. 63 9. שכרא 188 2 n.

L. 5. שחא, or כשחא Af. ptc. *who does not allow wine-drinking*, inserting a letter at the beginning of the line. The worshippers of this deity were prohibited from the use of wine, very likely as a protest against the Dionysiac cult of Dûshara (see 70 5 n.)<sup>1</sup>. Similarly in the O.T., the Nazirite vow and the principles of the Rechabites (Jer. 35) were protests against the degenerating influence of Canaanite civilization. As a custom among the Nabataeans, abstinence from wine is mentioned by Diodorus xix 94 3<sup>2</sup>; it was inculcated in Arabia before the time of Mohammed (Robertson Smith *Prophets* 84. 388). כעתי A Nab. pr. n., Dussaud et Macler *Voy. Arch.* no. 59, in the Gk. version *Μοεθου*; similarly Wadd. 2483. The form כעתי is endearing and diminutive, cf. חביבי, עזיזי, מלכי, and נברי &c. (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 218); the Arab. equivalent is مُغِيث from غاث *to succour*, cf. the Palm. pr. names יעתי, יעת i.e. يَغُوث (*Rép.* no. 85), 148 עות 2.

L. 7. אלול Aug.—September.

L. 8. בלעקב 124 3 n. נירה For נר *guest* in Phoen. and Palm. see 17 2 n. Here, however, the word must denote not the receiver, but the giver of hospitality; cf. the pr. n. Κοσγηπος from Memphis, not 'Kos is client' but 'K. is patron,' K. being a deity (Nöld. *SBBA* (1882) 1187 n.). Thus נר like جار denotes both sides of the relation; it has the double sense of the German *Gastfreund*. The Gk. equivalent of נירה ורחמא would be ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ ξένον καὶ φίλον *his host and friend* CIG 2502 &c., cf. רחמא וקיומא 120 5; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* v 45 f. Zebîda discharged the obligations of hospitality towards the Nab. soldier at Palmyra. רחמא 127 4 n.

L. 10. כעיר or עיר Ptc. Afel or Peal of עור = עָרַב, conj. v. تَعَرَّبَ *to visit*; Lidzb. l.c. 346. At the beginning of the line די is to be restored. Another proposed reading is לא כעיר or די לא כעיר *who does not change* (86 8 n.); but there is hardly room for לא. ואמר Ptc., i.e. וְאָמַר.

L. 11. At the beginning of the line Cl.-Gan. restores שמא *names*, pl. constr. or emph.—a doubtful form; Lidzb. better אשא or נבריא.

<sup>1</sup> Cl.-Gan. ingeniously discovers a parallel in t' e struggle between Dionysos and the fabled 'anti-bacchic' king of the Arabs, Lycargos (cf. [θε]ῶ Λυκαργῶ Wadd. 2286 a); the scene of the 'legend is placed in Arabia. *Rec.* iv 398 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Νόμος δ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς μήτε σῖτον σσεῖλαι μήτε φυτεύειν μηδὲν φυτὸν καρποφόρον, μήτε ὄλεψι χρῆσθαι μήτε οἰκίαν κατασκευάζειν.

## SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTIONS

141. Vog. 30 a. B. C. 9.

- 1 קברא דנה די  
 2 עתנתן בר כהילו די  
 3 בנו עלוהי בנוהי  
 4 כהילו וחירן בנוהי  
 5 די מן בני מיתא  
 6 בירח כנן שנת

This sepulchre is that of <sup>2</sup>Athē-nathan, son of Kohailu, which <sup>3</sup>has been built over him by his sons <sup>4</sup>Kohailu and Hairān, his sons, <sup>5</sup>who are of the Benē Maitha. <sup>6</sup>In the month Kanūn, the year 304.

The characteristic form of the Palm. sepulchre is that of the tomb tower. One of these, called Kasr eth-Thunfyeh, is 111 ft. high, 33½ ft. square at the base, 25 ft. 8 in. square above the basement. It contains six stories, and places for 480 bodies. Opposite the entrance is a hall (cf. 143 8) with recesses for coffins; it has a richly panelled ceiling; underground is an immense vault (cf. 143 1). Illustrations of this and another well-preserved tower are given in Wm. Wright's *Palmyra and Zenobia* (1895) 81. 85. Within the towers are found the busts so characteristic of Palm. art (cf. 142 3). The form of these monuments is of Asiatic origin; but the decoration is in the Roman style. The inscriptions outside the towers are often bilingual, within they are Palm. alone.

L. 2. עתנתן See 112 4 n. 70 כהילו n.

L. 3. בנוהי In the corresponding inscr. (Vog. 30 b) on the N. side of the tomb, this is twice written ברדי = ברה *his son*; but the form with the final vowel is so singular that בנוהי is prob. to be preferred as correct (Nöld. 98).

L. 5. בני מיתא Vog. 32 4, the name of a clan; cf. 182 2. 183 1. 186 6.

L. 6. כנן The 8th month, Oct.-November. The facsimile gives רנן, which is to be corrected to כנן. This is the oldest Palm. inscr. known. The writing is rather more archaic and angular than that of the later inscr., especially the form of ה. Palm. writing shows extraordinarily

little variation during the period of 280 years for which we have specimens.

142. Chediac i (Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* ii § 5). A. D. 94. Qaryatên  
(between Damascus and Palmyra).

1 בת עלמא דנה עבר מתני בר נורבל בר מלכו  
2 בר תימצא על נורבל אבוהי ועל נבי אמה ליקרה  
3 וליקר בנהי די עלמא צלמא אלן די מתני בר  
4 נורבל בר מלכו בר תימצא בר מתני בר בונא בר  
5 מתני די מתקרה מהי ודי נורבל אבוהי ודי  
6 נבי אמה בירח אב שנת 406

This house of eternity has been made by Matnai, son of Nûr-bel, son of Mâliku, <sup>2</sup>son of Taim-ša, over Nûr-bel his father and over Nabbai his mother, to their honour, <sup>3</sup>and to the honour of his sons, for ever. These statues are those of Matnai, son <sup>4</sup>of Nûr-bel, son of Mâliku, son of Taim-ša, son of Matnai, son of Bônne, son <sup>5</sup>of Matnai who is called Mahûi, and of Nûr-bel his father, and of <sup>6</sup>Nabbai his mother. In the month Ab, the year 406.

L. 1. עלמא בת Frequent in Palm. as a term for the grave, e. g. 143 &c., in bilingual inscr. *μνημείον αἰώνιον, αἰώνιος τάφος* Vog. 36 a, b; cf. in the O. T. בית עלמו Qoh. 12 5, in Pun. CIS i 124 עלם בית, and among the Christians of Edessa *ܥܠܡܢ ܥܠܡܢܐ*. The idea may go back to the Egyptians, who, according to Diodorus, called the graves of the dead *αἰδίουσιν οἴκους* (i 51 2). מתני Prob. an abbreviation from מתקרב. נורבל Vog. 124 *Νουρβήλου*, cf. עתנורי 140 A 3.

L. 2. תימצא Vog. 33 b, cf. אמתצא Vog. 51. The divine name צא perhaps = צא[ר] = רצו (Lidzb.), 115 1 n. נבי occurs elsewhere, Lidzb. 321; the name is evidently abbreviated, but the derivation is obscure.

L. 3. עלמא די An unusual expression for לעלמא 112 3 or עד עלמא 145 5; but cf. עלמא די בת עלמא Vog. 34.

L. 4. בונא 112 2 n.

L. 5. מתקרה Usually and זכרלה; for the variation cf. זכרלה and זכרלה, ברעחה and ברעחה &c. מהי Again in the inscr. given by Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii 183 = *Éph.* i 85; the derivation is obscure.

148. Müller 46. A.D. 193. Qaryatên.

- 1 מערתא דה די בת עלמא עבר
- 2 פציאל בר עשתורגא בר עות
- 3 בר לשמש בר לשמש לה שקקן
- 4 תרתן חדא על מינא כרי אנת
- 5 עלל פאחרתא מקבלא
- 6 חבידא בר מען בר בולנורעתה
- 7 שקקא כרי אנת עלל על שמלא
- 8 אכסדרא דנה מקבלא די
- 9 מערתא די מקבל בבא חפר
- 10 וצבת שוען בר תימא בר
- 11 אבגר לה ולבנוהי ולבני
- 12 בנוהי הדי רחמת לה שגל
- 13 ברת לשמש בר עשתורגא בר
- 14 פציאל בירח אדר שנת חמש
- 15 מאה וארבע

This vault of the eternal house has been made by <sup>1</sup> Faṣai-el, son of 'Astôr-ga, son of 'Auth, <sup>2</sup> son of Lishamsh, son of Lishamsh, for himself, two corridors, <sup>4</sup> the one upon the right as thou <sup>5</sup> art entering, and the other lying opposite. <sup>6</sup> And Zebîda, son of Ma'n, son of Bôl-nûr-'athê, <sup>7</sup> (has made) the corridor as thou art entering on the left.

<sup>8</sup> This *exedra* on the opposite side of <sup>9</sup> the vault, which lies opposite to the door, has been digged <sup>10</sup> and ornamented by Sau'an, son of Taimê, son <sup>11</sup> of Abgar, for himself and his sons and his grandsons ? ? to him Shegal, <sup>12</sup> daughter of Lishamsh, son of 'Ashtôr-ga, son of <sup>14</sup> Faṣai-el. In the month Adar, the year five <sup>15</sup> hundred and four.

L. 1. מערתא 144 3 the burial cave, excavated in the side of a hill, entered by the door of the tomb tower (p. 306), Vog. 35 &c., τὸ σπηλαῖον Wadd. 2625; in Hebr. מערה Gen. 23 19 f.

L. 2.  $\Phi\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota\lambda\eta$   $\Phi\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota\lambda\eta$  Wadd. 2445; so Lidzb. 479, instead of  $\Phi\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota\lambda\eta$  D. M. Müller *Palm. Inscr.* 19, where this inscr. was first published (1898).  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta\tau\eta$  L. 13. Lidzb. suggests that the form is abbreviated from  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta\tau\eta$  (see 135 4 n.). For the form  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  see 118 2 n.; for the interchange of  $\psi$  and  $\phi$  cf.  $\psi$  and  $\phi$  in 121 5.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  =  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$ ,  $\Gamma\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$  Wadd. 2019 &c.; the full name is  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  Eut. *Sin.* 72 &c.; see 140 B 5 n.

L. 3.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  So Lidzb. Cf. Syr.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  *via angusta*, pl.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$ ; in Targ.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  = *street*.

L. 5.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  Ptcp. sing. of  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  *enter*; cf. 147 ii c 16. 'ם The conjunction  $\epsilon$ , here in *Palm.*, as in *Nab.* and *Old Aram.*, 61 3 n.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  i.e.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  Afel ptcp. fem. abs. state, from  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  *to meet*; so the infin.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  = *before, in the presence of* 67. 147 i 10, in Afel *to be opposite* (144 6).

L. 6.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  = the Arab. pr. n.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$ ; in *Nab.* and *Sin.*  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$ , in *Gk.*  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$ ,  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  Wadd. 2042 &c. 2584.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  Cf.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  140 A 3.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  142 1. Lidzb. (500) suggests that this may be the full form of the abbreviated names  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$ ,  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$ .

L. 8.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  144 6  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$ , i.e. a hall with recesses, such, for example, as the fore-court of the great temple at Ba'albek, which has recesses or chambers on each side; see the plan in *Baedeker Paläst.* 343. Here the *exedra* is the hall with recesses for coffins, in the centre of the tomb tower, leading to the vault; see p. 306. In the Targ. and Talm. 'ם = a porch, or covered passage before a house, e.g. *Judg.* 3 23 =  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$   $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$ ; *Tamid* 28 b  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  *ex. of masonry round the temple-court.*  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  here is *mas. emph. state*, as in 144 6.

L. 9.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  Not otherwise found in *Palm.*, common in Targ. and Talm., rare in Syr. The Arab.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  is derived from this word; see *Fraenkel Aram. Fremdw.* 14.

L. 10.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  Pael, cf. the noun  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  in 110 4 &c.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  Prob. =  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  Wadd. 2537 a, cf.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  *first watch of the night.*

L. 11.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$   $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  Wadd. 1984 d &c.,  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  a common Syr. pr. n. = *lame*.

L. 12.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  meaning. Lidzb. (503) suggests  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  which 147 i 4 &c. = *Bibl. Aram.*  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$ , and renders  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  *she bore* (a denomin. vb. from  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  *love*). The word may be read  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  *she gave birth to*, Arab.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$ ; this is to be preferred.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  A common fem. pr. n. in *Palm.*; cf. perhaps  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  60 16 n.

L. 14.  $\epsilon\psi\tau\eta\tau\eta$  Feb.-March.

144. Nöld. A.D. 188. Imp. Mus., Constantinople.

- 1 בִּירַח כְּנָן שְׁנַת ע ק — ט  
 2 אַחְבַּר לִשְׁמֶשׁ בֶּר לִשְׁמֶשׁ  
 3 בֶּר תִּימָא מִן מְעֶרְתָּא  
 4 דֶּה לְבוּנָא בֶּר בּוֹלְחָא  
 5 בֶּר בּוּנָא בֶּר יִקְרוּר  
 6 אַחְבֶּרְתָּה מִן אַכְסֶדְרָא מְקַבְלָא  
 7 גִּמְחִין תִּמְנִיָּא מִן יְמִינִךְ  
 8 אַרְבַּעָא וּמִן סַמְלִךְ אַרְבַּעָא

In the month Kanûn, the year 500. <sup>2</sup> Lishamsh, son of Lishamsh, <sup>3</sup> son of Taimē, has given a share of this vault <sup>4</sup> to Bōnnē, son of Bōl-ḥa, <sup>5</sup> son of Bōnnē, son of Yaqrūr. <sup>6</sup> I have given him a share of the *exedra* lying opposite, <sup>7</sup> eight niches, on thy right hand <sup>8</sup> four, and on thy left four.

The inscr. was published by Nöldeke ZA (1894) pp. 264-267.

- L. 1. כְּנָן 141 6 n.  
 L. 2. אַחְבַּר Afel of חָבַר to join, associate; cf. l. 6.  
 L. 3. מְעֶרְתָּא 143 1 n.  
 L. 4. בּוֹלְחָא 182 1 n.  
 L. 5. יִקְרוּר = יִמְסֶל = *toad*; cf. the pr. nn. חִלְדָּא Vog. 74 *weasel*, עִכְבּוּר *mouse*, חֲזִיז *hedge-hog* &c.  
 L. 6. אַחְבֶּרְתָּה i. e. אַחְבֶּרְתָּה Af. pf. 1 sing. with suff., cf. the infin. Vog. 71 אִישׁ לְאֶחְבּוּרָא בָּהּ אִישׁ = κοινωνὸν αὐτοῦ προσλαβεῖν in the Gk. version. מְקַבְלָא Af. ptc. mas. emph.; אַכְסֶדְרָא is mas., 143 8; cf. בסִלְקָא 110 3 (Cl.-Gan. *El.* i 130).  
 L. 7. גִּמְחִין *loculi*; see 91 5 n. (Nab. נחמא).

145. Cl.-Gan. I (*El.* i 121). ii-iii cent. A.D. Louvre.

- 1 חֲבֵל שִׁמְשִׁגְרָם בֶּר נִרְבֵּל  
 2 מְרַאגְרָא וְהוּ בְנָא קְבֵרָא דְנָה  
 3 וְאִנֶּשׁ לֹא יִפְתַּח עֲלוּהִי גּוֹמְחָא

- דנה עד עלמא לא יהוא לה 4  
 זרע ונר עד עלמא ולא יקשט 5  
 למן די יפתחיה עד עלמא 6  
 ולחם ומן למא ישבע 7

Alas! Shamahi-geram, son of Nûr-bel <sup>2</sup> Mar-agra. And he built this sepulchre. <sup>3</sup> And let no man open over him this niche <sup>4</sup> for ever! Let him have no <sup>5</sup> seed or fortune for ever, nor let there be any prosperity <sup>6</sup> for him who shall open it, for ever, <sup>7</sup> and with bread and water may he never be satisfied!

L. 1. חבל An interjection of grief very common in funeral inscrs. and on busts (p. 306); in the Talm. חָבֵל, חָבֵל, Dalman *Gr.* 192. שמשנרם 185 4 n.

L. 2. מראנרא Cognomen or title; if the latter, perhaps = מַרְאִנְרָא *dominus mercedis*, i. e. qui militibus stipendia pendet, *paymaster*; *Theo. Syr.* col. 30. Cl-Gan. suggests the general sense of *treasurer*, *Ét.* i 123.

L. 3. אנש Cf. 69 20; אנש in Nab. 86 6. 90 7 &c. For similar prohibitions see 4. 5. 61. 64 f. 69. לא יפתח עלוהי See 5 6 n. 91 5 n.

L. 5. נר *fortune*, as in the pr. nn. נר רצו Vog. 84. נר עתא 143 &c. יקשט The root = *be firm, right* in Aram.; hence יקשט, יקשט, Syr. ܝܩܫܬܐ = *truth, righteousness* &c. Taking the verb here in a neuter sense, we may render 'let there be no right to him who'; for the construction cf. Hebr. לֹא יִרְעֶה לְיָמָיו &c.

L. 6. יפתחיה For the form cf. the Syr. ܝܦܬܚܝܗ.

L. 7. מן = מִן 75 3, *bread and water*, i. e. the elementary necessities of life. Winckler renders *bread and manna*, i. e. food for the dead, or divine food, ambrosia, which is his explanation of מִן in Ex. 16 15; *Allor. Forsch.* ii 322 f. It is much more likely that מן here = מִן, although the form is unusual. למא must have the sense of a prohibitive negative. It may be explained on the analogy of the Hebr. למא (Driver *Samuel* 123 f.) as meaning *wherefore?* = *let . . not*; in Aram. when connected by די with the preceding clause it comes to mean *lest*, די לֹא, in Targ. Onk. and Pesh. = Hebr. מִן, e. g. Gen. 42 4. Num. 16 34 &c.



146. Constantine: Afr. 1. ii-iii cent. A. D.

D[is] m[anibus] s[acrum]. Suricus Rubatis Pal[murenus] sag[ittarius] centuria] Maximi [vixit] ann[is] XLV mi[lit]avit an[nis] xiii. CIL viii 2515.

1 נפשא דנה די  
2 שריכו בר רבת  
3 תדמויא קשטא  
4 קטרי מאכסמוס  
5 בר שנת 33  
6 חבל

This monument is that of Soraiku, son of Rubat, the Palmyrene archer, century of Maximus, 45 years old. Alas!

L. 1. נפשא See 78 1 n. Here 'נ takes a mas. pronoun; in Nab. either mas. or fem.

L. 2. שריכו 119 1 n. רבת = <sup>ר</sup>ב<sup>ת</sup>, Nöld. 89.

L. 3. קשטא *sagittarius* = Syr. <sup>كش</sup> or <sup>كش</sup>; the ט and ת (Hebr. קשת), the p and כ, are interchanged in this word, Nöld. 97. Besides this inscr. there is further evidence that a contingent of Palm. archers served in the Roman army in Africa. An inscr. discovered by Prof. Flinders Petrie at Coptos contains a dedication to the Palm. god <sup>ⲓⲉⲣⲁⲃⲓⲱⲗⲱ</sup> = <sup>ⲓⲉⲣⲁⲃⲓⲱⲗⲱ</sup>, made by <sup>ⲁⲩⲣⲉⲕⲓⲟⲥ ⲃⲉⲕⲁⲃⲟⲥ</sup> <sup>ⲓⲉⲣⲁⲓⲱⲥ</sup> or -<sup>ⲟⲩ</sup> <sup>ⲟⲩⲉⲕⲓⲁⲗⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ</sup> <sup>ⲁⲩⲣⲓⲁⲛⲱⲛ</sup> <sup>ⲡⲁⲗⲙⲩⲣⲉⲕⲱⲛ</sup> <sup>ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲛⲓⲁⲛⲱⲛ</sup> <sup>ⲧⲟⲗⲟⲩⲱⲛ</sup>. In *Rec.* ii § 42 Cl.-Gan. rightly shows that <sup>ⲁⲩⲣ. ⲡⲁⲗⲙ.</sup> = <sup>ⲁⲩⲧⲱⲛⲓⲁⲛⲱⲛ</sup> 147 ii. The fame of the Palm. archers was remembered by Jewish tradition; according to the Talm. 80,000 of them assisted at the overthrow of the first temple, 8000 at that of the second! Neubauer *Géogr. du Talm.* 303.

L. 4. קטרי *centuria*. For the assimilation of ט in foreign words according to the law of Semitic speech cf. <sup>ⲙⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲓⲥ</sup> = <sup>ⲟⲩⲛⲕⲓⲗⲉⲕⲓⲱⲥ</sup> p. 285 n. 1, <sup>ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲃⲁⲓⲱⲗⲱⲥ</sup> = <sup>ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲃⲁⲓⲱⲗⲱⲥ</sup> inscr. of et-Tayyibe p. 296 n. 1, <sup>ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲃⲁⲓⲱⲗⲱⲥ</sup> 147 i 2, <sup>ⲁⲩⲧⲁⲃⲁⲓⲱⲗⲱⲥ</sup> ib. 11, and, in native words, the common <sup>ⲙⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲓⲥ</sup> = <sup>ⲙⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲓⲥ</sup> &c. Nöld. (p. 86) notes this as a unique instance of the vowel letter ט representing *ā*; to avoid the anomaly he corrects the reading to <sup>ⲙⲉⲧⲉⲛⲧⲓⲥ</sup>. In the original ט is uncertain, perhaps erased.

## TARIFF

147. A. D. 137. In situ.

The following plan shows the arrangement of the inscription :—

i	ii			iii			iv	
Greek	2 ll. Greek 1 l. Palmyren :							
Palmyrene		Palm.		Greek			Greek	
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b
1½ l. Greek ¾ + ¾ l. Palm.								

## Greek Text.

## i.

- 1 Ἔτους ημὺ μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ καὶ δόγμα βουλῆς.  
 2 Ἐπὶ Βωννέους Βωννέους τοῦ Αἰράνου προέδρου, Ἀλε-  
 ξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ  
 3 Φιλοπάτορος γραμματέως βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Μαλίχου  
 Ὀλαιοῦς καὶ Ζεβεΐδου Νεσᾶ ἄρχόν-  
 4 των, βουλῆς νομίμου ἀγομένης, ἐψηφίσθη τὰ ὑπο-  
 τεταγμένα. Ἐπειδὴ ἔν τ]οῖς πάλαι χρόνοις  
 5 ἐν τῷ τελωνικῷ νόμῳ πλείστα τῶν ὑποτελῶν οὐκ  
 ἀνελήμφθη, ἐπράσ[σεν] δὲ ἐκ συνηθείας, ἐν-  
 6 γραφομένου τῇ μισθώσει τὸν τελωνοῦντα τὴν πράξιν  
 ποιεῖσθαι ἀκολούθως τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῇ  
 7 συνηθείᾳ, συνέβαινε δὲ πλειστάκις περὶ τούτου  
 ζητήσεις γίνεσθαι με]ταξὺ τῶν ἐμπόρων  
 8 πρὸς τοὺς τελῶνας· δεδόχθαι, τοὺς ἐνεστῶτας ἄρχοντας  
 καὶ δεκαπρώτους διακρίνοντας



- 9 ὁ αὐτὸς δημοσιώνη[ς  
 10 πράξει ἐκάστου γόμο[υ καμηλικού]  
 11 εἰσκομισ[θέ]ντος  
 12 ἐκκομισθ[έντ]ος [γόμου καμηλικού]  
 13 ἐκάστου vacat  
 14 γόμου ὀνικ[οῦ ἐκάστο]ν εἰ[σκομισθέντος ἤ]  
 15 ἐκκομισθέν[τος]  
 16 πορφύρας μηλωτῆ[ς] ἐκά[στον δέρμα]-  
 17 τος εἰσκομισθέν[τ]ος [πράξει]  
 18 ἐκκομισθ[έντο]ς  
 19 γόμου κ[αμηλικού] μύρου [τοῦ ἐν ἀλαβάσ]-  
 20 τροις εἰσκομισθέντος πράξει]  
 21 καὶ το  
 22 ἐκ[κομισθέντος]  
 23 γ[όμου καμηλικού] μύρου τοῦ ἐν ἀσκοῖς]  
 24 αἰγείοις [εἰσκομισθέντος πράξει]  
 25 [ἐκκομισθέντος] [γόμου ὀνικ[οῦ] μύρου  
 26 τοῦ ἐν ἀλαβάστρ]οις  
 27 [εἰσκομισ]θέν[τος πράξει]  
 28 [ἐκκομισ]θέν[τος]  
 29 γόμου ὀνικ[οῦ] μ[ύρου] τοῦ ἐν ἀσκοῖς]  
 30 αἰγείοις εἰσκομ[ισθέντο]ς πρ[άξει]  
 31 ἐκκομισθέντος π[ρ]άξ[ει]  
 32 γόμου ἐλεηροῦ τοῦ ἐν ἀσκο]ῖς [τέσσαρ]-  
 33 σι αἰγείοις ἐπὶ καμήλ[ου εἰσκομισθέν]-  
 34 τος vacat  
 35 ἐκκομισθέντο[ς]  
 36 γόμου ἐλαιηροῦ τοῦ ἐν ἀσκο]ῖς δυ[σὶ αἰ]-  
 37 γείοις ἐπὶ καμήλ[ου εἰσκομισθέντος]  
 38 πράξει  
 39 ἐκκομισθέντ[ος]  
 40 γόμου ἐλε[ηροῦ] τοῦ ἐπ' ὄνο]ν εἰσκομισθέν]-

- 41 το[ς πράξει]  
 42 ἐκ[κομισθέντος]  
 43 γόμ[ου τοῦ ἐν ἀσκοῖς τ]έσσ[αρσι]  
 44 αἰγείοις [πρά]ξει \* γ'  
 45 ἐκκομι[σ]θ[έ]ντος \* γ'  
 46 γόμου κ [τοῦ ἐν] ἀ[σ]κοῖς δυσὶ αἰγείοις  
 47 ἐπὶ κ[αμήλου εἰς]κομισθέντος πράξει \* ζ'.

iii b.

(21 = Aram. ii a 41 ? ; 27-30 = ii a 46-49 ; 31-45 = ii b 1-12.)

Of the first 18 lines only unimportant fragments remain.

- 19 λλης vacat  
 20 μηλουτσ σ ης  
 21 [θ]ρέμματος η εσ ο  
 22 δ θ  
 23 δ εαδ εου ε  
 24 ὁ αὐτὸς δ[ημ]οσιώνης ἐκάσ  
 25 παρ' ἐκ[άστο]ν τῶ[ν τὸ] ἔλαιον κατα[κομιζόντων ?]  
 26 πον [πωλον]ντων  
 27 ὁ αὐτ[ὸς δημοσιώνης] πρά[ξει] λει  
 28 ος  
 29 [λαμβά]νουσιν π  
 30 ἀσσάρια ὀκτώ ιη  
 31 [ἀσ]σάρια ἕξ ἐν καστ ἀσσς'  
 32 [ὁ αὐτὸς δημ]οσιώνης πρ[άξ]ει ἐργαστηρίων  
 33 παντοπωλ[εῖ]ων σκυτικῶν  
 34 ἐκ συνηθείας ἐκάστου μηνὸς  
 35 καὶ ἐργαστηρίου ἐκάστου vacat \* α  
 36 παρὰ τῶν δέρματα εἰσκομιζόν[των]  
 37 ἢ πω[λούντων] ἐκάστου δέρματος ἀσσά[ρια δύο]  
 38 ὁμοίως ἱματιοπῶλαι μεταβόλοι πωλ[οῦν]-  
 39 τες ἐν τῇ πόλει τῷ δημοσιώνῃ τὸ ἱκανὸν τ[ελος ?]  
 40 χρήσεως πηγῶν · β' · ἐκάστου ἔτους \* ω'

41 ὁ αὐτὸς πρά[ξ]ει γόμου πυρικοῦ οἰνικοῦ ἀχύ-  
 42 ρων καὶ τοιούτου γένους ἐκάστου γόμου  
 43 καμηλικού καθ' ὁδὸν ἐκάστην \* α'  
 44 καμήλου ὅς κενὸς εἰσαχθῇ πράξει \* α'  
 45 καθὼς Κίλιξ Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος ἔπραξεν.

iii c.

(22-24=Aram. ii b 22. 23.)

The first half (about 20 lines) is almost entirely obliterated.

21 νέτω vacat  
 22 ὅς ἂν ἀλ[ας] η ἐν Παλμύροις  
 23 Παλμυρη[ν]ῶν παραμετρησάτω [τῷ δημο]-  
 24 σιώνη ε[ἰς ἐκ]αστον μῶδιον ἀσσά[ριον] ]  
 25 ὅς δ' ἂν οὐ παραμετρησ[άτω]  
 26 ὃν ἔχων το δημο  
 27 παρ' οὗ ἂν ὁ δ[ημοσι]ώνης [ἐνέ]-  
 28 χυρα λα[βη]  
 29 ἀποδω σινο αβρει  
 30 δημο ηίου διπ[λοῦ] ο ἱκανὸν λαμβα-  
 31 νέτω περὶ τ[ο]ύτου πρὸς τὸν δημοσιώνη[ν]  
 32 τοῦ διπλοῦ ε[ἰσα]γέσθω vacat  
 33 περὶ οὗ ἂν ὁ δημ[ο]σιώνης τινὰ ἀπαιτῇ περὶ τε  
 34 οὗ ἂν ὁ δημοσιώ[νης] ἀπὸ τινος ἀπαιτῇται περὶ  
 35 τούτου δικαιοδο[τεῖσ]θω παρὰ τῷ ἐν Παλμύ-  
 36 ροις τεταγμένῳ vacat  
 37 τῷ δημοσιώνη κύρι[ον] ε[ἰσ]τω παρὰ τῶν μὴ ἀπ[ο]-  
 38 γρα[φομένων] ἐ[νέ]χυρα [λ]α[μβάνει]ν δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἢ  
 39 υτατα [ἐνέ]χυρα ἡμέρα[ι]  
 40 [ἐξέστω τῷ δημ]οσιώνη πωλεῖν  
 41 [ἐν τόπῳ δημ ?]οσίφ χωρὶ[s]  
 42 δόλου πο ἐπράθη  
 43 ἢ δοθῆναι ἔδει π ειν τωδ καθὼς

44 καὶ σὶν τοῦ νόμου τω vacat  
 45 λιμένος π [πη]γῶν ὑδάτων Καίσαρος  
 46 τῷ μισθωτῇ εντος παρασχέσ[θαι]

iv a.

(27=Aram. ii b 43; 34-37=ii b 45-48; 41-57=ii c 3-22.)

1 ἄλλω μηδενὶ πράσσειν διδό[ν]αι λαμ[βάνειν]  
 2 ἐξέστω μήτε τι ὦψ ανθρ [μή]-  
 3 τε τινι [ὄν]όματι τοσ π  
 4 τοῦτο ποιήσῃ ηε  
 5 δ[ι]πλοῦν

[four lines illegible]

10 Γαίον

11 αντι

12 μετα[ξ]ὺ Παλ[μυρηνῶν]

13 νους ἐστὶ

14 γείνεσθαι κλ οι

15 εσ σατο μ

16 ὅσα δὲ ἐξ

17 ω

18 α εισπ

19 τω α ωνη

20 τῷ τελών[η] θω vacat

21 οἱ δ' ἂν ε [ἐ]ξαγ

22

23 σ ας

24 καθ' ἣν ανλογ (?)

25 τοῦ δὲ ἐξάγω αι

26 αδωσε

27 ἐρίων

28 θαρ

29 π ειλ

30 γ διαγ

- 31 οροι ματου μὲν ορι  
 32 αγωγῆς \* · 5' · τοῦ δὲ θ'  
 33 ἀξιούντος το νον εἰ καὶ μὴ σ  
 34 [ἰτ]αλικῶν ἐξαγ[όντω]ν πράσσειν ὕστ[ερον ὡς συν]-  
 35 ἐφωνήθη μὴ ι [α]ντων ἐξαγο[ντων] [δι]-  
 36 δόσθαι vacat  
 37 μύρου τοῦ ἐν ἄσκο[ῖς αἰγεί]οις πρά[ξει ὁ τελώνης]  
 38 κατὰ τὸν νόμο[ν] οὔτε  
 39 τημα γέγονεν τῷ προτε ε εικ  
 40 [ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ] ἐσφραγισμένῳ νόμῳ τέτακται vacat  
 41 τὸ τοῦ σφάκτρον τέλος εἰς δηνάριον ὀφείλει λο[γεύε-  
 σθαι]  
 42 καὶ Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος διὰ τῆς πρὸς Στατείλι[ον  
 ἐπισ]-  
 43 τολῆς διασαφήσαντος ὅτι δεῖ πρὸς ἄσσάριον ἰτα[λι-  
 44 κὸν] τὰ τέλη λογεύεσθαι τὸ δὲ ἐντὸς δηναρίου τέλο[ς]  
 45 συνηθεία ὁ τελώνης πρὸς κέρμα πράξει τῷ[ν δὲ]  
 46 διὰ τὸ νεκριμαῖα εἶναι ρειπτουμένων τὸ τέλο[ς οὐκ  
 ὀφείλεται]  
 47 τῶν βρωτῶν τὸ κα[τὰ] τὸν νόμον τοῦ γόμου δην[άριον]  
 48 εἴστημι πράσσεσθαι ὅταν ἔξωθεν τῶν ὄρων εἰσά[γη-  
 49 ται] ἢ ἐξάγεται vacat τοὺς δὲ εἰς χωρία ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν  
 50 [χω]ρίων κατακομίζοντας ἀτελεῖς εἶναι ὡς καὶ συνεφώ-  
 51 νησεν αὐτοῖς vacat κώνου καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἔδ[ο]-  
 52 ξεν ὅσα εἰς ἐμπορείαν φέρεται τὸ τέλος εἰς τὸ ξη-  
 53 ρόφορτον ἀνάγεσθαι ὡς καὶ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς γέινεται  
 πόλεσι  
 54 καμήλων ἐάν τε κεναὶ ἐάν τε ἔνγομοι εἰσάγωνται  
 ἔξωθεν  
 55 τῶν ὄρων ὀφείλεται δηνάριον ἐκάστης κατὰ τὸν  
 56 νόμον ὡς καὶ Κουρβούλων ὁ κράτιστος ἐσημι-  
 57 ὡσατο ἐν τῇ πρὸς Βάρβαρον ἐπιστολῇ.



iv b.

[About 30 lines almost entirely illegible.]

5 [ἐ]ταίρω[ν]

30 τὰς συνφων

31 τελώ[ν]ην γείνεσθαι [τὸ ἐκ τοῦ]

32 νόμο[ν] τέλος πρὸς δηναί[ρ]μον φ[ημί] ? λογεύεσθαι]

33 ἐννόμιον συνεφωνήθη μὴ δεῖν πράσσειν]

34 ε [τ]ῶν δὲ ἐπὶ νομὴν μεταγομένων

35 ν θρεμμάτων ὀφείλεσθαι χα-

36 ρίσασθαι τὰ θρέμματα ἐὰν θέλῃ ὁ δη[μοσιώτης]

37 ἐξέστω.

## Palmyrene Text.

i.

14 (1) דגמא די בולא בירח ניסן יום כז יג שנת

בפלהדרותא די בונא בר יג 33 יג

15 (2) בונא בר חירן וגרממא די אלכסדרם בר אלכסדרם בר

פלפמר גרמטום די בולא ודמם וארכוניא

16 (3) מלכו בר עליי בר מקימו חבירא בר נשא כד הות בולא

כנישא מן נמוסא אשרת

17 (4) מדי כתיב מן לתחת ברילדי בזבניא קרמא בנמוסא די

מכסא עבדן שגין חיבן

Decree of the Council, in the month Nisan, the 18th day, the year 448, during the presidency of Bōnnē, son <sup>2</sup> of Bōnnē, son of Hairān, and the secretaryship of Alexander, son of Alexander, son of Philopator, secretary of the Council and People, and the archons (being) <sup>3</sup> Mālīku, son of 'Olai, son of Moqlmu, and Zebīda, son of Nesā. When the Council was by law assembled, it established <sup>4</sup> what is written below—

18 (5) מכסא לא אסקו והוּו מתגבין מן עידא במדען די הוא  
מתכתב באגוריא די

19 (6) מכסא והוא גבא היך בנמוסא ובעידא וממלכות ובנין  
שגין על צבותא אלן

20 (7) מרבנין הוּו ביני תגרא לביני מכסיא אתחזי לבולא די  
ארכוניא אלן ולעשרתא

21 (8) די יבנון מדעם די לא מסק בנמוסא ויכתב בשטר  
אגריא חדתא ויכתב למדעמא

22 (9) מדעמא מכסה די מן עידא ומדי אשר לאגורא וכתב  
עם נמוסא קדמיא בגללא

23 (10) די לקבל היכלא די רב אסירא ויהוא מבטל לארכוניא  
די הון בזון ובן ועשרתא

24 (11) וסדקיא די לא יהוא גבא אגורא מן אנש מדעם יתיר

Whereas in former times by the law of taxation many goods liable to <sup>5</sup>taxation were not specified, but taxes were levied on them by custom, according to what was written in the contract of <sup>6</sup>the tax-collector, and he was in the habit of making levies by law and custom, and on this account many times about these matters <sup>7</sup>disputes arose between the merchants and the tax-collectors—It seemed good to the Council of these archons and to the Ten <sup>8</sup>that they should make known what was not specified in the law, and (that) it should be written down in the new document of contract, and (that) there should be written down for each <sup>9</sup>article its tax which is by custom, and what they have established with the contractor, and they have written it down together with the former law on the stele <sup>10</sup>which is in front of the temple of Rabaseirē;—and that it be made the concern of the archons who shall be (in office) at any time, and of the Ten, <sup>11</sup>and of the syndics, that the contractor do not demand any further levy from any man.

(Greek text, 14 l.)

מעון קרם די כלמא גנם כלה לארבעא מעונין די  
נמלין

(13) 27 מכסא גבי

ii.

(Greek text, 2 ll.)

נמוסא די מכסא די למנא די הודינא תדמר ועינתא די  
מיא... קימר

a.

(1-31=Greek iii a; 41=iii b 21?; 46-49=iii b 27-30.)

- 1 מן מעלי עלימיא די מראעלין לתדמר
- 2 או לתחומיה [יגבא מכסא] לכל רגל ד 3 //
- 3 מן עלם די... ב [ל]מפק[נא] //
- 4 מן עלם ומת[ן] די יזבן.... //
- 5 והן זבונא ומעל... ין יתן לכל רגל //
- 6 הו [מכסא יג]בא [מ]ן מעון גמלא די יבי[שין]

(Greek text.)

<sup>12</sup> A waggon-load of any kind of goods whatsoever, at four camel-loads <sup>13</sup> the tax shall be levied.

ii.

(Greek text.)

The law of the taxes of the custom-house of Hadriana Tadmor, and the wells of water . . . . . Caesar.

a.

From importers of slaves who are imported into Tadmor <sup>2</sup> or its borders the [tax-collector shall levy] for each person 22 denarii. <sup>3</sup> From a slave who . . . . . [for] export, 12. <sup>4</sup> From a slave-veteran who shall be sold . . . . 10; <sup>5</sup> and if the buyer . . . . . he shall give for each person 12. <sup>6</sup> The said t[ax-collector shall l]evy from a camel-load of dry

- 7 למעלנא ..... די טען גמלא ד' / [// ?]  
 8 מן [טען גמלא] למ[פקנא] ד' ///  
 9 מן ט[ען] חמרא למעלנא [ולמפקנא] ....  
 10 מן א[רג]ונא מלמא לכל מ[שך] למעלנא ....  
 11 ולמ[פ]קנא אסרין ע' ///  
 12 מן טע[ן] ג[מל]א [די] משחא בשימא [די]  
 13 מתאעל [ב]ש[טיפת]א ד' 3 ע  
 14 ולמא ד' ..... ל. וסא דנה  
 15 למפקנא [א]. ז. נ. ... [ג]מל למעונא פ' — ///  
 16 מן טען גמלא די [מ]שחא בשימא [די] יתאעל  
 17 בוקין [די] עז[ל]מ[על]נא ד' פ' — /// ולמפקנא ד' ע' //  
 18 מן ט[ען] חמר די [מ]שחא [בשימא ד'] יתאעל  
 19 בש[טיפ]תא [למעלנא ד'] פ' — /// ולמפקנא ד' ע' //  
 20 מן טען חמר [ד'] משחא [בשימא] די  
 21 יתאעל בוקין [למ]פקנא ד' ע' //  
 22 מן טען די מש[חא] די בוקין ארב[ע]

goods, <sup>7</sup> for import ..... of the camel-load, 3 (?) denarii. <sup>8</sup> From [a camel-load] for ex[port], 3 denarii. <sup>9</sup> From a donkey-l[oad], for import [and for export] .... <sup>10</sup> From purple fleeces, for each s[kin, for import] . . . . <sup>11</sup> and for export, 8 assarii. <sup>12</sup> From a cam[el-lo]ad of sweet oil [which] <sup>13</sup> is imported [in] the f[lask], 25 denarii. <sup>14</sup> And for what . . . . . this <sup>15</sup> for export . . . . . [c]amel, for the load 13 denarii. <sup>16</sup> From a camel-load of sweet oil [which is imported] <sup>17</sup> in goa[t-s]kins, for im[por]t 13 denarii, and for expor[t 7 denarii]. <sup>18</sup> From a [donkey-loa]d [of sweet] oil which is imported <sup>19</sup> in the fl[as]k, [for import] 13 [denarii], and for export 7 denarii. <sup>20</sup> From a donkey-load of [sweet] oil which <sup>21</sup> is imported in skin[s] . . . [for ex]port 7 denarii. <sup>22</sup> From

- 23 די עז למעלן טעון ג[מל]א ד ע — **///**
- 24 ולמפקנא ד ע — **///** [ **///** ]
- 25 מן טעון די מ[שחא] די [בז]קין תרתן די עז
- 26 למעל[ן] מ[עו]נא די גמלא ד [ע] **///** ולמפקנא ד [ע] **///**
- 27 מן טעון[ן] חמר די משה למ[עלנא] ד ע **///** ולמפקנא [ד ע] **///**
- 28 מן טעון דהנא די בזקין א[רבע] די עז די
- 29 טעון גמל מעלנא ד ע — **///** ולמפקנא ד ע — **///**
- 30 מן טעון דהנא די בזקי תרת[ן] די עז
- 31 למעון גמל למעלנא ד ע **///** ולמפקנא ד ע **///**
- 32 מן טעון [דה]נא די חמר למעלנא [ד ע] **///** ולמפקנא [ד ע] **///**
- 33 מן טעון [נט]יא מליחיא למעונא די [גמלא]
- 34 [למעלנא ד] ע — **///** ומן מפק מנהן . . . .
- 35 . . . . . א למעונא די גמלא למ . . . . .
- 36 . . . . . א די טעון חמרא למעלנ[א]
- 37 . . . . . נא ינבא מכסא ד **///**

a load of oil[1] which is in] four goat-[ski]ns, <sup>23</sup> for import, the ca[mel]-load, 13 denarii, <sup>24</sup> and for export 1[3] denarii. <sup>25</sup> From a load of o[il] which is [in] two goat-[sk]ins, <sup>26</sup> for import, the camel-l[oa]d, [7] denarii, and for export [7] denarii. <sup>27</sup> From a donkey-load of oil, for im[port] 7 denarii, and for export [7] denarii]. <sup>28</sup> From a load of fat which is in f[our] goat-skins, which <sup>29</sup> is a camel-load, import 13 denarii, and for [expo]rt 13 denarii. <sup>30</sup> From a load of fat which is in tw[o] goat-skins, <sup>31</sup> for the camel-load, for import 7 denarii, and for ex[port 7 denarii]. <sup>32</sup> From a donkey-load of [fa]t, for import [7] denarii, and for export] 7 denarii. <sup>33</sup> From a load of salted [fish], for the [camel]-load, <sup>34</sup> [for import] 10 [denarii], and from an exporter of any of them . . . <sup>35</sup> . . . for the camel-load . . . <sup>36</sup> . . . of the donkey-load, for import <sup>37</sup> . . . the tax-

יא ד פ	38
מן אמ	39
יא [אם] רין //	40
שאמריא למע[לנא] . . . . . רשא חד אסריא חד	41
מן [טעון]נא גמלא א //	42
מן ארב א [א]סרין . . . //	43
מן ד	44
א ממן די יהוא מזבן משחא	45
בשימא אסרין . . . אף יגבא פכסא מן איתא מן	46
מן די שקלא דינר [אן] יתיר דנרא חד מן איתא	47
ומן מן די שקלא אסרין תמניא	48
יגבא אסרין תמניא	49

ii b.

(1-12=Greek iii b 31-45; 22. 23=iii c 22-24; 43=iv a 27;  
45-48=iv a 34-37.)

1 ומן מן די שקל[א] אסרין ש[תא]

2 יגבא אסרין [ / י ]

3 אף יגבא . . . . . ודי ח[נ]תא ופמפל

collector shall levy 3 denarii <sup>38</sup> . . . 10 denarii . . . <sup>39</sup> . . . from . .  
<sup>40</sup> . . . 2 assarii <sup>41</sup> . . . lambs, for im[port] . . . one head, one  
 assarius. <sup>42</sup> From a camel-[loa]d . . . 2 <sup>43</sup> . . . from ? . . . assarii . .  
 2. <sup>44</sup> From . . . <sup>45</sup> . . . from one (?) who shall sell sweet oil  
<sup>46</sup> assarii . . Also the tax-collector shall levy from women,  
 from <sup>47</sup> one who has taken a denarius [or] more, one denarius  
 from the woman. <sup>48</sup> And from one who has taken eight  
 assarii <sup>49</sup> he shall levy eight assarii.

ii b.

<sup>1</sup> And from one who has taken [s]ix assarii <sup>2</sup> he shall levy  
 [6] assarii. <sup>3</sup> Also he shall levy . . . and of the shop and

- 4 פ. .... היך עדתא  
 5 [לכל] יר[ח] מן חנותא ד /  
 6 [מן כל] משך די [י]תאעל או יזבן למשכא אסרון //  
 7 ... ימנתיא די הפבין במדינתא יהן מוט מכסא  
 8 [לתש] מיש עינן תרתן די מ[י] די במדינתא ד ע // כ  
 9 [י]גבא מכסא למעונא די חמא וחמרא ותבנא  
 10 [וכ]ל מדי דמא [להון לכ]ל גמל לארדא חדא ד /  
 11 לגמלא כרי יתאיעל סריק יבא ד /  
 12 היך [די] גב[א] קלקים בר חרי קיסר  
 13 פ. .... סא די תדמר ועינתא די מא  
 14 ומל. .... יב. [מ]דינתא ותחומיה היך  
 15 א [מכס]יא [די] אגר קדם מרינס היגמונא  
 16 מעון די גמלא ד // ומפקן ד // //  
 17 מ[ן] ..... מלשא לכל משך למעלנא ד // ולמפקנא ד //  
 18 [אף] יגב[א] מכסא [מן] גנמא כלהון היך די כתיב מן לעל

general store <sup>4</sup> ... according to custom, <sup>5</sup> [every] mon[th] from the shop 1 denarius. <sup>6</sup> [From every] skin which shall be imported or sold, for the skin 2 assarii. <sup>7</sup> ... clothiers (?) who shall barter in the city, their tax shall vary. <sup>8</sup> For the use of two wells of wa[ter] which are in the city, 800 denarii. <sup>9</sup> The tax-collector shall levy for a load of wheat and wine and straw <sup>10</sup> and suchlike, for each camel, for one journey 1 denarius. <sup>11</sup> For the camel when it is brought in empty he shall levy 1 denarius, <sup>12</sup> as Kilix, freedman of Caesar, levied. <sup>13</sup> ... of Tadmor and the wells of water <sup>14</sup> ... the town and its borders, as <sup>15</sup> ... the [taxes] for [which] they (?) contracted before Marinus the governor. <sup>16</sup> ... the camel-load, 4 denarii, and export, 4 denarii. <sup>17</sup> From ... a fleece, for each skin, for import 4 denarii, and for export 4 denarii. <sup>18</sup> [Also the tax-collector shall l]evy from goods of all kinds

- 19 ... טב... עא באסרא חד למדיא די קסטון  
 20 עשר [שת] ... מא די . יתבעא יתן [לה]ן לתשמישא  
 21 לא.... תשע לכל מדיא מן נמ[וס]א דנה ססטרימין ///  
 22 מן יהוא לה מלח בתוך[מר]..... מאד  
 23 ת[דמרי]א יכילנה ל.... א די מא (?) באסרא חד  
 24 .....אי ..... קי... הינמונא  
 25 ..חשבן מב ..... בני תדמריא ל י  
 26 ... קם מבס[מס] קי[טר]  
 27 חיב לא הוא ..... סא .. גרבא  
 28 אלקמס וחת ..... נמוסא יפרע מ[בס]א  
 29 משתתף ד ..... אדי ... יהוא  
 30 פרע למבסא מן די מעל רגלן לתדמר  
 31 [א] לתחומיה ומפק לכל רגל י  
 32 ו...י' ..... [מ]פק יפרע למב[סא] ד [כ]ר //  
 33 די.... [על]ם ומרן. ד ע ///  
 34 לכל ..... מיא דנה .....

as it is written above. <sup>19</sup> ... one assarius for the modius of costus-roots. <sup>20</sup> [Six]teen ... what shall be desired, he shall give [to th]em for use. <sup>21</sup> ... nine for every modius by this l[a]w, 4 sestertii. <sup>22</sup> Whoever shall have salt in Tad[mor] ... <sup>23</sup> the T[admoren]es, he shall measure it ... at one assarius <sup>24</sup> ... the governor. <sup>25</sup> ... a reckoning ... the Tadmoreses ... <sup>26</sup> ... cus Maxi[mus] Cae[sar], <sup>27</sup> he is not liable ... <sup>28</sup> Alkimus ... the law, he shall pay the t[ax], <sup>29</sup> participating ... he shall <sup>30</sup> pay to the tax-collector. Whoever imports any persons into Tadmor <sup>31</sup> [or] its borders, and exports (any), for each person ... <sup>32</sup> ... [ex]port, he shall pay to the tax-col[lector] 12 [denarii] <sup>33</sup> ... who ... [sla]ve-veteran ... 8 denarii <sup>34</sup> ... for



- 35 .. מעלנ ..... ה וד — ומפקנא] ע //
- 36 .. מן די מפק עלם וטרן
- 37 .. חשבנ ..... כתיב בגמסא
- 38 .. פרע ד ע ///
- 39 .. מ ..... לא כתיב בדיל[די]
- 40 .. מדעם לא ... או ל .....
- 41 .. לא דמיא .....
- 42 .. ומעלן מב .....
- 43 .. ודי עמרא ..... נא די אפק ד //
- 44 .. תרמ[ר] .. מלכא ..... פרעא תהוא עמרא
- 45 .. דיא ..... מכסא למפקנא בתר
- 46 .. כות הוו ספון] ..... לא ע מדא אימליק[א]
- 47 .. [י]הוא פרע ..... למפקא
- 48 .. משחא ב[שימא די] בוקן די עז יהוא מכסא
- 49 .. בדילדי בטעון די

ii c.

(3-22 = Greek iv a 41-57.)

I כתב די טעא מכס[א] בן

each ... this ... <sup>35</sup> ... import ... and 10 denarii, and export,  
 7 <sup>36</sup> ... whoever exports a slave-veteran <sup>37</sup> ... a reckoning ...  
 written in the law <sup>38</sup> ... pay 9 denarii <sup>39</sup> ... is not written,  
 because <sup>40</sup> anything ... <sup>41</sup> is not like ... <sup>42</sup> and import ...  
<sup>43</sup> and of wool ... which he exports, 3 denarii. <sup>44</sup> Tadmor ...  
 the tax ... she shall pay. The wool <sup>45</sup> of (?) ... the tax for  
 export afterwards <sup>46</sup> as they have agreed ... Italian modius,  
<sup>47</sup> shall he pay ... to the exporters. <sup>48</sup> [Sweet] oil [which]  
 is in goat-skins shall the tax-collector <sup>49</sup> ... because by  
 mistakes in the

ii c.

<sup>1</sup>document which the tax-collector committed ... <sup>2</sup>... in

- 2 מן . . שו בנמוסא . חיפא ד — י
- 3 מבסא די קצבא אפי דנר חיב
- 4 למתחשבו היך די אף גרמנקוס קיסר
- 5 באגרתא די כתב לסמטילס פשק די
- 6 הא כשר די . . מבסיא אפי אמר אימלקא
- 7 נבן ומדי גו מן דנר חיב מבסא היך
- 8 עדתא ע[ר]פן יהא גבא
- 9 פגרין די משתדן מבס לא חיבין
- 10 למעמטא הי בנמון[סא] למעוונא אקימת
- 11 די יהוא פתג[ב]א דנר
- 12 מדי יהוא מ[תאעל] בר מן תחומא או מאפק
- 13 מן די מפק ל[קרי]א [אן] מעל מן קריא
- 14 מבס לא חיב היך די אף הו ספן
- 15 אסטריביליא ומדי דמא להן אתחוי די
- 16 לכל די עלל לחשבן תגרא יהוא מבסא
- 17 היך ליביש היך די הוא אף במדינתא

the ? law, 15 denarii. <sup>3</sup> The tax on slaughtered animals by the denarius must <sup>4</sup> be reckoned, as also Germanicus Caesar, <sup>5</sup> in the letter which he wrote to Statilius, explained that <sup>6</sup> it was indeed right that . . the taxes (should be) levied by the Italian assarius, <sup>7</sup> and what is under a denarius, the tax-collector must according to <sup>8</sup> custom levy in small coin. <sup>9</sup> Dead bodies which are thrown away are not liable to taxation. <sup>10</sup> As to victuals, it (is said) in the law: For a load I have ordained <sup>11</sup> that a denarius shall be levied, <sup>12</sup> whenever it shall be imported from without the borders, or exported; <sup>13</sup> whoever exports to the [villages or] imports from the villages <sup>14</sup> is not liable to taxation, as also they agreed. <sup>15</sup> Pine-cones and such-like, it seemed good that <sup>16</sup> for all that comes into the market the tax shall be <sup>17</sup> as for dry goods, as has been also

18 אחרניתא

19 גמליא הן טעינין והן סריקין יהן

20 מתאעלין בר מן תחומא חיב כל

21 גמל דנר היך בנמוסא והיך די אשר

22 קרבלין כשירא באגרתא די כתב לברברס

23 על גלדיא די גמליא חסא. ן כפרו די מכס

24 לא גבן ס עשב[י]א . . . . וְתֵא אַתְחֹזִי דִּי יְהֵן

25 יִהְיִין מִבְּ[סֵא] בְּדִילְדִי אִית בְּהֹן תַּגְרָתֵא

26 מִכְסֵא דִּי עֲלִימָתֵא הִיךְ דִּי נִמוֹסֵא מִזְחֵא פִשְׁקָת

27 הוּ מִכְסֵא יִגְ[בֵא מִבְּ]סֵא מִן עֲלִימָתֵא דִּי שְׁקֵלֵן דְּנֵר

28 או יתיר לאי[תא דנר]א והן חסיר תהוה שְׁקֵלֵא

29 מְדִי הִתְ[ת] שְׁקֵלֵא [יִגְבֵא מִן] צִלְמִי נַחְשֵׁא אֲדִרְטִיֵּא

30 אַתְחֹזִי דִּי יִתְגַּבֵּא הִיךְ [מִן נַח]שֵׁא וִיהוּא פִרְעַ צִלְמֵ

31 בְּפִלְגֻת . . . וְצִלְמִין . . . מַעֲן ס עַל מִלְחָא

32 קֶשׁ . . . [א]תְחֹזִי לִי דִּי בֵּאתֵר דִּי דִמְס תְּהוּא

(the rule) in <sup>18</sup> other cities. <sup>19</sup> Camels, whether they be brought in laden or empty <sup>20</sup> from without the borders, each camel is liable <sup>21</sup> for a denarius, as is in the law, and as <sup>22</sup> the excellent Corbulo established in the letter which he wrote to Barbarus <sup>23</sup> about the camel-skins ? ? that they do not levy <sup>24</sup> a tax. Herbs . . . it seemed good that they should <sup>25</sup> pay the ta[x], because they are an article of merchandise. <sup>26</sup> The tax of female slaves, as I clearly (?) explained the law, <sup>27</sup> the said tax-collector shall le[vy the t]ax from female slaves who take a denarius <sup>28</sup> or more, for (each) wo[man a denari]us, and if she take less, <sup>29</sup> what she has taken [he shall levy. From] images of bronze, statues, <sup>30</sup> it seemed good that (the tax) be levied as [from bron]ze, and the image shall pay <sup>31</sup> half . . . and images . . . a load. For salt <sup>32</sup> . . . it seemed

- 33 מתזבנא באתר די מתכנשין ומן מן ה[גרא]  
 34 יזבן לחש[בנ]ה יהוא יהב למדיא אסר איטלקא  
 35 היך בנמוסא ואף מכסא [מ]לחא די הווא  
 36 בתדמר היך בה ..... אפי אסר יהוא  
 37 מתקבל ולמ[די]א יהוא מזבן היך עידא  
 38 ..... [מכ]סא די ארגונא בדילדי  
 39 ק ..... ארבעא ופלג .....  
 40 ..... מלכין ..... ת וחיטא  
 41 ..... ד די יהוא  
 42 ..... א ..... יהוא מתנבא  
 43 מכסא היך די נמ[וסא] ..... על - למעלן שלחא  
 44 אסרין // אשב ..... [יג]בא ולממפקנא  
 45 למעזנא ..... [כות א]ף הווא ספח  
 46 ענא ת. ו. ה ..... מן תחומא. פהן  
 47 א מכסא חיב או הן לנו מן  
 48 על ..... מדינתא למנו מכס לא חיב  
 49 מ ..... [ח]נותא ומן די היך יהון הון

good to me that in the public place it be <sup>33</sup> sold, in the place where they assemble; and whoever of the merchants <sup>34</sup> shall buy (it) at its reckoning, he shall give for the modius an Italian assarius, <sup>35</sup> as is in the law, and also the tax of (?) the salt which is <sup>36</sup> in Tadmor, as ... by the assarius it shall be <sup>37</sup> admitted, and by the mo[di]us it shall be sold, according to custom <sup>38</sup> ... the [ta]x on purple, because <sup>39</sup> ... four and a half ... <sup>40</sup> ... kings (?) ... ? <sup>41</sup> ... which shall be <sup>42</sup> ... shall be levied, <sup>43</sup> the tax as the law ... For import, skins (?) <sup>44</sup> 2 assarii ... [he shall l]evy, and for export <sup>45</sup> ? ... [as al]so they have agreed. <sup>46</sup> Sheep (?) ... from the borders ... <sup>47</sup> ... the tax is liable, or if below <sup>48</sup> ... the city, to shear, a tax is not liable <sup>49</sup> ... the shop and because, as they shall

..... מכם ..... א היך בנמוסא דנר ... א ... נא .....  
 מכם לא יהוא מתנבא אלא ל. ן די יהוא מתנאעל .....  
 [תד]מר אן יצבא מכם יהוא

be (?) <sup>60</sup> ... the tax ... as in the law a denarius ... the tax shall not be levied except ... shall be brought in ... [Tad]mor, if he wish, the tax shall be.

The most valuable commentaries on this inscription are those of Reckendorf, *ZDMG* xlii (1888) 370-415, and of Dessau, *Hermes* xix (1884) 486-533 (Gk. text). With this Tariff are to be compared the Gk. Tariff of Coptos A. D. 90, Hogarth in Flinders Petrie *Koptos* (1896) 27 ff., and the Lat. Tariff of Zarai, *CIL* viii 4508. The T. of Palmyra is that of a local *octroi*; the T. of Zarai refers to an imperial *douane* at the port, the T. of Coptos is distinct from both.

# ... i.

L. 1. דנמא די בולא The Senate promulgates this important decree (*δόγμα*) on its own account, without reference to Rome. The earlier tariff, however, of which this is only a readjustment, was in all essentials drawn up by the Roman authorities, see ii b 12. 15; c. 5. 22. פלִהֲדִירִין The office of *πρόεδρος*; ל is written instead of ך especially after ם, cf. the Talm. פלִהֲדִירִין and פרוהדרין *προεδρος*, פלמרין *πραιτώριον* &c.

L. 2. גרמטא The office of *γραμματεὺς*, 122 2 n. אלכסדרים with ן assimilated, cf. 146 4 n., but without the assimilation in 121 3; cf. סקלמיקא Vog. 21, but סנק' 125 2. ארכונא *ἀρχοντες*, probably the same as *στρατηγοί* in 3rd cent. inscr.; see 121 2 n.

L. 3. עליי 'Ολαίους (gen.) = عَليّ. כד הות ונ' 182 1 n. נשא *by custom* l. 5 &c. *βουλῆς νομίμων ἀγουμενης*. For נמוסא cf. מן עידא l. 5 &c. The vowel of the first syllable of נמוסא coming before the δ was prob. ε, as in Gk.; but in Syr. نَمُوسَا, in Arab. كَامُوس. אשחח ii c 21, Afel of שרר, Syr. شَرَر lit. firmum fecit.

L. 4. מדי ii c 7. 27, מא a 14, in Bibl. Aram. דן Dan. 2 28 &c., Talm. מדי בירלדי 110 4 n. ונבניא סרמא *ἐν τοῖς πάλαι χρόνοις*. *χρόνος* is mas., but *πλειστάκις* l. 6 is fem., 121 5 n. Distinguish between סכמא *tax*, cf. סכמ Num. 31 28, and סכמא *tax-collector* l. 6 &c. עבירא Plur. of עבירא 96 7, here in the sense of *articles* i.e. of merchandise. עבירא Cf. 121 5 סניא and שניא. חיקן סכמא The adj. absol. governing the accus., as often in Syr.; cf. סכמא *שכמים* Deut. 6 11.

L. 5. **וְהָאֵל** Afel 3 plur. mas. from **קָלַל** *go up*, rather than Pual **קָלַל**. The subj. is indefinite, lit. *they did not bring (them) up* i. e. on to the tariff; Gk. *οὐκ ἀναλήμφθη*. **וְהָאֵל** or **וְהָאֵל** Perf. 3 plur. mas., although used with a fem. subj. **עֲבִידִין**, a grammatical solecism. **מִתְּחִלָּה** Mas., if it is to agree formally with **וְהָאֵל**, but **מִתְּחִלָּה** if it is to be of the same gender as **עֲבִידִין**. The pass. construction is used elsewhere with this vb., e. g. ii c 11. 42. 50; **נָבֵא** = *collect, exact* tribute. **כִּן עֲדָא** *by custom*, **כִּן**. The expression is varied, thus **כִּן עֲדָא** . . **חֵן** l. 6. **כִּן עֲדָא** ii c 37. **כִּן עֲדָא** ii b 4. **כִּן** Lit. *at the rate of anything which*; **כִּן** = **כִּדְעָא** l. 8 (see note). **כִּדְעָא** *μυσθῶσαι* = **כִּדְעָא** l. 8. **כִּדְעָא**, **כִּדְעָא** = *to hire*, of taxes to collect, **כִּדְעָא** ii b 15, **כִּדְעָא** l. 11 *the contractor*. In Palmyra, as elsewhere in the Rom. empire, the taxes were not collected by state officials, but by persons who entered into a contract to raise them. As a self-governing state within the empire, Palmyra was allowed to levy its own taxes and reap the profits. In the same way subject kings and tetrarchs levied taxes within their territories, e. g. Herod Antipas in Galilee, Mt. 9 9 &c.; see Schürer *Gesch.* i 475 ff. In the Gk. version the collector is called *ὁ τελωνῆς* l. 6. *ὁ μισθούμενος* 10. 13. *τελώνης* iv a 20 &c. *μισθωτής* iii c 46. *δημοσιώτης* iii a 9; cf. *μισθωταί* in the T. of Coptos l. 2.

L. 6. **כִּדְעָא** This system of farming out the taxes naturally led to abuses. The *publicani* were notorious for their extortions and dishonesty, e. g. Lk. 3 12 f. 19 8 &c. In the Talm. the **כִּדְעָא** appear in a very unfavourable light, e. g. *Baba Qama* 113 a; for a typical instance of injustice at Askelon in the time of Ptolemy Euergetes see Jos. *Ant.* xii 4. 5. The absence of any fixed scheme of rates was a fruitful source of disputes, as at Coptos, Hogarth l. c. 28. In the promulgation of this tariff at Palmyra we have a rare instance of an attempt to deal with abuses by cancelling the loose system of taxation 'by custom,' and specifying fixed rates in detail; cf. Tacitus *Ann.* xiii 50. 51. **כִּדְעָא** The subj. is the preceding **כִּדְעָא**. **כִּדְעָא** 121 6 n. **כִּדְעָא** 110 4 n.

L. 7. **כִּדְעָא** or **כִּדְעָא** from **כִּדְעָא** *to scold, dispute*. In the Targ. **כִּדְעָא** is an adj. (Barth *Nominalb.* § 207 d), and the noun is **כִּדְעָא**, **כִּדְעָא**. **כִּדְעָא** ii c 16. 118 3 n. **כִּדְעָא** Elsewhere the construction is **כִּדְעָא** ii c 24. 30; so here **כִּדְעָא** ought to be followed immediately by the verb, **כִּדְעָא** *ארכתא תעשרתא*, as in the Gk. *δεδοχθαι τοῖς ἐπιστάταις ἀρχοντας καὶ δεκαπρώτους διακρίνοντας* (Rechen-dorf 397). As it stands **כִּדְעָא** can only be rendered as the gen. sign. **כִּדְעָא** Emph. st. of **כִּדְעָא**; numbers denoting a company or college take this form in Syr., e. g. **כִּדְעָא** *the Twelve* (Nöld. Syr.

σώματος iii a 8. י is the initial of דנר *denarius* (represented in the Gk. by \*), originally, as its name implies, the equivalent in silver of ten copper asses. Its value at this period was 4 sesterii (ii b 21) or 16 asses, i.e. about 9½d. Government dues and official payments were calculated on the Roman denarius-as system, see ii c 3 ff.; Kennedy *DB* iii 429.

L. 3. מנפח Emph. st. of מנפח b 16 *export*, as opposed to מנפח, מנפח *import*.

L. 4. עלם וסר b 33. 36 = the Roman *mancipia veterana*, a class of slaves, distinguished from *mancipia novicia*, who by Roman law were not only free from taxation, but did not need to be 'declared.' Contrary to the usual practice, at Palmyra these slaves were sold; Dessau l.c. 505. מנפח b 6 Ethpa.; see i 8 n.

L. 5. מנפח Cf. מנפח i 11.

L. 6. ו ii c 27 δ αὐτός = Syr. ܐܘܬܐ, which frequently comes to be used merely as a rendering of the Gk. article; Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* 173.

L. 9. מנפח מנפח γόμος δνικός = half a camel-load.

L. 10. מנפח מנפח πορφύρας μελωτης, i.e. wool died with purple; the form מנפח occurs in Dan. 5 7 &c., Syr. ܡܢܦܚܐ. In the old law, ii c 38, 'purple' alone is mentioned, without details. מנפח = [δέρμα]τος iii a 16 f.

L. 11. מנפח Plur. of מנפח l. 41 δσσάριον Mt. 10 29. Lk. 12 6, Mishnah מנפח, Syr. ܡܢܦܚܐ = *assarius*, a by-form of *as*, but apparently not of the same value. For the *as* was 1/8th of a denarius (supr.); while the *assarion* was 1/4th of a silver denarius, according to the Mishnah, e.g. מנפח מנפח ומנפח מנפח Talm. Jer. *Qiddushin* 58 d. In the 2nd cent., therefore, there was a considerable difference in value between the Hellenistic *assarion* and the official Roman *as*, which in this inscr. is called מנפח מנפח ii c 6. 34; see Schürer *Gesch.* ii 54, Kennedy, l.c.

L. 12. מנפח מנפח ii b 48 f. מנפח, oil for anointing, distinguished from מנפח l. 22 *oil*; cf. Lk. 7 46 מנפח מנפח and מנפח מנפח.

L. 13. מנפח מנפח [του ἐν ἀλαβάστρῳ]; cf. Mt. 26 7 מנפח מנפח מנפח ἀλάβαστρον מנפח.

L. 17. מנפח מנפח ἐν ἀσκούς ἀγείους. מנפח, sing. מנפח, is fem.; מנפח מנפח l. 25.

L. 19. מנפח Perhaps rather מנפח mas.

L. 22. מנפח מנפח γόμου ἐλεηρού iii a 32.

L. 26. מנפח An error for 'מנפח'.

L. 28. מנפח Syr. ܡܢܦܚܐ, Targ. מנפח and מנפח *fatness*, Arab. ܢܦܚ *fat*.

L. 32. The odd numbers in the foregoing lines (13-32), 25, 13, 7, imply that 1 denarius was charged on the beast (see ii c 21), and 24, 12, 6 on the freight. In the Rom. imperial tariff (Zarai, see p. 332) beasts were not taxed, 'pecora in nundinium immunia.'

L. 33. וְהַצְרִים... מִכְרָאִים דָּאן 13 16 Neh. or נוֹנִיא מְלִיחִיא Cf. Neh. 13 16 וְכָל-מִכְרָר.

L. 41. אִמְרָא (Schröder), Syr. ܐܡܪܐ, Targ. אִמְרָא, Arab. اَمْر.

L. 46. אִתְמָא l. 47, cf. ii c 26-29. אִתְמָא, אִתְמָא, is the form in the Targ., = אִתְמָא; the vowel of the 1st syllable is short, in spite of the vowel letter. Elsewhere in Palm. the form is אִתְמָא *his wife*, e.g. Vog. 33a. The women here referred to are *εταῖραι*; for references to their taxation in antiquity see Dessau 517, and cf. in the tariff of Coptos ll. 19 f. *Γυναικῶν πρὸς ἐταιρισμὸν δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν δακτῶ* (see p. 332).

L. 47. דִּינָרָא ii c 3 &c. 115 3. The transcription דִּינָר (only here) is exceptional.

L. 48. אִמְרָא Fem. with the mas. אִמְרָא.

## ii b.

L. 3. חֲנוּתָא The reading in l. 5 is certain, lit. *a vaulted room*; cf. Hebr. חֲנוּת *cell*, in plur. Jer. 37 16, and Syr. ܡܢܬܐ = Hebr. חֲנוּת 2 K. 23 11; generally *a shop, bazaar*, sometimes (e.g. Jer. 37 16 Aq.) as here = *εργαστήριον* iii b 32. 35. אִתְמָא παντοπωλείων σκυτικῶν (*shoemakers*) iii b 33; the Aram. equivalent of the latter word is lost. For אִתְמָא see 146 4 n.

L. 6. ܐܝܬܐ Reflexive, i 8 n., the same form as אִתְמָא.

L. 7. יִמְנָחִיא Perhaps to be restored יִמְנָחִיא [ח] *ιματισπῶλαι* iii b 38; אִתְמָא is a possible reading. ܡܬܥܝܢܐ *μεταβόλοι*, lit. *who change*, i.e. trade. ܡܬܥܝܢܐ c 19 = ܡܬܥܝܢ c 49 = ܡܬܥܝܢ 76 D 3. אִתְמָא Lit. *they shall be unsteadiness* (i.e. *unsteady*) in taxation, i.e. *their tax shall be undetermined*, the noun (Syr. ܡܬܥܝܢܐ) in appos. instead of an adj.; cf. the Hebr. idiom, Driver *Tenses* § 189. 2. The Gk. has τὸ ἱκανὸν τ[έλος] iii b 39.

L. 8. ܡܬܥܝܢܐ Targ. ܡܬܥܝܢܐ, Syr. ܡܬܥܝܢܐ. [י] must be taken as a sing. = יִי = יִי; there is not room, according to Reckendorf, for the restoration [י] l. 13. The amount of the tax obviously implies more than a single use of the wells; the Gk. has *χρήσεις πηγῶν β' ἑκάστου ἔτους* \* ω' (i.e. 800 denarii) iii b 40. Palmyra was renowned for its supply of water; thus Pliny 5 21 'Palmyra urbs nobilis situ divitiis soli et aquis amoenis.'





## ii c.

L. 2. מַשְׁחָה or מַשְׁחָה. The Gk. has [ἐν τῇ] ἀσφραγισμένη νόμῳ.

L. 3. מַשְׁחָה In Syr. ܡܫܚܐ = *slaughterer*; τὸ τοῦ σφάκτρον τέλος iv a 41. ܡܫܚܐ ܡܫܚܐ ܡܫܚܐ eis δηνάριον iv a 41, cf. ܡܫܚܐ ܡܫܚܐ l. 6. πρὸς ἀσσάριον iv a 43; in Syr. ܡܫܐ is preceded by a prepos., e. g. ܡܫܐ ܡܫܐ. See ii a 2 n.

L. 4. ܡܫܚܐ The inf. ending as in Syr.; cf. the infin. ending ܡܫ in Bibl. Aram., e. g. ܡܫܚܐ ܡܫܚܐ Ezr. 7 16. ܡܫܚܐ ܡܫܚܐ Dan. 4 15 ('binding forms'), and in Targ., Dalm. Gr. 228. Germanicus Caesar, the nephew and adopted heir of Tiberius, was sent on a special mission to the East, A. D. 17-19, with command of all the provinces beyond the Hellespont. During his administration he succeeded in establishing excellent relations, in which no doubt Palmyra was interested, between the Roman and the Parthian powers. Statilius, like Barbarus l. 22, was prob. an imperial procurator of the province of Syria; cf. b 12 n.

L. 5. ܡܫܐ l. 26, Pael ܡܫܐ *exposuit*.

L. 6. ܡܫܐ, like the enclitic ܡܫܐ in Syr., is here used to give emphasis; cf. the use of ܡܫܐ in Vog. 36 b ܡܫܐ ܡܫܐ ܡܫܐ ܡܫܐ ܡܫܐ *this monument which is a tomb of honour*; also ܡܫܐ in l. 10 ܡܫܐ ܡܫܐ. See i 11 n.

L. 7. ܡܫܐ Peal ptp. pass. plur., agreeing with ܡܫܐ l. 6 which was prob. preceded by ܡܫܐ. ܡܫܐ ܡܫܐ iv a 44, lit. *within*. In other dialects ܡܫܐ usually takes a prep., e. g. ܡܫܐ &c.; cf. ܡܫܐ l. 3 n., and ܡܫܐ outside l. 12 = Syr. ܡܫܐ. In l. 47, however, we find ܡܫܐ ܡܫܐ.

L. 8. ܡܫܐ ܡܫܐ iv a 45, cf. Jn. 2 15 ܡܫܐ ܡܫܐ = τὰ κέρματα. Here ܡܫܐ is the small copper coinage struck locally; for higher values the imperial coinage was used. ܡܫܐ = ܡܫܐ.

L. 9. ܡܫܐ The Gk. has τῶν δὲ διὰ τὸ νεκρимаῖα εἶναι βεηπουμένων iv a 45 f. The reference is to the bodies of old or sick animals which could not be brought to the slaughter-house. ܡܫܐ Ethpe. ptp. of ܡܫܐ.

L. 10. ܡܫܐ ܡܫܐ τῶν βρωτῶν, Syr. ܡܫܐ or ܡܫܐ *taste, a repast*. ܡܫܐ Af. pf. 1 sing.

L. 12. ܡܫܐ = ܡܫܐ i 9 n., ܡܫܐ iv a 48. ܡܫܐ Afel ptp. pass.; as a rule the ܡ is not retained in this form. ܡܫܐ Sing., or ܡܫܐ plur., cf. l. 7 n.

L. 13. ܡܫܐ = ܡܫܐ. ܡܫܐ = ܡܫܐ plur., eis χωρία iv a 49.

L. 15. ܡܫܐ ܡܫܐ = στρόβιλοι, here = κώνου iv a 51; the kernel of

the fir-cone is still esteemed in Syria as an article of food. The 'similar' fruits would prob. be nuts and almonds.

L. 16. <sup>עלל</sup> For the uncontracted form cf. <sup>עלל</sup> Dan. 4 4 &c. Kt., <sup>עלל</sup> Qeri. <sup>עלל</sup> Dan. 4 9; similarly in Talm. <sup>עלל</sup> <sup>עלל</sup> &c., Dalman Gr. 274. This form is specially common in the case of <sup>עלל</sup>. <sup>עלל</sup> Lit. *everything that enters into the reckoning of the merchants*, <sup>עלל</sup> eis <sup>עלל</sup> <sup>עלל</sup> <sup>עלל</sup> iv a 52.

L. 17. <sup>עלל</sup> Syr. <sup>עלל</sup>, <sup>עלל</sup>; cf. ii a 6.

L. 19. <sup>עלל</sup> See ii b 11 n.

L. 22. <sup>עלל</sup> The famous Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo, consular legate of Cappadocia and afterwards of Syria A. D. 57-66, in the reign of Nero. <sup>עלל</sup> = <sup>עלל</sup> as a title.

L. 23. <sup>עלל</sup> Syr. <sup>עלל</sup>, Arab. <sup>עלל</sup> *skin*, once in Hebr., Job 16 15; perhaps the camel-hides used for packing merchandise. <sup>עלל</sup> ... <sup>עלל</sup> Prob. <sup>עלל</sup> intervened, as <sup>עלל</sup> implies; cf. l. 31 f.

L. 24. Reckendorf proposes <sup>עלל</sup> <sup>עלל</sup> <sup>עלל</sup> *herbs of the physicians*; cf. *Baba Bath.* 74 b <sup>עלל</sup> <sup>עלל</sup> <sup>עלל</sup> *that herb serves for plaisters*.

L. 26. <sup>עלל</sup> <sup>עלל</sup> iv b 5; cf. ii a 46-b 2. <sup>עלל</sup> Perhaps an error for <sup>עלל</sup>. <sup>עלל</sup> Nöld. conjectures <sup>עלל</sup> Afel ptc. *showing*, as a correction.

L. 29. <sup>עלל</sup> <sup>עלל</sup>, Syr. <sup>עלל</sup>, Targ. <sup>עלל</sup> *idol*. The word here is a further description of <sup>עלל</sup>.

L. 31. <sup>עלל</sup> l. 39. The word is perhaps incomplete; ? 1 for ב.

L. 34. <sup>עלל</sup> <sup>עלל</sup> The price seems too small; perhaps it is the amount of the tax, not the cost of a bushel of salt.

L. 35. <sup>עלל</sup> Ptcp. fem.

L. 38. <sup>עלל</sup> See a 10.

L. 43. <sup>עלל</sup> The rendering is uncertain, *honey-comb* or *skin*—the Syr. <sup>עלל</sup> has both meanings; or *weapons*, Targ. <sup>עלל</sup>, Arab. <sup>עלל</sup>, Hebr. <sup>עלל</sup>.

## JEWISH

148 A. Bené Hēzir. Chwolson 6. Circ. i cent. B.C. In situ.

1 זה קבר והמש[ב] לאלעזר חניה יעזר יהודה שמעת[ן] יוחנן  
2 בני ים..... ב...ף ואלעזר בני חניה  
3 מבני חויר

This is the tomb and resting-place of Eli'azar, Hānniah, Yô'azar, Yehudah, Simeon, Yôḥanan, sons of . . . . . and Eli'azar, sons of Hānniah . . . of the sons of Hēzir.

This inscr. is written over the entrance of the so-called Tomb of St. James at the foot of the Mt. of Olives, opposite the SE. angle of the Temple-area. The writing exhibits a form of Hebrew which is advancing towards the square character. Thus א, ה, ל, ע, ר are very near to their later forms; ב, ד, ח, ט still resemble the Nab. and Palm. types; ו and ז are indistinguishable; נ has a final form, and when י follows joins on to it with a ligature; in the case of בני all three letters are thus united; cf. the use of the ligature in Palm. The form of י is peculiar, י; this is different from the Nab. and Palm. forms, and resembles the archaic י, without the two lower strokes. A somewhat similar י appears in Jewish ossuaria. Facsimiles of this and the following inscr. are given by Driver *Samuel* xxiii and xxv.

L. 1. Chwolson, *Corp. Inscr. Hebr.* 66, supplies the art. before קבר, following de Vogüé; the facsimile shows no trace of it. If the art. is written with משכב, as appears to be the case in spite of Lidzb.'s text (p. 485), it is required with קבר. The reading משכב is not quite certain; the last letter looks more like ד or ר than ב; for the word see 4 8 n.

L. 2. Chwolson reads [וליו]סף . . . ב . . . ב. But יוסף is very doubtful; the fifth letter may be ט, it is certainly not י.

L. 3. In 1 Chr. 24 15 חויר is the ancestor of a priestly family, in Neh. 10 21 חויר is one of the ראשי העם. It is not unlikely that the persons mentioned in the inscr. belonged to the priestly family of Hēzir; de Vogüé conjectures further that Simeon, Yô'azar, and Eli'azar were the high-priests of the same names, belonging to the family of Boethos, who held office in B.C. 24-5, 4, and 4 ff., respectively

(Schürer *Gesch.*³ ii 217). The tomb is an imposing one, with an architectural façade in the Gk. style. It may be dated in the 1st cent. B.C. or A.D.; most probably it was executed in the reign of Herod the Gr. It cannot be later than A.D. 70, for a tomb on such a scale could not have been designed after the destruction of Jerusalem. The evidence of the writing is not decisive, but Meyer considers that it points to a date earlier than the 1st cent. B.C., *Entsteh. d. Judenth.* 143.

B. Kefr Bir'im. Chwolson 17. ii or iii cent. A.D. In situ.

יהי שלום במקום הזה ובכל מקומות ישראל יוסה הלוי בן  
לוי עשה השקוף הזה תבא ברכה במעיוש.

Peace be upon this place and upon all the places of Israel!  
Yōseh the Levite, son of Levi, made this lintel. May a  
blessing come upon his works!

This inscr. is written over the door of a ruined synagogue at Kefr Bir'im, a village near Šafed in Galilee. The writing has a more finished and formed character than that of A; it is obviously later. The architectural style of the ruins perhaps belongs to the 2nd half of the 2nd cent. A.D. (Renan); Lidzb., however, suggests the 4th cent. (*Jewish Ency.* i 444). The ⲛ has a form which is characteristic of later inscr., with the left limb descending perpendicularly. The ı and ı̇ are mere strokes, and only differ in the slight slope of ı to the left. The ı̇ has a short stroke to the right, ^; ⲛ takes a final form ı̇. It is to be noticed that the *scriptio plena* is employed throughout.

יוסח This form, a diminutive of יוסף, occurs in the recently discovered Hebr. mosaic at Kefr Kenna in Galilee, Lidzb. *Eph.* i 314; it appears also in the Jer. Talm. יוסח and יוסא, otherwise usually יוסי; in the Bab. Talm. יוסף. The form seems to be Palestinian. שקוף = the O.T. משקוף Ex. 12 7. 22 f. מעיוש The stone-cutter left out the ש after ע and then added it to the end of the word. After ש is a perpendicular stroke, the meaning of which is not evident.

## ARAMAIC, PHOENICIAN, AND JEWISH COINS

**149 A 1-6. Aramaic Coins: Tarsus. iv cent. B. C. Brit. Mus.  
Plate IX A 1-6.**

The coins nos. 1-6 were struck in Cilicia. The legend בעלתרין connects them with Tarsus, the most important city of the province, and under the Persian empire a great military and naval depot. This money was issued by Persian satraps, not as governors for the use of their provinces, but as military commanders for the payment of their troops when occasion required. Thus, for example, after the occupation of Cyzicus in 410, Pharnabazus gave his soldiers two months' pay and large sums to the chiefs of the allied fleet (*Xen. Hellen.* i. 24-26). Besides the satraps on special occasions, various towns and petty dynasties who acknowledged the suzerainty of Persia, all of them, it is to be noticed, near the shores of the Mediterranean, were allowed to coin money of their own (e.g. B 1-3. 5-7. 9. 10. 13); and this local money was current simultaneously with the imperial coinage. See Babelon *Pers. Ach.* xxii f.

A 1.

Tarsus.

*R. Obv.* בעלתרין *Ba'al of Tarsus.* Type: the god seated on the diphros, wearing the himation over the left shoulder and about the lower limbs, his right hand resting on a sceptre: linear circle.

*Rev.* כלך פארנבז *Cilicia, Pharnabazus.* Type: a bearded male head wearing a crested Athenian helmet, perhaps the head of Ares: linear circle. Persian stater. Hill *Brit. Mus. Catal. of Gk. coins of Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia* (1900), p. 165, no. 21; Babelon *PA* no. 169.

For the term בעלתרין see 5 18 n. Pharnabazus belonged to an Iranian family which was closely connected with Hellespontine Phrygia, and produced the satraps who governed this province; he succeeded his father Pharnacus in 413 B. C. Outside his own province, in Cilicia, he conducted military operations at three periods, B. C. 398-394, 391-389, 379-374, to the last of which his coins are generally assigned. After years of preparation (391-389), the expedition against Egypt took place; Pharnabazus had for his colleague in the

command Datames (nos. 2-4), who afterwards succeeded him, and this association accounts for the close similarity between the coins of the two satraps. Pharnabazus appears to have introduced the remarkable types of the heads of Ares (?) and Arethusa (no. 2). פִּרְנָבָז is a Persian name, cf. תִּרְיָבָז (Hill l.c. 164, no. 12); the final ף is explained by Marquart, *Philologus* liv 494 Anm. 35, as the vulgar-Persian ending of the genitive from which the normal *f* has fallen away, *Farnabāsō* being = *Frana(h)bāsaūš*. Instead of כֶּלֶךְ some of the coins have חֶלֶךְ (never on the coins of Datames); for the interchange of כ and ח cf. אֶנְכִי and אֶחָד, קִרְיָן and קִרְיָץ &c. (König *Lehrg.* ii 458).

The Carpentras stele 75 affords the nearest parallel to the Aram. characters on coins 1-6.

## Tarsus.

## A 2.

*R. Obv.* Type: head of Arethusa with streaming hair and fillet, wearing earrings and necklace: circle of dots.

*Rev.* Tardamu. Type: as no. 1, with circle of dots. Persian stater. Hill l.c. 167, no. 30; *PA* no. 183.

The *obv.* type is found also on coins of Pharnabazus; it was copied from the famous Arethusa coins of Kimon of Syracuse (see Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* 106 f.). The reading of the satrap's name is not certain, owing to the similarity of ד and ר; it may be תִּרְדָּמֹס or תִּרְדָּמוֹ. The satrap belonged to a Karian family, and *Tardamū* was probably the original form of his name in Karian, with the ending *amū* as in Παναμύνης, Ἐξαμύνης; the Gk. form Δαρδάμνης, well known from the historians, probably represents the Iranian pronunciation of the name (Marquart l.c. 493)<sup>1</sup>. Datames succeeded (circ. 386) his father Kamissares in the satrapy which comprised 'partem Ciliciae juxta Cappadociam quam incolunt Leucosyri' (Corn. Nep. *Dat.* i, corrected by Meyer to 'partem Cappadociae juxta Ciliciam,' *PA* xxxix). His coins were struck in Cilicia in 378, under the same circumstances and in the same mints as those of Pharnabazus, at the time when the troops of the Great King were being equipped for the expedition against Egypt. Datames succeeded Pharnabazus in the command of this war. In 369 he laid siege to Sinope, and struck coins of Sinopean type with the legend ΔΑΤΑΜΑ (*PA* no. 200; Bevan *House of Seleucus* i 80. 82). After taking part in the great revolt of the satraps in 362, he was assassinated towards the close of the same year.

<sup>1</sup> For other explanations see Hill l.c. lxxix; Babelon *PA* xxxviii.

## Tarsus.

## A 3.

*R. Obv.* בעלתרין Type: Ba'al of Tarsus seated on the diphros to right, wearing the himation about the lower limbs; his right hand holds a sceptre surmounted by an eagle with spread wings, his left an ear of corn and a bunch of grapes; beside him is the thymiaterion; below the diphros a lotus flower: the whole enclosed by a circle with projections.

*Rev.* תרדמו Type: the satrap Tardamu wearing the Persian head-dress, an under-garment with sleeves, a cloak, and Persian trousers; on his knees is a quiver; he holds in both hands an arrow, which he examines; before him is a bow, and in the field above the winged disk of Ormuzd: circle of dots. Persian stater. Hill l.c. 167, no. 32; *PA* no. 187.

The *obv.* type is meant to suggest that the god is seated in his temple, the projections round the circle being intended to represent columns. The *rev.* type indicates that the satrap is preparing for the campaign against Egypt.

## Tarsus.

## A 4.

*R. Obv.* בעלתרין Type: as in 3, but the face and upper part of the body are turned to the front, and the diphros is seen in three-quarters view: circle as in 3.

*Rev.* תרדמו Type: the satrap Tardamu on the right, with his name in front, wearing a long chiton and himation, his right hand raised before his face in the attitude of adoration. On the left the figure of Ana, his right hand pointed towards Tardamu, the left lowered; the name אַנָּא, not visible in this specimen, is usually written behind; between them the thymiaterion: the whole enclosed by a linear square, bordered with dots on the top and two sides, with antefixa along the top. Persian stater. Hill l.c. 168, no. 35; *PA* no. 193.

The *rev.* type is variously interpreted. The two figures are evidently in a temple; Babelon takes them to be two deities, Ba'al of Tarsus on the right, Ana on the left. But the figure on the right is represented in the act of adoration, like Yehaw-milk in 3, and the name in front seems to signify that this is the satrap (Hill l.c. lxxx). Nothing is known of the god אַנָּא; it is not probable that he is the Assyrian Anu.



Tarsus.

A 5.

*R. Obv.* בעלתר Type: as in 1, but here the god holds in his right hand an ear of corn and a bunch of grapes, his left rests upon a lotus-headed sceptre; under the diphros the ringed cross.

*Rev.* מזדאי *Mazdai*. Type: lion attacking stag; the whole within a sunken square. Persian stater. Hill l.c. 169, no. 38; *PA* no. 201.

The *rev.* type is borrowed from Cyprus; it was the regular emblem of Kition (B 2. 3. 5. 6), and was probably adopted by Mazaeus at the time of the expedition which aimed at restoring Evagoras ii to the throne of Salamis (Diod. xvi 42), and probably used Kition as a convenient basis of operations (Hill l.c. lxxxii). Although Mazaeus is not mentioned in connexion with this war, yet he may have directed it and supplied the funds, for Cyprus belonged to the same satrapy as Phoenicia, where he was engaged in putting down a rebellion. It is to be noticed that the sunken square is also characteristic of the coinage of Cyprus, cf. B 1-7. Mazaeus was the greatest of the western satraps; he governed Cilicia from 361 to 333, and united under his rule Cilicia, Syria and Mesopotamia. The disastrous battle of Arbela, which gave to Alexander the empire of the Persian kings, only brought Mazaeus fresh advancement; he threw himself into Babylon with the wreck of his forces, and upon Alexander's approach surrendered the city (330); he was rewarded with the satrapy of Babylonia, and died in 328; see Bevan l.c. 245. The coins of Mazaeus, classified by Six in the *Numism. Chron.* (1884) *Le satrape Mazaios*, are numerous and varied; for 30 years he issued money in Cilicia, and concurrently in Syria for 15 years under the Persian king, and for 3 years in Babylon under Alexander the Great.

Tarsus.

A 6.

*R. Obv.* בעלתר Type: Ba'al of Tarsus as in 1, holding a lotus-headed sceptre in his right hand; in the field to left an ear of corn and a bunch of grapes, and the letter נ; under the diphros the letter מ: circle of dots.

*Rev.* מזדאי וי על עברנהרא וחלך *Mazdai who is over the Country beyond the River and Cilicia*. Type: two lines of walls, each with four towers one above the other; above a lion bringing down a bull: circle of dots. Persian stater. Hill l.c. 170, no. 48; *PA* no. 238.

The letter ט under the diphros has been explained as the initial of מלך; perhaps it merely indicates 'a moneyer or other subordinate of Mazaëus' (Hill lxxxiv). The letter נ may be a mint-mark. The *rev.* type of the lion and bull is an emblem of Tarsus; the walls below probably represent the fortifications of the city, rather than the Cilician Gates (Six, Babelon); they suggest an enclosure rather than a passage. The form of the relat. ף occurs in the Cilician inscr. 68; see also p. 185. The 'Country beyond the River' (i. e. Euphrates) was N. Syria, the term being used from the standpoint not of Cilicia but of Persia, as עבר הנהר in Neh. 2 7. 9. 3 7. Ezr. 8 36, עֶבֶר נְהַרְחָה Ezr. 4 10. 5 3 &c. Cf. 7 1 n., and for חלך see no. 1 n.

140 B 1-15. **Phoenician Coins.** v-ii cent. B. C. Brit. Mus., and Bibl. Nat., Paris. **Plate IX B 1-15.**

Cyprus, Kition.

B 1.

**R. Rev.** לְבַעַל־מֶלֶךְ (*Coin*) of *Ba'al-milk*. Type: lion seated, with open jaws; the whole within a sunken square bordered with dots. Persian stater: Brit. Mus. Cf. *PA* no. 647 (a tetrobol).

The reign of Ba'al-milk i is to be placed between the defeat of Xerxes in B. C. 479 and the occupation of Kition by the Athenians in 449. In the disaster of 479 the Persian fleet almost entirely perished, and with it the princes of Cyprus and Phoenicia; hence Xerxes found it necessary to send for the Tyrian Ba'al-milk to become king of Kition and found a new dynasty. The Tyrian origin of Ba'al-milk is shown by the type which he introduced upon his coinage, the figure of the Tyrian Herakles (Melqarth), as on the *obv.* of this coin; cf. B 4-6.

Kition.

B 2.

**R. Rev.** לְעִזְבַּעַל Of *'Az-ba'al*. Type: lion devouring a stag; border and square as 1. Persian stater: Brit. Mus. *PA* no. 670.

After the brief occupation of Kition by Kimon in 449 B. C., the Athenians evacuated the city, and 'Az-ba'al succeeded his father Ba'al-milk i as king from 449 to 425. His coins bear the Tyrian Herakles on the *obv.* (see B 1); but on the *rev.* a new type appears, the lion devouring the stag, an emblem of the Persian triumph over the Athenians. 'Az-ba'al was the first to style himself 'king of Kition and Idalion.'

Kition.

B 3.

*R. Rev.* לבעלמלך *Of Ba'al-milk.* Type: as B 2. Persian stater: Brit. Mus. *PA* no. 679.

Ba'al-milk ii was the son and successor of 'Az-ba'al; he reigned from B. C. 425 to 400.

Kition.

B 4.

*R. Rev.* מלך דמנו [ל] *Of king Demonicus.* Type: the bearded Herakles, with lion-skin on shoulders, marching to right; his left hand holds in front of him a bow, his right brandishes a club; sunken square. Persian stater: Bibl. Nat. *PA* no. 695.

Demonicus reigned at Kition from B. C. 388 to 387. He owed his position to the protection of Athens; and the fact that the Athenian domination in Kition did not last longer than the expedition of Chabrias in 388 accounts for the shortness of his reign. Demonicus himself was an Athenian, and the influence of Athens appears on his coins. They are the work of Greek, not oriental, engravers, hence the figure of Herakles differs noticeably from the figure on the coins of the native dynasty (cf. B 5. 6); the *obv.* type is a reproduction of the statue of Athene Promachos, erected on the Acropolis after Marathon to express defiance of the Persians; and on some of his coins Demonicus uses the Gk. language, the only king of Kition to do so. דמנו = *Δημόνικος*; the omission of נ is due either to accident or to the difficulty of transcribing a foreign name.

Kition.

B 5.

*A. Obv.* Type: the bearded Herakles, wearing a lion-skin on his head; his left hand, covered with another lion-skin, holds a bow in front, his right brandishes a club above his head; in the field the ringed cross: circle of dots.

*Rev.* מלך מליתון [ל] *Of king Milk-yathon.* Type: lion devouring stag; sunken square with border of dots. Hemi-stater: Bibl. Nat. *PA* no. 699.

Milk-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion (12-14. 28. 30), was the son of Ba'al-ram (23-25), and reigned from B. C. 392 to 361. In the series of inscr. which refer to him a break occurs in the 4th year of his reign, i. e. 388, the date of the Athenian investment and the usurpation of Demonicus. When the Athenians abandoned Kition, Milk-yathon was restored by the Persians. He was the first king of Kition to mint gold coins.



Hemesa in the region of the upper Orontes. The coin bears the name of Antiochus iv Epiphanes, B. C. 175-164. For the reading  $\text{מש}$  instead of  $\text{מם}$  (Babelon) see p. 46 n. 3; the title  $\text{מם}$  *metropolis*, lit. *mother*, occurs on coins of Sidon, e. g. B 15, and of Tyre  $\text{לצר מם צדנם}$  *RS* p. 86, but probably not on the coins either of Laodicea or of Berytus. It is interesting to find the biblical name  $\text{בנען}$  = Phoenicia on these coins, cf. Is. 23 11. Zeph. 1 11. Josh. 5 1 LXX &c.; it occurs besides only on the coins of Berytus which have the legend  $\text{ללארנא}$  *ללארנא* (p. 46 n. 3).

Byblus.

B 9.

*Æ. Rev.*  $\text{נבל מלך פאל}$  [ $\text{מל}$ ] *El-pa'al king of Gebal*. Type: lion devouring bull, the body of the bull incused, the head in relief: circle of dots. Graeco-asiatic stater: Bibl. Nat. *PA* no. 1344.

Of the kings of Gebal under the Persian empire two, Yehaw-milk and Uri-milk, are mentioned in 8, but the exact date of their reigns is not known. The two later kings of Gebal, El-pa'al (cf.  $\text{מל פאל}$  1 Chr. 8 11 ff.) and 'Az-ba'al (B 10), whose coinage is illustrated here, were reigning probably in B. C. 360 and 340 respectively, at any rate shortly before the Greek conquest, for Alexander would not have allowed them to issue money in their own names. The type of the lion and bull is an acknowledgement of the Persian supremacy (cf. A 6).

Byblus.

B 10.

*Æ. Rev.*  $\text{נבל מלך עזבאל}$  *'Az-ba'al king of Gebal*. Type: lion devouring bull: circle of dots. Graeco-asiatic stater: Brit. Mus. *PA* no. 1357.

See on B 9 above.

Byblus.

B 11.

*Æ. Rev.*  $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ}$  (right)  $\text{ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ}$  (left). Type: the Phoen. Kronos (see p. 20) with six wings, standing to left, holding a sceptre in the right hand; on his head-dress a four-branched ornament (see Philo Bybl. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 569); in the field above  $\text{נבל}$  *Of Gebal*, below  $\text{קדש}$  *the holy*: circle of dots. Chalkous: Bibl. Nat. *RS* no. 671.

The *obv.* has the bust of Antiochus crowned with a diadem. This is a specimen of the bronze coinage of Gebal under the Seleucids. The 'king' is Antiochus iv Epiphanes, 175-164 B. C. For the epithet  $\text{קדש}$  in connexion with Gebal see p. 21.

## Tyre.

## B 12.

**R. Rev.** Type: an owl, holding under its left wing the Egyptian crook and flail; in the field to right the number 35 (i. e. year): circle of dots. Attic didrachm: Brit. Mus. *PA* no. 2022.

The series of Tyrian coins of which this is a specimen reflects the disturbances of the period from B.C. 312 to 275. In 312 Tyre was taken from Antigonus by Ptolemy, the ally of Seleucus; coins were struck at once, and continued for 3 years (*PA* nos. 2007-2013). Then there comes a break for 20 years; in 287 Tyre passed into the hands of Seleucus; the period was too disturbed for the minting of money. Then the coins begin again in the 23rd year and continue till the 37th (*PA* 2014-2022; *Cl.-Gan. M.* i 59 f.). This brings us to 275, when Tyre was recaptured by Ptolemy ii Philad., and started a new era as an autonomous city (95 n.). Thus the years numbered on the coins are in fact the years of Ptolemy, beginning with his capture of the city in 312, and closing with his recapture of it in 275. The *rev.* type is noticeable: the owl is Greek, the crook and flail are Egyptian, the symbols of Osiris; the combination indicates the range of the mercantile relations of Tyre, and the influence of Athens and of Egypt upon the city. The *obv.* type, Melqarth riding on a sea-horse with a dolphin below, is a native emblem, symbolizing the claim of Tyre to the empire of the sea. A special interest attaches to the Tyrian coins of this size and value; they were used by the Jews, who had no coinage of their own, as 'the sacred shekel' for the payment of religious dues (*Ex.* 30 13. *Lev.* 5 15. 27 3. 25. *Num.* 7 13. 86 &c. *P.*); it is expressly enjoined in the *Talm.* that these dues are to be paid in Tyrian money, e.g. *B. Bekoroth* 49 ב כורש במנה צורי. See Kennedy *DB* iii 422; cf. also 8 2 n.

## B 13.

## Sidon.

**R. Obv.** A Phoenician galley at sea, with oarsmen; in the field above ||| (i. e. year 3): circle of dots.

**Rev.** Type: the Persian king, Artaxerxes iii Ochus, in his chariot, driven by his charioteer, followed on foot by an attendant who holds in his right hand a sceptre terminating in an animal's head, and in his left an oinochoë; in the field above the letters עב: circle of dots. Quadruple Phoen. shekel: Brit. Mus. Cf. *PA* no. 1607 (12th year).

This coin is assigned by Babelon to Straton ii, king of Sidon from B. C. 346 to 332; the letters עב are the initials of his name עברעשחר (PA clxxxv). The coins of this king closely resemble those of his predecessor, Straton i 374-362 B. C., which also have the initials עב in the field of *rev*.

Byblus.

B 14.

Æ. *Rev.* לנבל קדש Of Gebal the holy on left; on right a legend of which only the letters נש. ה. י. can be deciphered. Type: 'Ashtart (cf. 8) to left, her hair falling on her neck, robed in a tunic, with a peplos covering the upper part of the body and the arms; the right hand raised and extended, the left holding a long sceptre terminating in a ball: circle of dots. Hemi-chalkous: Bibl. Nat. PA no. 1373.

This is a specimen of the autonomous coins of Gebal, belonging to a later period than B 11, after the reign of Antiochus v.

Sidon.

B 15.

Æ. *Rev.* לצר | אמ כמב | אמב כח | צר Of the Sidonians, metropolis of Kambe, Hippo, Kition, Tyre. Type: a steering oar. Hemi-chalkous: Brit. Mus. PA no. 1620.

This is a specimen of the autonomous coins of Sidon, dating from the middle of the ii cent. B. C. לצר is a rendering of the Gk. ΣΙΔΩΝΙΩΝ RS nos. 682 ff., cf. לצר = ΤΥΡΙΩΝ ib. nos. 674 ff. For אמ see B 8 n. The towns mentioned are those which Sidon claimed as her colonies; כמב, on some coins written כבב (PA no. 1619), was the primitive name of Carthage, אמב = Hippo on the N. coast of Africa; see RS cx, PA clxxxvi. Here Sidon calls herself the mother-city of Tyre, but on the Tyrian coins of the time of Antiochus iv we find the relations reversed, אמ לצר RS p. 86. In earlier days לצר included both cities; see p. 54.

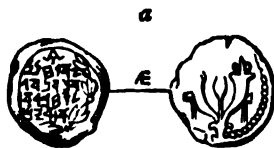
#### 149 C. Jewish Coins. ii cent. B. C. to ii cent. A. D. Brit. Mus.

The native Jewish coins, with Hebr. inscr., appear at three periods: (1) the period of the Hasmonaean princes, from John Hyrcanus to Mattathias (Antigonos), i.e. from 135 to 37 B. C.; (2) the First Revolt against the Romans, 66-70 A. D.; (3) the Second Revolt, 132-135 A. D. Their appearance thus marks the efforts that were made to maintain or assert the independence of the nation; and in agreement with the spirit of these movements the coins are stamped with legends

in the archaic character which had long ago fallen out of use, and given way to the square character developed in Aramaic. The writing varies so little during the 170 years that it affords no indication of date. The following forms of letters are characteristic of the coins:

א פ פ נ, ה ע א, ח ב, י פ י, י פ ז, ז ז, ק פ.

In antiquity the right of coinage was the exclusive privilege of the sovereign power; it was a sure sign of rebellion if any subject state took upon itself to issue money. Under the Seleucid kings certain semi-independent towns were allowed to issue bronze pieces bearing the head of the king on one side and the name of the city on the other, e.g. B 8 and 11; and a privilege of the same kind was bestowed upon the Jewish state by Demetrius ii (145-138 B.C.), and afterwards confirmed to Simon the Maccabee by Antiochus vii Sidetes (138-129 B.C.): 'I give thee leave to coin money for thy country with thine own stamp' (ποιῆσαι νόμισμα ἰδίον τῆς χώρας σου) 1 Macc. 15 6. The concession implied that Judaea was recognized as a free state under the suzerainty of Syria. To what extent Simon availed himself of the privilege is not known, and it was soon withdrawn (1 Macc. 15 27). If he issued money at all it would have been in bronze, not in silver; but, according to the view adopted here, no coins, whether bronze or silver, can be assigned to him. His son and successor, John Hyrcanus (135-104 B.C.), was the first Jewish prince to issue money in his own name. The following is a specimen of his small bronze coins:



Obv. א. יוחנן הכהן ה[נ]ר[ל] חבר ה[נ]חורים.

Rev. A double cornucopiae with a poppy head in the centre.

The A at the beginning of the legend is taken to be the initial of Alexander ii Zebina (128-122? B.C.), the nominal over-lord of Hyrcanus; it may indicate the alliance between the two in 128, Ἀλέξανδρος . . . φίλιαν ποιῶνται πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα Jos. Ant. xiii 9 3; possibly, however, it denotes the 'year 1' (Madden *Coins of the Jews* 81). The letter is not found on the later coins of Hyrcanus.



The two cornua-copiae he prob. adopted from Zebina, on whose coins they first appear. The official title of Hyrcanus is 'the high priest,' though in character he was more of a secular prince than a religious pontiff; the Jewish commonwealth regarded itself not as a kingdom but as a church, and the priest at the head of it was not an autocrat, but the chief of a community. The earlier coins of Hyrcanus are issued jointly by him and the community; his later coins, however, are issued in his name alone **ר' הכהן הנרי ראש חבר היהודים**. Nestle (*ZATW* 1895, 288-290) has suggested that **ראש חבר** = *ἐθνάρχης*, used of Simon 1 Macc. 14 47. 15 1. 2, but without sufficient grounds. The precise meaning of **חבר היהודים** is disputed. In Hebr. **חֶבֶר** = *company, association*, Hos. 6 9 **חבר כהנים**. It is natural, therefore, to regard **ח' ה'** as a corporation or college within the Jewish nation, the *γενοῦσία* or senate mentioned in 1 Macc. 12 6. Judith 4 8 &c.; so Madden 77, Wellhausen *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.*<sup>3</sup> 282 n. But it seems that the *γενοῦσία* (= the later Sanhedrin) was not of sufficient importance at this period to be named upon the coins. The Pun. **חברם**, referred to by Renan in this connexion, were not the senate but the *colleagues* of the suffetes, 42 2. 19. 55 4. The general opinion is that **ח' ה'** = *the community of the Jews*, as similar or equivalent terms were in use, e.g. **חבר עיר** a city community Mishnah *Berakoth* 30 a, **τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων** 1 Macc. 8 20, **τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἰ.** ib. 12 3; Reinach *Monnaies Juives* 23, Kennedy, art. Money *DB* iii, Schürer *Gesch.*<sup>3</sup> i 269. Kennedy makes the attractive suggestion that **חבר** = **τὸ κοινόν**; the LXX renders **בית חבר** Pr. 21 9 *ἐν οἴκῳ κοινῷ*, cf. 25 24, and elsewhere uses *κοινωνία*, *κοινωνός* to render derivatives of **חבר**. The expression **τὸ κοινόν** has various meanings; thus in Jos. *Vita* 12. 49 &c. **τὸ κοινόν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν** is apparently the executive authority of the *δῆμος*, = **τῶν Ἱερ. οἱ πρῶτοι** ib. 7; in classical Gk. **τὸ κοινόν** = *respublica*, and is often used of Gk. states or cities, e.g. **τὸ κ. τῶν Κρηταίων** Michel 439, **τὸ κ. τὸ Ταρμινῶν** ib. 1188-1190. We do not know enough of the constitution of the Jewish state at this time to determine exactly the relation between **τὸ κοινόν** and **חבר**.

The following are specimens of the coins of Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 B.C.), whose long reign was marked by much violence and bloodshed, and by an increasing cleavage between the adherents of the Maccabees and the party, including the Pharisees, which cherished the traditional ideals of Judaism. The high-priesthood in the person of Alexander became thoroughly secularized. His Jewish name Jannaeus, Talm. **יָנְיָא** i. e. **יָנִי**, is contracted from **יְהוֹנָתָן**, **יְהוֹנָתָן**.

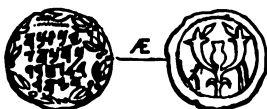
b



*Obv.* יתנתן חסלך Type: a half-opened flower.

*Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ round a circle. Type: an anchor with two cross-timbers.

c



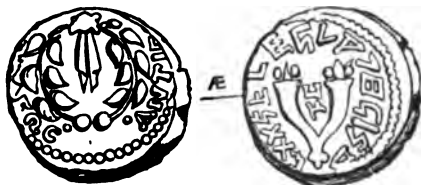
*Obv.* [יתן חסלך חסלך חסלך] within a wreath.

*Rev.* Double cornucopiae with a poppy head in the centre.

Jannaeus issued a double series of coins, regal and pontifical. The interest of the regal series (*b*) lies in the appearance of חסלך for the first time on Jewish coins, and in the use of the Gk. legend on the reverse. The adoption of these novelties was probably one of the causes which led to a breach with the Pharisees. The anchor on *b*, and the double cornucopiae on the pontifical coins *c*, are borrowed from the Seleucid kings, and illustrate the continued influence of their coinage.

The following is a specimen of the coins of Antigonus-Mattathias, a. c. 40-37, the last prince of the Hasmonaean dynasty :

d



*Obv.* [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓ[ΟΝΟΥ] round a wreath.

*Rev.* מתיחיה בן גל חסלך Type: a double cornucopiae, with שׁ i. e. year 1 in the centre.

After having been a prisoner in Rome, Antigonus attempted to obtain the kingdom in B.C. 42, but was defeated by Herod. With the help of the Parthians, however, he succeeded in taking Jerusalem in B.C. 40, and was made king. Not long afterwards Herod, who had received the nominal title of king of Judaea through Roman influence, laid siege to Jerusalem and, aided by the Roman general Sosius, captured it in 37; Antigonus was ignominiously executed with the axe. These coins show that he had adopted the name of Mattathias, the founder of his dynasty; they are the first Jewish coins which bear a date.

Coins of the First Revolt, A.D. 66-70. **Plate X 1-5.**

*e* (1)

- R. Obv.* שקל ישראל Type: a broad-lipped chalice, on either side a pellet, above the cup the letter א = 1.  
*Rev.* ירושלם קדשה Type: a flowering lily.

*f* (2)

- R. Obv.* חצי חשקל Type: a chalice with jewelled rim, above the cup the letters שב = year 2.  
*Rev.* ירושלם הקדושה Type: a flowering lily.

*g* (3)

- R. Obv.* שקל ישראל Type: as *f*, above the cup the letters שד = year 4.  
*Rev.* ירושלם הקדושה Type: as *f*.

*h* (4)

- Æ. Obv.* לנאלח ציון Type: as *f*.  
*Rev.* שנת ארבע Type: a *ldlab* with an 'ethrog on either side.

*i* (5)

- R. Obv.* שקל ישראל Type: as *f*, above the cup the letters שה = year 5.  
*Rev.* ירושלם הקדושה Type: as *f*.

These coins have been usually attributed to Simon Maccabaeus (142-135 B.C.), e.g. by Madden 65 ff., and others; but there is now a general agreement among experts that they belong rather to the

period immediately preceding the fall of Jerusalem in A. D. 70. It will be observed that the shekels are dated from the first year to the fifth; if they belong to Simon's reign, which lasted 7 years (1 Macc. 13 14 f. and 16 14), the two years at the close must be left without coins; no reason can be found for the increasing rarity and entire cessation of the shekels in the fifth year. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that, if Simon had issued silver coins, his successors would not have done the same; but the Hasmonaean princes, in accordance with their constitutional position under the suzerainty of Syria, only minted bronze money; and their money bears the names of the princes, while the shekels, in striking contrast, have no name to show who issued them. On technical grounds of style and fabric they are related to the tetradrachms of Nero and Vespasian minted at Antioch, and not to the Seleucid silver coins of the Maccabaeon period. The issue of such coins with the legend *Jerusalem the holy* is in itself an assertion of independence; it proves that the Jews were in revolt against the sovereign power; and since there was only one other occasion when the independence of Jerusalem was not constitutional but usurped, viz. in 132-135 A. D., and the coins of the latter age are well known in detail, there remains the period of the First Revolt against the Romans in 66-70 A. D. The shekels and half-shekels must have been coined by the executive authority of Jerusalem which undertook the defence of the city and the conduct of the war. The fact that they appear in considerable numbers during the first three years, and then become rarer, until they cease altogether with the exceedingly rare shekel of the fifth year (Apr. to Aug. A. D. 70), agrees exactly with the history of the revolt from its successful start to its gradual collapse. See Kennedy, art. Money in *BD* iii, whose arguments are incorporated above, and Schürer *Gesch.*<sup>3</sup> i 762 ff. Reinach, *Mon. Juives* 47 f., suggests that the coins were especially designed for the payment of the temple tax, the shekel for two persons (cf. Mt. 17 24-27), the half-shekel for one, and to take the place of the Tyrian tetradrachms (or staters) and didrachms which had formerly been used for this purpose (cf. on B 12).

ε (1) The chalice probably represents the temple vessels. The broad rim is characteristic of shekels of the first year, so also the pellets, probably intended for jewels, and the letter נ alone without ש = שנת. The dating of the coins is perhaps imitated from the Tyrian staters, but cf. *d.* שנת קרנ ישראל Note the *script. defect.*, and the absence of the article. The legend is perhaps copied from that on the Tyrian staters, *Τύρου ἱερᾶς καὶ δούλου*; the minting of these staters at Tyre

ceased in A. D. 56, so that probably it would have been necessary in A. D. 66 to provide fresh coins of the same value for use in Jerusalem (Reinach).

h (4) This is a specimen of the *bronze* money of the fourth year; varieties of the legend on the reverse are שנת ארבע חצי and שנת ארבע רביע; it is supposed that these coins represent  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}$  shekels respectively, and that they were siege tokens to be redeemed by silver money when the relief came. This explanation, however, is uncertain, for there are silver shekels (g 3) and half-shekels of the fourth year, beside these supposed tokens. The chalice shows that they belong to this period. לנאלת ציון *Belonging to the redemption of Zion*, cf. לבבל B 11. 14 &c., and לחרות י' k; less prob. ל = *at the time of*. The *lûlab* לילב lit. *palm branch* was a bundle of myrtle and willow with a palm leaf, the 'ethrog, אֶתְרוֹג, a citron, carried in each hand at the feast of Booths; Lev. 23 40.

Coins of the Second Revolt, A. D. 132-135. Plate X 6-9.

j (6)

- Æ. *Obv.* שנת ארבע חצי in three lines within a laurel wreath.  
*Rev.* שנת א[חת לנאל]ת ישראל Type: a vase with two handles.

k (7)

- Æ. *Obv.* שנת א[חת לנאל]ת ישראל within a wreath.  
*Rev.* לחרות ישראל Type: a palm branch. Restruck on a denarius-drachm of Trajan.

l (8)

- Æ. *Obv.* שנת א[חת לנאל]ת ישראל Type: a palm tree.  
*Rev.* שנת א[חת לנאל]ת ישראל Type: a vine leaf.

m (9)

- Æ. *Obv.* שנת א[חת לנאל]ת ישראל Type: a conventional figure of the Beautiful Gate of the Temple (?); above, a star.  
*Rev.* לחרות ירושלם Type: a *lûlab* with 'ethrog. Restruck tetradrachm of Antioch.

The evidence for the course of events which led to the Second Revolt in the 16th year of Hadrian is conflicting; it seems probable, however, that the rebuilding of Jerusalem as a heathen city, with the

name Aelia Capitolina, was begun during Hadrian's visit to Syria in 130 A. D. He was again in Syria in 131, and his visit was commemorated by coins which bear the inscr. *adventui Aug(usti) Judaeae*. The foundation of a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus on the site of the Jewish temple is probably to be connected with this occasion (Schürer *Gesch.*<sup>3</sup> 680 ff.); but whether the temple was founded before or after the revolt, the policy of Hadrian had been sufficiently coercive to incite the Jews to revolt. The fuel was ready to be ignited when Bar-Kokba applied the spark. The Jewish leader at once signalized his rebellion by issuing coins in his own name, 'Simon, the prince of Israel' (י), and in the name of 'Eliazar the priest,' who appears on the coins of the first year, and seems to have been joint-leader. Simon is called by Christian writers Bar-Kokba (Βαρκοχάβας) = בַּר כּוֹכְבָּא *son of the star*, alluding to Num. 24 17, but by Rabb. writers בַּר כּוֹזִיבָא or בֶּן כִּי, Kôzêba being the name either of his father or his native town, probably the latter; *Chosiba* was a well-known place on the road to Jericho. He claimed to be the Messiah, and he received the support even of the great Rabbi Aqîba, who applied to him the prophecy of Num. 24 17, e. g. Jer. *Ta'anith* 68 ד כּוֹזִבָא מֵעַקֵּב דִּרְדִּי כּוֹזִבָא. The revolt spread widely throughout Palestine; it was finally suppressed by the Roman general Jul. Severus; Jerusalem was recaptured, and Simon's cause collapsed with the fall of Beth-ther, now Bittir, 3 hours SW. of Jerusalem, where he and his followers made their last stand, in the 18th year of Hadrian, 134-5 A. D.

j (6) The types on these coins represent either objects connected with the Temple and its worship, vase or sacrificial flagon, lyre, trumpets, or the characteristic products of the country, vine-leaf (l) palm (k, l), grapes. This coin and l are dated the 1st and 2nd year of the revolt. Beside these bronze coins there is a silver issue, dated in the same way.

k (7) The silver coins of this period are all, probably without a single exception (Kennedy), imperial denarii, drachms, and tetradrachms, restruck with Jewish types and legends. Sometimes, as in m, no trace of the original appears, but very often, as in this case, the legend of the imperial coin can still be read in part. לְחֵרֻתָּא *Of the emancipation of Israel*; cf. k n. חֵרֵת is a noun from חָרַר, in Syr. ܚܪܝܬܐ; for the root see 97 i n.

m (9) The signification of the type is not certain. The star above the Temple probably alludes to Simon's pretensions.

## SEALS AND GEMS

150.

Plate XI gives some specimens of Aram., Phoen., and Hebr. seals, dating from the 8th cent. B. C. onwards. The seals afford interesting illustrations of the archaic character; they are all chosen from the British Museum collection, Semitic Room cabinet.

I

למלכרם *Belonging to Milk-ram*, on an ivory brooch found underneath a colossal bull in the palace of Nimroud. The inscr. is Phoen. rather than Aram. (Levy *Siegel u. Gemmen* 5 no. 2); pr. nn. compounded with מלך are exceedingly common in Phoen., e. g. מלכיתן 12 a &c. ויחמלך, ויחמלך, ויחמלך 8 1 &c.; for the second part of the compound cf. the pr. n. רמבעל CIS i 99 1. The Egypt. style of the cartouche and the ornament above it is in favour of Phoen. (cf. p. 27) rather than Aram. workmanship. The writing is very early, prob. 8th cent., the date of the building of the palace at Nimroud.

2

CIS ii 75. A seal in the form of a cylinder. The treatment and costume of the figures are Assyrian. In the centre is the eunuch worshipping the god Hadad, who wears a crown with rays, and holds in his right hand what may have been intended for a flower. Behind the eunuch is a priest, assisting or initiating him. The inscr., which is in Aram., and belongs prob. to the 7th cent., runs as follows: לאכרבן בר נברד סרסא וי חקרב לחדד *Belonging to Akdban, son of GBRD, the eunuch, who made offering to Hadad.* אכרבן is explained by Levy as derived from כרב = Hebr. כרב with א prosth., and meaning lit. *the false one, callidus*. Sachau reads אכברו *the strong one* (ZA 1891, 432); but comparing the fifth letter with the ר in חקרב it will be seen that the former reading is prob. right. נברד According to Sachau l. c. *Gabbarud* = Assy. *garparuda* or *galparuda*. Another suggestion is made in JA (1892) xix 565 that the name = ברד client of Barud (a deity). For ו see 61 1 n. חקרב Afel, as in Dan. and Ezr. = *bring an offering*; for the ח retained in Afel, contrary to ordinary Aram. usage, cf. 61 29. 62 4. 18. 64 11. 65 3. 97 i, and Bibl. Aram. חדר See 61 1 n. Macrobius describes the image of Hadad as surrounded with rays and holding a flower in his hand, Saturn. 1 23.

## 3

CIS ii 77. A cylinder seal from Assyria. The worshipper, attended by winged deities or genii, is offering his devotions to the god *Ilu* in the form of a disc with wings and a human head (?). Two rays descend from under the wings of the disc, one of them touches the worshipper. In the centre is a figure which is taken to represent the flowing water of a mystic fountain. The inscr. is in Aram., and dates from the 8th-7th cent.:—**ירמאל בר הרעדר** *Yirp-el son of Hor'-adad*. The pr. n. **ירמאל** may = **יִרְמְאֵל** Josh. 18 27 i.e. **יְרֵמָא אֵל** *El will heal*, cf. **רְפָאֵל** 1 Chr. 26 7. But since **רמא** does not occur in Aram., Levy (p. 7) takes **רִמְ** to be the Afel of **רמי**, and explains *El will set free*. The engraver has turned **א** the wrong way both times. **הרעדר** The last two letters look alike; the **ר** is closed at the top, but in the word **בר** it is open, hence **הרעדר** *Horus helps* may be right; **עדר** = **עזר**, as **כרב** in **אכרבן** no. 2 may = **כזב**, though **ד** = **ז** is remarkable in Aram. of the 8th cent. The reading **הרעדר**, however, is uncertain; the right-hand stroke of **ר** in **בר** is slanting, but in the last letter of the pr. n. it is perpendicular. How **הרעדר** is to be explained, if that is the correct reading, is not clear.

## 4

CIS ii 94. An Aram. seal of the 5th cent., Persian period. **לחמכאל** *Belonging to Tamak-el, son of Milkom*. **חמכאל** = *El holds, sustains*, again in Phoen., Cl.-Gan. *Sceaux et cachets* no. 23; the verb **חמך** *hold fast* is well known in Hebr. and is used in the Targ. The explanation suggested in the Corp. **חַמַּל** *perfect as El*, is most improbable. Notice the beginning of a ligature at the foot of **ר** following **ב**.

## 5

Levy no. 18, p. 31. A Phoen. seal with the inscr. **לבעליתן אש** *Belonging to Ba'al-yathon, a man of the gods (?)*, who belongs to *Melgarth-resef*. **אש** *Possibly אֵלם* may have a sing. meaning, as in the pr. n. **מתנאלם** (?) 83 6 n., but the expression *man of the gods* i.e. *divine servant* is unusual, and it may be more correct to render *the nobleman*; for **אֵלם** as a title cf. 10 2 n., and for the idiom cf. the Hebr. **אִישׁ רֵעִים** Prov. 18 24 lit. *a man of friends*, i.e. *a friendly man*, **אִישׁ דְּבָרִים** Ex. 4 10. **מ' רצף** A complex divinity; see 10 3 n. **רצף** = **רשף** 12 3 n. Date, 5th-4th cent.



## 6

Levy no. 7, p. 39. A seal with Hebr. inscr. לעבד אלמב בן שבועה *Belonging to the servant of Eli'ab, son of Shūbath. The servant of Mallath, son of Sedoqa.* Here apparently two persons have combined to adopt a common seal. It is probable that עבד-אלמב are two words, *servant of Eli'ab*; and similarly עבד-מתח *servant of Mallath*. For אלמב cf. the O.T. אֱלִיָּאֵב 1 S. 16 6. Other seals of slaves are Levy no. 8 לשבניו עבד עזי and no. 9 לאביו עבד עזי. A slave does not give his genealogy; see p. 134. שבועה Cf. the O.T. שָׁבַע 2 S. 20 1. מתחיה Prob. abbreviated from מתחיה, cf. 149 C d. צדקא Cf. the O.T. צָדִיק, צְדִיק 1 K. 1 26 &c. Date, 7th-6th cent.

## 7

Levy no. 11, p. 42. A scarab of green jasper in Egyptian style, with Hebr. inscr. לזכר חישע *For a memorial of Hēshē'a.* The form of the † is to be noticed; it occurs on the coins of Eliazar the priest (pp. 359 and 353). The curve in the shaft of כ is an indication of later date. The Hebr. name חישע has been found recently at Tell ej-Judeideh on a Jewish seal, Lidzb. *Eph.* i 183. Above the inscr. is engraved the figure of a winged sphinx, with the *pschent* head-dress. Date, 8th-4th cent.

## 8

Levy p. 54. A Hebr. seal on both sides of a crystal. On one side is engraved in Egypt. style the figure of the god Harpocrates sitting on a lotus flower; on the other is the inscr.:—לעשי בן יקם *Belonging to 'Asiyu, son of Yōqim.* The words are separated by small strokes. For עשי cf. the O.T. עֲשֵׂה 2 K. 22 12. יקם 1 Chr. 4 35. לעשי 2 S. 2 18; the final י is a fragment of יחה, cf. עזי above, and the form עשיהו on a Jewish seal, Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii § 32. יקם Abbrev. from יחזקים, 2 K. 23 34. Date, 5th-4th cent.

# INDEX I

## NORTH-SEMITIC

[The following special abbreviations are used where necessary: d. = deity, n. = noun, pr. = pronoun, pre. = preposition. The words and forms are those mentioned in the notes.]

א' = ה 136. 150	אדל 76	אחר(י) 51. 119. 191
א' fem. 25	אדינת 285 f. 290	אחרן 209
א' suff. 42. 64. 94. 110. 133. 146	אדלן 29	אחתבו 201
אב = ב 84 f.	אדם 35. 91. 98. 121	אחתמילכת 142
אב Ab 228. 253. 273 &c.	אדמה 154	אמבן 139
אב, אבי 64. 71	אדן מלכם 38. 47. 51. 78. 81	אמומא 119
אבה 175	אדני(י) 54. 79. 85 f. 134	אי 29
אבהי 184	אדנעל 129. 145. 158	איבל 33. 122
אבות 299	אדנשמש 75	איה 169 f. 176. 178 f.
אבנם 65. 79	אדר Adar 276	איושבר 147
אבענתם 141	אדר 35. 38. 51. 60. 91. 100. 106. 129. 154	איטלקא 33
אבר 309	אדרטא 340	איכרמא 146. 155
אבר 5. 8	אדרט 250	איל 117. 119
אברז 189	אישו 259	אינעם 108
אבה pr. n. 200	אונא 227	איסמן 146
אביטב 202	אושאלבעלי 259	איד 78. 229. 250
אביץ 227	אז pr. 26. 54. 60	א(י)ש 11. 67. 78. 209. 361
אבל 25	אז 166. 177	אח, אית 22. 82. 122. 170
אבן 43. 139. 143. 150	אזם 33	איתי 223
אבסלי 201	אדת 59 f.	איתיבל 248
אבסח 69. 91	אז 51. 79. 237. 246	אכרבן 360
אברו 168. 184 f.	אחת 225. 232	אכל 166. 168 f. 177. 203
אברוק 303	אחו 5. 11. 185. 190	אכלין 110
אבר 190	אחיץ 232	אכסדרא 309 f.
אנג 120	אחרה 189. 191. 217	אכסניא 282
אנר 219. 333 f. 338		אל d. 41. 51. 165
אנרת 121		

- אלם 21. 24. 91. 96.  
 99. 101. 121. 154  
 אל pr. 26. 39. 79. 128.  
 166  
 אלה 26. 231. 243  
 אלו 26. 204  
 אלך 26. 210  
 אלן 26. 266  
 אל=אל 259 f.  
 אל=אל 245  
 אלאב 362  
 אלב 171  
 אלנשיא 271  
 אלה n. 175  
 אלה d. 199. 205. 239.  
 244. 279. 295  
 אלה 170. 175. 229.  
 233. 239. 243.  
 245. 254 f. 299  
 אלה(ח) 165. 180.  
 185. 198. 210. 268  
 אלן 302  
 אלה d. 165  
 אלה pr. n. 303  
 אלהת 222. 253  
 אלו 215. 295. 299 f.  
 אליית 89  
 אלכוף 225  
 אלכסי 217  
 אלכסנדרוס 279. 312.  
 332  
 אלם n. 49. 361  
 אלנם d. 21. 24. 35 f.  
 91. 99  
 אלן 37. 51. 66. 79  
 אלן n. 117. 210  
 אלף v. 219  
 אלפעל 91. 350  
 אלת d. 135. 158. 222.  
 252 f. 275 f.  
 אלתברש 145
- אלחחם 11 ff.  
 אמ 46. 350. 352  
 אמ d. 59. 131  
 אמ 24 f. 35. 117  
 אמית 234  
 אמן 167. 180  
 אמעשתרת 36  
 אמר n. 120. 337  
 אמר v. 12. 33. 170.  
 180. 206. 305  
 אמרשא 267  
 אמחעשתרת 62  
 אנ neg. 13  
 אנ pr. n. 91 f.  
 אנא d. 345  
 אנח pr. 182. 190  
 אנו pr. 243  
 אנו 180. 219. 234.  
 236. 311  
 אנשי 170  
 אנך 6. 19. 27. 62. 93.  
 163. 185  
 אנכי 19. 179  
 אנוח 36  
 אנף 8  
 אנפי 198  
 אנתת(א) 228. 231. 337  
 אסי 1. 91. 99. 213  
 אסחא 340  
 אסמרביליא 339 f.  
 אסמרטוג 279  
 אסמרטוריא 282  
 אסיר 21. 59. 202. 205  
 אסכן 100 f.  
 אסכן 204  
 אסנב 176  
 אסף 95  
 אספסנטא 272  
 אספון 193  
 אספת 101  
 אסר 336. 339
- אסרי 13  
 אסרשטר 103  
 אעילמי 266  
 אעלא 262  
 אערא 238 f. 254 f.  
 אפא 352  
 אפטרפא 288  
 אפי 339  
 אפכלא 223. 295 f.  
 אפנא 232. 240  
 אפחו 231  
 אפתח 230. 232  
 אפתיו 225. 240  
 אצדק 226. 230  
 אצטלי 268  
 אצלא 243  
 אצד 176 f.  
 אראל 11  
 ארבעי 125  
 ארנבמא 289  
 ארנונא 336. 340  
 ארומיא 280  
 ארום 56  
 ארום 231  
 אריבם 236  
 ארך 24. 190  
 ארבותא 264. 332  
 ארכתא pr. n. 64  
 ארכתא 199. 255  
 ארמלך 20  
 ארן 28  
 ארנבי 296 f.  
 ארן 13  
 ארסכסח 237  
 ארסנאם 51. 79  
 ארעא 166. 260  
 ארץ 41. 166  
 ארצו 295  
 ארצת(א) 187  
 ארק(א) 166. 183. 185.  
 192

- ארקרשף 167  
 ארש 70. 106. 129  
 אש see איש  
 אש rel. 20. 46. 78. 108.  
     129. 134. 349 f.  
 אשח 5. 10  
 אשולכרתי 194  
 אשירא 198  
 אשל 47  
 אשם 168. 185  
 אשמן 36 f. 109  
 אשמנאדני 60 f.  
 אשמנעור 33  
 אשמנעמס 108  
 אשמנפלס 130  
 אשמנצלח 64. 101  
 אשמנשלם 101  
 אשנם 56. 75  
 אשר rel. 5  
 אשר n. 170 f. 179.  
     185. 188. 194  
 אשרם 150  
 אשרת 50 f.  
 אשתח 67  
 את pr. 28. 188. 191  
 את pre. 29. 33. 77  
 את 99  
 אתא 279  
 אתחמו 191  
 אתך 136  
 אתנם 66. 89  
 אתפני 276  
 אתרנ 358  
  
 ב of place 183, refer-  
     ence 117. 121. 224,  
     time 115 &c.; upon  
     5. 8, with 7. 13,  
     from 99, of 54. 96,  
     for 183  
 בן 34  
  
 בנם 35. 126. 128  
 ב double 192  
 ב for כ 33. 87  
 באמלקא 275. 277  
 באש 191. 206  
 יחבאשו 191  
 בבא 309  
 בגרת 229. 250  
 בר 41. 95. 134  
 בדא 56. 59  
 בריל 266. 332  
 בדמלקרת 44. 95. 108  
 ברנם 35  
 ברעשתרת 41. 95. 130  
 ברץ 122  
 ברתנת 133  
 בוא 128  
 בול d. 267. 274  
 בולא 264. 266. 332  
 בולחא 293. 310  
 בולנורעתח 309  
 בונא 267 f. 307  
 ברץ 126  
 במל 335  
 במן 209  
 ביר 201  
 בידא 172  
 בילומא 284  
 בין 234  
 ב(י)ח 13. 36. 96. 115.  
     166. 184. 299. 307  
     242 f.  
 בחי(א) 242 f.  
 בת אלנם 36. 96  
 בת במח 13  
 בת דבלחן 14  
 בל d. 101. 248. 269.  
     297  
 בל Bul 32. 55. 76  
 בל neg. 33  
 בלגרי 179  
 בלחד 235 f.
- בלל 121. 125  
 בלל pr. n. 139  
 בלערוחן 234  
 בלעקב 284. 305  
 בלח 29  
 בלתי 21  
 במח 6  
 בן 19. 36. 79  
 בנח 9 f.  
 בני 341  
 בנה 33. 36. 41. 47. 51.  
     66. 139. 158. 167.  
     215. 257  
 בנן 36  
 בנתבל 257  
 בנחרש 63. 89. 100  
 בנת pr. n. 202  
 בססא 225  
 בעור 17  
 בעל d. 102. 218.  
     260  
 ב' בית 180  
 ב' חמן 104. 133. 145  
 ב' ימם 69  
 ב' לבנן 54  
 ב' מרבה 222  
 ב' מען 7. 10. 14  
 ב' מער 7  
 ב' צדן 37. 99. 100  
 ב' צר 74. 102. 218  
 ב' שמם 45 f. 101.  
     108. 282. 295 f.  
 ב' תרז 343 ff.  
 בעל owner  
 ב' חובח 118 f.  
 ב' חרש 129 f.  
 ב' כסף 183  
 ב' כפירי 177  
 ב' רכב 177  
 בעל citizen 50. 142  
 בעלחנא 108. 131. 134

- בעלמלך 347 f.  
 בעלצלח 42  
 בעלרם 17. 74  
 בעלשלך 107  
 בעלשלם 81. 101  
 בעלת d. 20. 131  
 בעל 20. 118  
 ב' החדרת 131  
 בעמלקרת 142  
 בער 67  
 בעשא 267  
 בצר 13  
 בצרא 239. 285  
 בקע 5  
 בקרב 5  
 בקש 149  
 בר adv. 339  
 בר n. 163 &c.  
 בר, בת, חרי 134.  
 249 f. 298. 338  
 בנוחי 246. 306  
 בני 171 f. 282. 293 f.  
 303. 306  
 בניהם 256  
 בריל 139  
 ברך pr. n. 146. 156  
 ברך v. 43. 47. 200.  
 205  
 ברך 258. 297. 300  
 בריכי 266 f.  
 ברכבא 359  
 ברמחון 294  
 ברעתא 250  
 ברפא 298  
 ברצד 175  
 ברק 299 f.  
 בררנב 165. 175. 179.  
 182  
 ברת 220  
 בנת(ח) 178. 229  
 בשימא 336
- בחבי 292  
 בחבה 23  
 בחר 338  
 נאלח 356. 358  
 נבא 333. 335. 339  
 נבל pr. n. 19 ff. 350.  
 352  
 נבל 39. 85  
 נבר 5. 12. 197  
 נברחה 171  
 נברד 360  
 נר 79. 157. 245. 269.  
 311  
 נרא 120  
 נריו 255  
 נרלו 250 f.  
 נרעת 79  
 נו 96. 98  
 נוא 242. 339  
 נוחא 237. 242  
 נול 105  
 נומחא 237. 310 f.  
 נזיאת 237  
 נול 33  
 נלב 67. 79  
 נלנל 178. 183  
 נלדיא 340  
 נלחמו 228  
 נללא 334  
 נלף 205  
 נם 8. 166. 176. 179  
 נמל 335  
 נמר 171  
 ננב 170  
 נניא 242 f.  
 נף 213  
 נר 12. 63. 67 f. 305  
 נרבא 274  
 נרנב 178 f.  
 נרמאלבעלי 260
- נרמאלחי 259  
 נרממוס 264. 282. 332  
 נרמלקרת 63  
 נרסכן 130  
 נרעשתרת 84. 130  
 נרצד 9  
 נרש 13  
 נרשם 255  
 נר 223  
 נר 285  
 נר = דר 336  
 נר, דא 26. 214  
 נרא 38  
 נר v. 33. 280  
 נרברנך 35  
 נר, דר 17. 104  
 נרמא 332  
 נרא 301  
 נרמא 336  
 נר 11  
 נרמא 288  
 נר, דר 21. 218  
 נר 266. 282. 333  
 נר 6. 13  
 נרילה 256  
 נר 204  
 נר 258  
 נר 234. 243. 260  
 נר 117. 121. 128.  
 130  
 נר(ח) 46 f. 67. 87  
 נר 169  
 נר 225  
 נר 262  
 נר 348  
 נר 179  
 נר 301  
 נר 26  
 נר 174. 337. 339  
 נר 44. 94. 101

- 94 דעסנלח  
 155 דערבן  
 198 דקלן  
 96 דרכמונים  
 96 f. דרכנם  
 153 דרת  
 45 דשמוי  
 art. 6. 21 f. ה  
 suff. 8. 79. 185 ה'  
 fem. 25 ה'  
 for א 188. 219 ה  
 5. 24. 78. 168. 339 תא  
 224. 336 הו  
 12. 243 חם  
 243 חנו  
 209. 243 חמו  
 36. 39. 85 חמת  
 198 חא זא  
 223. 257 חבלו  
 194 חנם  
 164. 168. 360 חרד  
 263. 335 חרדינא  
 v. חוא  
 175 חות  
 176 חיות  
 333 חו  
 340 חויא  
 335 חן  
 337 יחן  
 191 חום  
 362 חושע  
 279 חינמונא  
 17 חית, חיה  
 282. 334 ח(י)כלא  
 203 חלו  
 12. 17. 209 חלך  
 suff. 39. 184 f. חם  
 209. 221. 253 חם  
 191. 203 חם  
 170. 234 חן  
 240. 249 חנאו  
 142 f. חנכת  
 188. 191 חנם  
 264. 287 חפטיקא  
 337 חמר  
 226 חפסחין  
 284. 289 חפסא  
 231. 240 חפרכא  
 260 f. חפרכיה  
 129 חר  
 361 חרארד  
 5. 171. 175 f. 185 חרנ  
 13 חרם  
 8 חשלכן  
 183 f. חתנאבו  
 conv. 5. 17. 39. ו  
 118 f. 122. 124 ו  
 with impf. 217 f. ו  
 suff. 8. 16 ו'  
 106 f. 221. ואלו, ואלת  
 236 ואלן  
 230 ואלן  
 5 ואעש  
 11 f. ואשב  
 169. 185 ורד  
 224. 240 וחבאלחי  
 322. 303 וחבו  
 222. 291 f. וחבלת  
 336. 338 וטרן  
 8 ויענו  
 284. 287 ורוד  
 146 ורוסן  
 194 ושוניש  
 229 ושתוי  
 170. 185 ות  
 245 ותרא  
 26. 165 ו, ז  
 6. 26. זא, זאת, זח  
 143. 168. 209 זחבר  
 273. 279. 303 זכרלא  
 295 זכרנבו  
 256 זכרת  
 v. 107. 121. 146. זכח  
 168 זכח  
 119 ff. 124 זכח  
 59 זכחששם  
 273. 291 זכוי  
 266. 271. 291. זכוי(ל)רא  
 295 זכוי  
 v. 203. 209. 219. זכוי  
 233. 334. 336 f. זכוי  
 280. 332. 335 זכוי  
 17. זכח  
 292 זכחא  
 274 זכח  
 283 זחין  
 164. 185. 192. 194. זחין  
 346 f. 360 זחין  
 73. 107 זיבקם  
 78 זוי  
 v. 168 זכר  
 170 f. 180. 185. זכר  
 362 זכר  
 171 זכרו  
 177 זלת  
 248. 257. זמנ(ז)  
 26. 185. 187. זנה  
 210 זנה  
 213 זער  
 336 זין  
 120. 170 זר  
 25. 29. 168 זרע  
 166 זררי  
 53. 110. 131 אח=ח'  
 225 חבו  
 225. 240 חביבו  
 v. 197 חבל  
 311 חבל  
 v. 310 חבר

- חבר n. 116. 145 f.  
 354  
 חברטין 204  
 חגו 276. 303  
 חגר 129  
 חגרא 236  
 חד 170. 176. 183  
 חדרת 126. 131  
 חדש v. 74. 105. 130.  
 256  
 חדש n. 66. 84. 86  
 חוא 142  
 תחז 24  
 אחי 255  
 (חור) 200. 232. 236  
 חורנן 14  
 חושבו 225  
 חות 135  
 חותו 240  
 חוז 190. 203. 210. 333  
 חזיר 341  
 חזעגם 17  
 חזת 120  
 חטבת 231  
 חמה 166. 176. 338  
 חמישו 245  
 חמר 165  
 חמרמסכר 154. 156  
 חיטמו 259  
 חים 62. 64. 79. 81. 86.  
 91. 147 f. 189. 199.  
 245 f. 256. 295  
 חיר 78. 129  
 חירן 266. 285  
 חירתא 304  
 חית 85  
 חלב 117. 121  
 חלבבה 165. 168  
 חלדו 256  
 חל(י)מו 230. 234. 276.  
 302 f.
- חליקת 220. 225  
 חלק 344. 346 f.  
 חלם 203  
 חלק 8. 99. 209. 236  
 חלמאלהי 115  
 חלצת 260  
 חמלג 230  
 חמלכת 158  
 חמלר 131  
 חמלת 228. 231  
 חמם 203  
 חמן 50 f. 104  
 חמנא 104. 299  
 חמם 169  
 חמר 213. 305  
 חמרא 336  
 חן 24. 87. 91  
 חנא v. 168. 178  
 חנא pr. n. 94. 107  
 חנומם 108  
 חנינו 226. 245  
 חנן 36  
 חנת 153. 337  
 חסגם 110. 157  
 חסיה 206  
 חסך 274. 280  
 חסתמח 201  
 חפי 202  
 חמצבעל 92  
 חצב 17  
 חצרת 153  
 חקלא 198  
 חקק 171. 185  
 חרב 176. 261  
 חרנן 243  
 חרות 358 f.  
 חרן 128. 155  
 חרמית 128  
 חריא 288  
 חרישא 243  
 חרם v. 5. 12
- מחרם 198. 220. 230  
 מחרמתא 256 f.  
 מחרם n. 225. 243. 268  
 מחרם pr. n. 53  
 מחרמו pr. n. 221  
 מחרן 22 f. 76. 96. 98.  
 128  
 מחרש 67. 72 f. 130. 139  
 מחרשא 284  
 מחרת 215 & c. 250 f.  
 מחרתתי 223  
 מחרש 149. 339  
 מחרשן 338. 340  
 מחרשארש 201  
 מחרש 293  
 מחתי 303  
 מחם 100  
 מחמי 202
- מב 184. 190. 259. 295  
 מבארשא 158  
 מבע 44  
 מבח 221  
 מוריא 242 f.  
 מנא 115. 142. 147.  
 150. 158  
 מינא 158  
 מינא 58 f. 64. 79.  
 84. 98  
 מען 335 f.  
 מעמא 250  
 מעמתא 339
- ʾ Ifl 58  
 ʾ impf. 168 f.  
 ʾ suff. 41 f. 58. 64. 79.  
 104. 119  
 יא 126  
 יארי 163 f. 175. 177 f.  
 יאל 106

- יאנא 225  
 יבל n. 119 f. 180  
 יבל v. 176. 180  
 יבש (א) 300. 340  
 ידא 278. 289  
 ידי 273  
 ידיעבל 299. 303  
 יחב 213. 225. 235  
 יחורים 353 ff.  
 יחוחנן 353 ff.  
 יחץ 12  
 יחרבעל 19  
 יובעי 149  
 יוסה 342  
 יוקם 362  
 יחא 276  
 יחוסלך 19  
 יחנבעל 130  
 יטב 183  
 ילד 217  
 ילל 146  
 ים 86. 125  
 ימה 9  
 ימם 55. 58 f. 74.  
 78  
 ימא 300  
 ימנתיא 337  
 יסך 136  
 יסף 13 f. 24. 39  
 יעור 107  
 יעלי 262  
 יעמרו 247 f.  
 יעסכתען 142. 156  
 יעצאחען 142  
 יערן 13  
 יפא 38  
 יצאם 77  
 יצלת 118  
 יר 37. 139  
 ירד 155  
 ירושלם 356 ff.
- ירח 85. 129  
 ירחבול (א) 267. 280 f.  
 295 f. 299. 303  
 ירחי 280. 282. 302  
 ירמאל 361  
 ירש 5. 8  
 ירת 230  
 ירש 9. 91. 176. 179.  
 185  
 ירשע 5 ff.  
 ישראל 356  
 ישר (ו) 36. 171  
 ית 170. 279  
 יתבה 169  
 יחמר 166  
 יתן 38  
 יתח 85  
 יתן 122  
 יתנבל 101  
 יתר 167  
 יתרה 176
- כי = כא 136. 146  
 כבר (ו) 167. 177 f.  
 185  
 כברת 48 f.  
 כהי 202  
 כהילו 217. 306  
 כהלן 230  
 כהן 27. 85. 101. 129.  
 150. 353 ff.  
 כול 338  
 כומן 204  
 כון 29. 35. 39. 51. 79.  
 118. 124  
 כונא 225  
 כוח 280  
 כוז 194. 210. 276.  
 282. 338  
 כטל 189  
 כיבי 209
- כחך 213  
 כיסח 275. 302  
 כיצא 184 f.  
 כל 179. 203. 234. 243  
 כלח . . כלח 229  
 כל מח 184 f. 335  
 כלאי 13  
 כלאפחר 86  
 כלבא 237 f.  
 כלבם 67 ff.  
 כלי 12  
 כליבת 221  
 כלירכא 226  
 כלך 343 f.  
 כלל 117 f. 124  
 כלמו 184  
 כמ' suff. 170  
 כמאש 24. 51. 128 f.  
 כמב 352  
 כמולת 246  
 כמכם 221  
 כמר 126. 146. 187.  
 199. 252  
 כמרא pr. n. 293 f. 303  
 כמש 7  
 כמשנר 6  
 כמשכן 6  
 כנה 98  
 כנון 32. 294. 306. 310  
 כנונא 277  
 כנורמן 145  
 כנסאען 145  
 כנען 349 f.  
 כנפרם 78 f.  
 כנש v. 209  
 כנש 145 f.  
 כסאם 86  
 כסלול 288  
 כסף 43. 88. 118. 124.  
 136. 302  
 כעבו 218



כען 203	לחודווי 236	מבקע 12
כפיו 225	לחיתו 248	מנר 268. 283
כפירי 166 f. 177	לחם 126	מנרת pr. n. 299
כפרא 219. 224	לחש 210	מנמר 225
כפתא 296	למרם 110	מנ 275
כר 88	ללח 12. 169. 185	מנ pr. n. 92
כרך 272	לילעי 145	מדי 332. 334. 338 f.
כרכא 242. 272. 274	ליש 184 f.	מדיא 338. 340
כרסים 61. 74. 183	לכא 279	מדיתא 266. 281 f. 291
כרצי 206	לכר 69	מדתא 237
כרר 77. 146	לכנ 99	מד(ת) 38 f. 86. 122.
כשירא 340	למח=לם 39. 134	155
כתב v. 98. 122. 148.	למא 311	מח . . מן 234
154. 230. 334	למב' 62. 79. 119. 129	מחרבא 8
כתב n. 217. 220. 224	למחח 97	מחי 307
כת(ו) 56. 66. 78. 352	למנא 335	מחבעל 108 f.
כתש 171	למען 191	מודא 300 f.
	לספת 42	מודי 169
ל pre. 32. 122. 347.	לעי 171	מום 337
358. 360	לען v. 218. 221	מוכרו 177
ל=לו 149	לען before 24. 91	מונא 17. 49. 178
לם 35. 119	לפמ 85	מוקא 178. 185
לחם 184	לפי 122	מות 189. 236
ל=אל 259	לפני 5. 11	מומח 169
ל=לא 190	לפסי 111	ממתתה 191
ל' impf. 169. 171. 185	לקח 126. 206	מותב 199. 221 f. 243.
לא 203	לקרת 17	255
לארכ(א) 46. 349	לשמש 275	מובח 56. 81. 100. 110
לאל 275	לשן 166	מודי 42. 346 f.
לאמר 33		מזל 82.
לב' 121	מ=מה 165. 168. 190	מזון 149
לבוא 145	מ' suff. 39	מזרח 211. 145 f. 153.
לבנן 128. 132	מאא 149	157
לבנת 126	מאזנם 128	מח 126
לניוא 285	מאכסמוס 312	מחח 97
ל=לה' 147. 158	מאן 191. 213	מחוח 153
לחן 197. 219. 233. 236.	מנם 29. 34. 128	מחיר 201
243	מארח 109	מחנת 178
לו . . לו 177	מאש 158	מחסר 119
לולב 358	מאת(ו) 13. 129. 229	מחצב 107
לוח 189	מבנת 96	מחרת 12

ממ 36	מלכרם 360	מצבת 60. 62. 98. 139.
ממב 130	מלכת d. 135	147
ממלכות 280. 333	מלכת n. 246	מצלח 136
ממנא 91	מלך 61. 74	מצעה 170. 177. 183
ממס 122	מלקרת 74. 84. 102.	מצרם 91. 209
מילל 149	109	מקבר(תא) 242. 244.
מ(י)ן 13. 206. 311.	מלקרתרצה 361	247
337	ממלחת 110	מקדש 105. 115. 130.
מיקם אלם 149	ממלכת 21. 34 ff. 149	148
מישר 149	pr. 167 f. 188. 191	מקימאל 114
מיתא 306	pre. 167 f. 230.	מקימו 214. 266
מיתותא 279	256. 332 f.	מקם 167
מכל 67. 76. 89	294 מן די	מקמו 276
מכסא 126. 332 f. 337	205 f. 243.	מקנא 121
מכפון 145. 149	282. 333 f.	d. 65. 109
מכתערם 142	מנה 192	מרא 178. 209. 225.
מלא 275	מנ(ו)עת 227. 234. 255	243. 255. 287 f.
מלאך 48	מנותו 219	295 f.
מל(א)כת 24. 67. 128	מנחם 71. 89	מרת 287. 293
מלח 338	מנחת 42. 87 f. 117.	מראנרא 311
pr. n. 278	121. 124. 155	מרוח 95. 121 f. 303
מלמא 336	מנך 47. 250	מרושן 32
d. 49. 154	מנע 169	מרוחי 65. 79
n. 116. 149.	מנקצה 92	מרימא 58
192. 225. 238. 348	מסנרא 238. 248. 255	מרקע 75
מלך אדם 137 f.	מסנרת 176	מרקש 179
מלך מלכם 38. 201.	מסחבא 145	מרת 256. 278
205. 290	מסולי 157	משאנך 84
v. 176	מסך 33	משאתת 115
מלכי 32 f. 40. 76 f.	מסכר 42. 154	משבת 175
מלכבל 268 ff. 297.	מספנתה 23	משות 180
299. 302 f.	מעוז 295	משח(א) 210. 336
מלכבעל 104	מעיוש 342	משך 225. 230
n. 179. 185	מעיתי 305	משכב 29. 34. 62. 72.
pr. n. 239 f. 253	מעל(א) 36. 155	341
f. 257	מען 309	משיכי 179
מלכין 226	מענן 199	משל 71. 84
מלכיות 56. 74. 76. 111.	מעריש 145	משליים 149
348	מערות 131. 242. 308.	משמעת 14
מלכם 361	310	משע 6
מלכעשתרת 49. 104	ממע 40. 85	משמן 85

- משקל 88. 110. 118 f.  
 משריתא 248. 282. 304  
 משרת 97  
 משת 176  
 משתתף 338  
 מת 167. 176. 185  
 מתא 155  
 מתא pr. n. 266  
 מתבול 294  
 מתנ(א) 46. 303  
 מתת(ח) 355. 362  
 נ demonstr. 29. 34 f.  
 39 f. 209  
 נ' du. pl. 5. 10. 39  
 נאספת 95  
 נאחת 240  
 נבה 7. 12  
 נבובד 288  
 נבובר 296. 303  
 נבמו 215 f. 225  
 נביות 215 f.  
 נבש 168. 179  
 נבה 171  
 נדר 79. 157. 245  
 נדרבול 301  
 נחירא 285. 287. 292  
 נח 100  
 נונא 337  
 נורבל 307  
 נורי 303  
 נחם 204  
 נחמי 79  
 נחן 36  
 נחשא 256  
 נחשת 22. 54. 87  
 נחת n. 62. 72  
 נחת v. 210. 271 f.  
 נמראל 254  
 ניסן 218  
 ניעטמן 146  
 נבל 188  
 נם suff. 39  
 נמוסא 332. 340  
 נמעתי 206  
 נסח 189. 197  
 נסחת 235  
 נסכם 139  
 נעם 82. 84. 147. 149  
 נף 92  
 נפק 199. 210. 335 f.  
 338 f.  
 יחנפק 199  
 נפקתח 212  
 נפש 69. 199. 214. 247.  
 312  
 נפת 126  
 נצב n. 103 f. 108. 164.  
 175. 180  
 נצב v. 111. 166. 253  
 נצח 76  
 נצר 189  
 נקבה 17  
 נקידו 250  
 נקיה 213  
 נרב 187  
 נרנל 101  
 נרנך 85  
 נרקים 298  
 נשא n. 96. 98. 358  
 נשא v. 13. 99  
 נשא pr. n. 293. 299.  
 332  
 נשיב 234  
 נשך 188  
 נשנכיה 229  
 נתך 169  
 נתן 38. 166 f. 169.  
 210. 217  
 נ=ם 156  
 נבג 145  
 סגר 35. 39  
 סרקיא 264. 266. 312.  
 335  
 סוית 126  
 סוסיא 262  
 סותא 197  
 סחב 11  
 סחה 25  
 סיון 289  
 סכן d. 100. 130  
 סכן n. 53  
 סכר n. 47. 84. 147  
 סכר v. 88  
 סלריא 156  
 סלוקוס 283  
 סלמת 75  
 סלעין 223. 225  
 סלק 272. 275. 333 f.  
 סמדת 87  
 סמיתא 302  
 סמכא 242  
 סמל(ת) 58. 74. 76.  
 154  
 סנקלטיקא 264. 266.  
 285. 312  
 ססמרטין 338  
 ססם 62  
 ססמי 81  
 סעד 168  
 סף 43 f.  
 ספא 281  
 ספון 338  
 ספממיום 285. 287 f.  
 290 f. 293  
 ספק 149  
 ספר 67  
 סרבנין 333  
 סריק 340  
 סרן 205  
 סרסא 360  
 סרסרם 70 f.

- סתריא 193  
 ע' fem. 25  
 עבר v. 166. 221. 287  
 עבר n. 49 f. 53. 183. 362  
 עבר בת 58  
 עבראבמח 69  
 עבראלם 46  
 עבראמר 59. 62. 64. 79. 91. 103  
 עברארש 129  
 עברבל 274  
 עברחרת 226  
 עברלא 129  
 עברמלך 62  
 עברמלכו 250  
 עברססם 62. 79  
 עברעבדת 224  
 עברעשתי(ת) 72. 352  
 עברפמי 75  
 עברת pr. n. 239. 244  
 עבדו 230. 304  
 עבדת 242. 248. 332  
 עבנת 142 f.  
 עבר 42  
 עבריטרא 346 f.  
 עברתא 248  
 עבת 356  
 ענא 283  
 ענילו 303  
 ענלבל 301 ff.  
 ענלת 72 f. 302  
 עדו 255  
 עדיה 201  
 עדר 272  
 עוד v. 305  
 עוד pr. n. 303  
 עוע 141. 150  
 עות 309  
 עז 81. 336  
 עזבעל 347. 350.  
 עוזו 283. 295 f.  
 עזמלך 44  
 עז pr. n. 71. 77  
 עזרתבעל 74  
 עזרנפי 213  
 עזחד 63  
 עמר 96. 154  
 עמרת 10  
 עידא 333  
 עידו 217. 240  
 עין 13  
 עיר v. 230  
 עיר 223. 234  
 עבר 130  
 על over 96. 98. 115. 130. 146. upon 226. 237. 311, beyond 122, for 79. 213. 295, because of 250  
 על מן 22. 118. 122. 128  
 עלא adv. 219 f. 230. 247  
 עלא v. 146  
 על[א]רה 14  
 על pr. n. 256. 332  
 עלינא pr. n. 277  
 עלל v. 309. 335 f. 338. 340  
 עלם youth 164. 336. 338  
 עלימא 335  
 עלמת 10  
 עלימתא 340  
 עלם n. 128  
 עלמא eternity 295 ff. 300. 307  
 עלצא 136  
 עלת upon 24. 28. 35. 39. 97. 126  
 עלחא 299. 304  
 עם 154. 215. 245. 253. 256  
 ע' נל 105. 107  
 ע' צח 95  
 ע' צר 47  
 ע' קרחורחא 134  
 kinsman 245. 253  
 עם pre. 223. 253. 282  
 ע(ו)ד 23. 275  
 עמנר 223  
 עמס 34. 121. 124  
 עמק 155  
 עמר n. 280. 338  
 עמר pr. n. 199  
 עמרת 136  
 עמת 154  
 ען אש 98  
 ענא 304  
 ענה v. 209. 300  
 ענישו 246  
 ענמו 237. 304  
 ענש 122  
 ענת 80 f.  
 עסר 32. 225  
 עפל 13  
 עפרת 136  
 עצמת 39  
 עקב 69  
 ערב 98 f.  
 ערביא 261  
 ערה v. 39  
 ערכותא 242 f.  
 ערכת 106  
 ערער 13  
 ערמן 339  
 ערפת 23. 48. 98  
 ערק 89  
 ערשא 199. 296  
 ערת 22 f. 119. 155  
 עשביא 340

- עשיו 362  
 עשרתא 264. 333  
 עשתורגא 309  
 עשור pr. n. 271  
 עשור כמש 7. 12. 49  
 עשורת 27 f. 50. 91.  
 99. 127  
 ע' שם בעל 37  
 עת 106. 115.  
 עתא, עתח 79. 269 f.  
 עחיק 274  
 עתגורי 303  
 עתנתן 306  
 עתרעהת 28. 269 f.  
 עתור 28. 269  
 ע=ג 165. 185. 223.  
 309  
 ע=א 153  
 ע=מ 168. 171  
 עאמי 212  
 ענמלין 55  
 ענרין 339  
 עחלא 141 f.  
 עונש 209  
 עוק 28  
 עוקד 299  
 עחי 178  
 עחחרחרת 204  
 עמסון 245  
 עמנתר 205  
 עמסרי 197. 204  
 עמסלא 337  
 עמר 91 f.  
 עי 177  
 עינתא 213  
 עילג 46. 210  
 עילדלף 79  
 עילחרוהת 264. 332  
 עיל 167  
 עילחא 286  
 עלט 175  
 עלכש 141  
 עלס 130  
 עלס 170. 184  
 עלס 165. 190  
 עלמי 75  
 עלמייתן 55. 58. 349  
 עלמן 201  
 על מן בעל 37. 106. 132 f.  
 עלמו 163. 176  
 עלת 124  
 עלס 122  
 עלסלא 226  
 עלל 23. 43  
 עללתן 20.  
 עלל נעם 24. 51  
 עללאבסח 91  
 עללל 69. 74  
 עלל d. 55  
 עלל n. 47. 119. 130  
 עללל 246. 309  
 עללי 259  
 עלל 243  
 עלל 74 f.  
 עלל 243  
 עלל 88  
 עלל 36. 126  
 עלל 231  
 עלל 67  
 עלל 282  
 עלל 343 f.  
 עלל 298  
 עלל 282. 294  
 עלל 176  
 עלל 71  
 עלל 338  
 עלל 304  
 עלל 339  
 עלל 177  
 עלל 226  
 עלל v. 28. 35. 311  
 עלל n. 22 f.  
 עללל 51. 78. 81. 84  
 עלל 262. 272. 294. 333  
 עלל v. 309  
 עלל n. 203  
 עלל d. 91  
 עלל n. 117. 120  
 עלל 194  
 עלל 91  
 עללל 105 f.  
 עלל 91. 95. 134. 213  
 עלל 46. 54. 95.  
 350. 352  
 עלל 101  
 עלל v. 197  
 עלל n. 25. 86. 180.  
 183. 190  
 עלל 197 f.  
 עלל pr. n. 362  
 עללל 349  
 עלל 133  
 עלל 242. 245  
 עלל 22  
 עלל 117 f. 124  
 עלל 204. 213  
 עלל pr. n. 299  
 עלל 256. 299  
 עלל 356. 358  
 עלל 147  
 עלל 253  
 עלל 106. 196 f. 199  
 עלל 278. 292  
 עלל 197  
 עלל 86  
 עלל 245  
 עלל 213  
 עלל 129. 210  
 עלל 49  
 עלל 120  
 עלל pr. n. 277

- צץ 117. 120  
 צד d. 175  
 צד n. 170  
 צד Tyre 43 f. 46. 51.  
 54. 74. 352  
 צד צרב איל 117. 120  
 צריחא 237. 242  
 קבל 193. 309 f.  
 קבר v. 142 f. 217  
 קבר n. 341  
 קדם adv., pre. 86. 190.  
 260  
 קדם (קדמח) 120. 126. 177.  
 257. 332  
 קדר 215  
 קדש v. 81  
 קדש 120. 126. 154.  
 350. 352. 356  
 קום 170  
 קים 217. 236. 300  
 קים 164. 179. 271.  
 281. 291. 339  
 קמו 276  
 קחן 295  
 קמן 203  
 קמרי 312  
 קמרת 126  
 קימה 289  
 קימא 209  
 קינו 229. 231  
 קינא 289  
 קי(י)סר 249. 252. 262.  
 288  
 קיד 5. 11. 14. 166  
 קיד חרש 7  
 קישא 219. 235  
 קל(א) 94. 104. 110. 133  
 קלבי 212  
 קלדים 252. 268  
 קלול 213  
 קלניא 279  
 קלקים 249. 338  
 קנאם 148  
 קנמי 33 f.  
 קנס 223. 235  
 קסנתן 234  
 קפא 66  
 קפנא 339  
 קציו 252 ff.  
 קצץ 39  
 קצרת 118. 124  
 קר 67  
 קרא 21. 24. 155. 167.  
 252  
 קרחא 256. 283.  
 307  
 קרב 295. 268. 360  
 קרבנא 201 f.  
 קרבלקן 340  
 קרחא 7  
 קרמסמא 291. 293  
 קריא 339  
 קרית 11  
 קריתן 10  
 קרל 163. 167. 176  
 קרני 119  
 קרם 335  
 קרחרשת 53. 69. 134  
 קשם v. 311  
 קשמא 312  
 קשמן 338  
 קחל 177  
 קר=רב 106. 115  
 קרא 5. 8  
 קראשת 54  
 קרב 42. 70 f. 84. 101.  
 106. 129. 153. 280  
 קרב 21. 36. 58 f.  
 91. 99. 127. 131 f.  
 135. 158. 213  
 קרבאל 239. 250 f. 255  
 קרבאסירא 334  
 קרבח pr. n. 303  
 קרבח 273  
 קרבע 190  
 קר' שלשח 237  
 קרבעתארק 178. 183  
 קרברן 183. 185  
 קרבח pr. n. 312  
 קרנ 28. 169  
 קרניא 250  
 קרנל 335 f. 338  
 קרן 19  
 קרוח 253. 304  
 קרוא 235. 237  
 קרומו 225  
 קרן 183  
 קרוח 280  
 קרחם d. 276  
 קרחם 245. 266. 288.  
 300 f. 305  
 קר' עמח 215. 245.  
 256  
 קרמנא 295. 300  
 קרחמח 5. 12  
 קרית 5. 11  
 קרב 177  
 קרבאל 165. 183. 302  
 קר 17  
 קרעי 285  
 קרעם 69  
 קרע f. 150  
 קרע 110  
 קרעא 29 f. 35  
 קרעי 177  
 קרע 233. 296  
 קרעא 232 f.  
 קרע 361  
 קרעי 167 f. 185  
 קרע 13. 264. 285  
 קרע pr. n. 111. 147

- רש v. 170. 234. 236  
 רשף 56 f. 67. 165  
     ר' אליהו 89  
     ר' חזן 56 f.  
     ר' מכל 76. 79. 89  
 רשפית 61. 74  
  
 ש 108. 110 f. 129. 139.  
     147. 187. 190  
 שא 355  
 שאח 176  
 שאילא 283  
 שאר 118 f. 203  
 שבא 268  
 שבט 225. 302 f.  
 שבי 177  
 שבלת 150  
 שבעי 175  
 שבעת 362  
 שבת pr. n. 268  
 שני(א) 203. 280. 332  
 שנית 85  
 שגל 309  
 שד 37 f. 85  
 שדא 339  
 שדק 14  
 שדיר 187 f.  
 שדען 309  
 שוק 280  
 שורה 176  
 שוב 197. 255  
 שח 125  
 שחרבעל 147  
 שחת 170. 175  
 שמיפתא 336  
 שמר 47. 228. 240.  
     243. 334  
 שמרב 176  
 שים 104. 170. 180.  
     191. 197  
 שימתא 198
- שיע אלקום 255. 304  
 שירתא 271 f.  
 שכב 148  
 שכוהו 238  
 שכיתית 280  
 שכרא 295. 304  
 שלה v. 210  
 שלו 223  
 שלחא 340  
 שלי 232. 240  
 שלימת 234  
 שלך 107  
 שלכי 158  
 שלם v. 81. 99. 111  
     n. 67. 117 f. 124.  
     203. 258 ff.  
     pr. n. 79. 84  
 שלמו 220. 225. 234  
 שלמלת 275  
 שלמן d. 42  
 שלמן pr. n. 299  
 שלשן 176. 185  
 שם n. 47. 190. 197 f.  
     297. 300  
     שם בעל 37. 106.  
     132  
 שמאל 182 f.  
 שמדין 223  
 שמזבל 71  
 שמי 166  
 שמם 45. 157  
 שממאדרם 36  
 שמן m. n. 77  
     n. 120 f.  
 שמע 24  
 שמעא 58  
 שמעבעל 96  
 שמעון 278. 358 f.  
 שמר 72. 107. 148  
 שמרנ 179  
 שמרת 129
- שמש d. 75. 101. 104.  
     165. 188. 222.  
     267. 269. 276.  
     297 f. 299  
 שמש v. 279. 283  
 שמש n. 29  
 שמשנרם 298. 311  
 שמש m. n. 103  
 שנא v. 243  
 שנגלא 198  
 שנה n. 169  
 שנורבן 187  
 שני 42  
 שנת 175. 267  
     5 f. 40 f. 47. 51.  
     78. 95. 106. 110.  
     115 f. 130. 148.  
     196  
     pl. 32. 40 f.  
     55. 85. 141  
 שעראלחי 361  
 שעדלת 304  
 שעודת 234. 246  
 שע(י)רו 234. 260. 288  
 שעריא 142  
 שערה 166. 176  
 שערם 13. 138  
 שמה 121  
 שמש 44. 63. 100. 106.  
     110. 115 f. 129 f.  
     146. 157.  
 שצף 120  
 שקד 126  
 שקוף 342  
 שקילת 246  
 שקל 118. 176. 356  
 שקלן pr. n. 147  
 שקן 309  
 שרל 61  
 שרן 111  
 שרה 194. 212 f.

שריכו 277 f. 312	תחומא 335. 339	תמנחא 205
שריתא 275. 295	תחפי 205	מנח תמניא 337
שרן 12. 41	תחת 29. 35	חמש 56
שרר 332. 334	תמלילא 276	חנא 243 f.
שרש 36	תידרוס 272	חנן 194. 279
שתא 168. 305	תימא 197	חנת 37. 127 f. 132 f.
שתוא 184	תימניא 225. 229	חנתלו 259
	תימאלחי 228. 262.	תסהרא 209
	269	תע 27
אית = ת 147. 149 f.	תימו 237. 303	תעבת 29
155	תימי 269	תעת 153
ת' fem. 5. 25	תימעמד 303	תצביתא 277. 282.
תאר 38	תימצא 307	302
תבא 205	תימצו 233. 273. 303	תקל 209
תבנת 27. 33	תיץ 126	תקן 291
תברת 124	תידא 301	תקף 217. 231
תגלתפלוסר 178. 183.	תכלת 47. 66	תרדמו 344 f.
188	תלה 210	תריבזו 344
תגמא 287.	תלתת 262	תרין 237
תגרא 271. 287. 333	תלחין 237	תריוחן 266
תדמר 263. 335	תם 95	תרת(א) 247. 282
תדמריא 268. 284	תמה 206	תשמיש 337
תהך 209	תמכאל 361	תשרי 252. 283
תורא 238		



## INDEX II

### ARABIC

أ conj. iv 58

أثر 50

أثنان 56

أخذ 11

آخر 191

أرسوف 57

أرض 166

أرة 11. 56

أرى 11

أريكة 255

اسم 168

أصل 243

أصطل conj. viii 11

أفكل 223

أقتال conj. viii 13

أكرم 155

آل 245

الحجر 214. 236

العلی 214

الف 219

اللآل 222

أمر 120. 337

أمهات 47

أنا، أنا 225

آبا 22

باب 309

بابة 212

باس 191

باع 115

برا 124

برم 294

بغی 115

بلی 21

تار 242

تلمر 263. 284

تكة 136

تیم الله 228. 237. 269

تین 126

جاه 242

جار 63. 305

جثة 223

جدعان 79

جرم 259

جمر 225

جنة 120

حرج 243

حرس 243

حرم 12. 220

حور 200

حیر 304

حية 135

خبین 143

خرط 128

خزن 71 f.

خلف 8. 230. 234

خلة 33

خلیقة 220

دار 153

داس 122

دحق 309

دعم 44

دیان 6

ذا 168

ذریع 237

ذو 45. 218

ذو العری 218

ذو الخصلة 260

راس 285

رب العالمین 296

رجل 335

رحام 276

رزا 280

رماه 167. 233. 273

رعی 97. 167

رعو 98

رعی 97 f.

رهن 219

زید 271

زبل 71.

نزم 33

زنجیرلو 163

سجد 238

سحب 11

سرسور 70 f.

سلة 33

سلاح 340

- |                   |              |               |
|-------------------|--------------|---------------|
| سلام 252          | ف 165. 217   | محرمه 198     |
| سلك 8. 107        | فخذ 299      | مسبار 87      |
| سمره 129          | فرمان 294    | معن الله 199  |
| سيارة 271         | فص 243       | مكثر 142      |
| شاه 184           | فلت 177      | ملحت 278      |
| شلو 223           | فما ذا 165   | من البيان 230 |
| شهر 187           | قالب 212     | منازل 82      |
| شيع الغوم 304     | قتل 177      | مناة 219      |
| صدقة 197          | قلة 213      | نباوة 12      |
| معد 245           | قيس 219      | ندب 171       |
| ملحة 253          | قين 229      | نسخة 235      |
| مهوة 242          | كان 79       | نسيب 234      |
| موة 197           | كبر 48       | نصب 103       |
| فمكه 184          | كرجين 163    | نقب 17        |
| متر 170           | كربى 61      | نيرب 187      |
| مريخ 237          | كسوة 126     | هبر 124       |
| مهوة 242          | كفر 219      | هبل 223. 257  |
| طار 242           | كلا, كلان 13 | هجم 197       |
| ظلم 106. 196      | كلا 179      | هد 164        |
| عثر 187           | كنى 98       | هنا 198       |
| عدى 201           | كيهك 213     | هنا الذى 78   |
| عقلان 187         | ل 47. 169    | هوى 176       |
| علاوة 28          | لى 189       | واثل 106      |
| عاص 136           | لحن 218. 223 | وئب 243       |
| عم 245            | ليس 184      | وآ 169        |
| عمر 199           | ليل 169      | وصب 38        |
| عمران 199         | ما 184       | وصر 38        |
| غرفة 23           | ما 234       | وصل 118       |
| غفر 239           | ما 8         | وما 166       |
| غير 223. 230. 234 | ماثتان 13    | وضع 38        |
|                   | مجانا 275    | وهب 224       |
|                   | مجد 268      | ين 13         |

# INDEX III

## SYRIAC

ܐܚܝܬܐ 309  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 333  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 340  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 227  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 209  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 55  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 248  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 338  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 206  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 120. 337  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 12  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 228  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 336  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 271  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 237. 336  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 296  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 296  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 332  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 338  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 184  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 190  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 339  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 298  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 335  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 307  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 225  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 298  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 170  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 340

ܐܚܝܬܐ 242  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 298  
 ܐ 32  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 301  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 336  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 243  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 311  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 225  
 ܐ' suff.  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 339  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 191  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 283  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 198  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 231  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 335  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 280  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 120  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 338  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 304  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 188  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 33  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 175  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 153. 337  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 273  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 198  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 284

ܐܚܝܬܐ 338  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 339  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 335  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ' suff. 209. 311  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 310  
 ܐ 22  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 209  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 48  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 293  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 170  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 237  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 335  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 277  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 242  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 334  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 339  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 189  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 184  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 279  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 335  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 334. 339  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 29  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 13  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 299  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 205  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 237  
 ܐܚܝܬܐ 337

ܡܫܠܐ 279	ܡܫܠܐ 302	ܡܫܠܐ 300
ܡܫܠܐ 332	ܡܫܠܐ 280	ܡܫܠܐ 312
ܡܫܠܐ 199	ܡܫܠܐ 339	ܡܫܠܐ 285
ܡܫܠܐ 276	ܡܫܠܐ 333	ܡܫܠܐ 119
ܡܫܠܐ 311	ܡܫܠܐ 339	ܡܫܠܐ 336
ܡܫܠܐ 336	ܡܫܠܐ 304	ܡܫܠܐ 283
ܡܫܠܐ 248	ܡܫܠܐ 335	ܡܫܠܐ 271
ܡܫܠܐ 206	ܡܫܠܐ 338	ܡܫܠܐ 340
ܡܫܠܐ 291	ܡܫܠܐ 120	ܡܫܠܐ 223
	ܡܫܠܐ 270	ܡܫܠܐ 188
ܡܫܠܐ 126	ܡܫܠܐ 243	ܡܫܠܐ 309
ܡܫܠܐ 213	ܡܫܠܐ 213	ܡܫܠܐ 212
ܡܫܠܐ 256	ܡܫܠܐ 294	ܡܫܠܐ 287
ܡܫܠܐ 332	ܡܫܠܐ 339	ܡܫܠܐ 271
ܡܫܠܐ 212	ܡܫܠܐ 210	ܡܫܠܐ 276
ܡܫܠܐ 213	ܡܫܠܐ 213	ܡܫܠܐ 243
ܡܫܠܐ 188	ܡܫܠܐ 338	ܡܫܠܐ 279
	ܡܫܠܐ 339	ܡܫܠܐ 277
ܡܫܠܐ 188	ܡܫܠܐ 312	ܡܫܠܐ 13
ܡܫܠܐ 197	ܡܫܠܐ 289	ܡܫܠܐ 333
ܡܫܠܐ 198	ܡܫܠܐ 209	ܡܫܠܐ 282
ܡܫܠܐ 33	ܡܫܠܐ 34	ܡܫܠܐ 337
ܡܫܠܐ 223	ܡܫܠܐ 339	
ܡܫܠܐ 333		

# INDEX IV

## GREEK

'Αβδήλιμος 46	'Απας 202	Βελμάρι 65
'Αβδήμονος 104	'Απόλλων 'Αγυεύς 57	Βελσάμην 37. 46
'Αβδημίλων 62	„ 'Αλασιώτης 89	Βήλθης 21
'Αβδουβάστιος 69	„ 'Αμικλός 76	Βητομαρσεα 122
ἀγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον 76	ἀργαπέτης 289	Βοσόν 13
'Αγλιβῶλος 301	'Αρέτας 215 f.	Βουδάστρατος 41
ἀγοραί, ἐν τῇ 96	'Αρης 129. 296	βουλευτής 284
ἀγορανομήσαντα 280	'Αρκη 89	βουλή 264. 294. 332
'Αγρεύς 91	'Αρσινὴ 51. 79	Βύβλος 19
ἀδελφός 246	'Αρτίμυδες 133	Βυζώντιον 158
'Αδωδος 164	'Αρτεμίδωρος 133	
'Αδωνες 61	ἀρχηγέτης 102 f.	Γαῦδος 105
'Αζίζος 296	ἀρχιερεύς 101	γερούσια 116. 354
'Αθάρα 269 f.	ἀρχιπραγματευτής 71	γῆμος 335 f.
'Αθήνη 81. 222	ἀρχοντες 279. 332	γραμματεὺς 282
'Αθηνόδωρος 222. 291	'Ασκληπιός 36 f.	Γῶγ 16
-αι 266	ἀσσάριον 336	
αἰώνιος 307	'Ασταρτεῖον, τὸ 27	Δαιβάν 6
'Ακτια Δουσάρια 219	'Αστάρτη 21. 27 f. 36	δαίμων Καρχηδονίων
ἀλάβαστρον 336	'Αταργάτις 28. 49. 269 f.	107. 132
'Αλέξανδρος 353. 355	ἀτελής 134	δαρεικοί 97
ἄλεις 110. 338	ἀτομυπός 119	Δατάμης 344
'Αλιεύς 91	'Αττικάι 283	δεκάπρωτοι 334
'Αλιλάτ 222	αὐτοκράτωρ 290	Δερκετώ 269 f.
'Αμμάς 131	ἀφειδεῖν 274. 280	δέρματα 118
'Αμμονεῖς 104	'Αφροδισίου 27	δέσπουα 287
ἀναγράψαι 98 f.	'Αφροδίτη 27. 270	δεσπότης 287
ἀναθήματα 220	„ Βυβλίη 21	Δημήτηρ 131
'Αναίτις 133	'Αψάσωμος 62	Δημόδικος 348
ἀνακτες 74	'Αψητος 91	δήμος 264. 294
ἀνασσαι 74		δημοσιώτης 333
ἀνδρίαντες 340	Βασιλλήχ 101. 107	δηνάρια 274. 336
'Ανρίβας 108	Βαρσαββᾶς 268	δικαιοσύνη 197
'Αντίγονος 230. 355	βασιλεῖς 115	Διονύσιος 59. 103
'Αντίοχος 230. 349 f.	βασιλεύς 290 f.	Διόνυσος 218 f. 222.
'Αντίπατρος 93	βασιλισσα 290 f.	239
'Απειλαιν 'Ελείται 89	βάσις 225	Διοπεΐθης 96

- Δίος 294  
 δόγμα 332  
 Δομανῶ 94. 101  
 Δομσάλης 94. 101  
 Δουσάρης 218 f.  
 δραχμή 96 f.  
 Ἐβας 270  
 εἰδωλον 29  
 Εἰθώβαλος 27  
 -ει, -ει, -ει 266  
 εἰσκομίζω 335  
 ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων 256  
 ἐκατομβαιών 59  
 ἐκίβαλος 57  
 ἐκκομίζω 335  
 ἐλεημοσύνη 197  
 Ἑλλωτία 158  
 ἐνύπνιον 203  
 ἐξέδρα 309  
 ἐπαρχία 231. 261  
 ἑπαρχος 231. 281  
 ἐπιμελητής 72. 107. 280  
 ἐπίτροπος 245 f. 288  
 ἐργαστήριον 136. 337  
 ἐρμηνευτής 61  
 Ἑσμούνος 37  
 Ἑσμουσιλήμου 101  
 ἐταῖραι 337. 340  
 εὐεργέτης 51  
 εὐμένης 149  
 εὐχαρίστως 300  
 εὐψύχει 206  
 Ἐφκας πηγῆς 72. 280  
 Ζεβεδαῖος 271  
 Ζεὺς Βῆλος 288. 303  
 „ ἐν Κύπρῳ 89  
 „ Θαλάσσιος 37  
 „ Μαδβαχος 222  
 „ μέγιστος 295 f.  
 Ζεὺς Ξένιος 46  
 „ Ὀλύμπιος 46  
 „ θριοι 54  
 „ σωτήρ 100  
 „ ὕψιστος 291.  
 297 f.  
 Ζηροβία 291 f.  
 ἡγεμών 279  
 Ἡλιόδωρος 75. 280. 302  
 Ἡλίου πόλις 91  
 Ἡρακλῆς 74. 102. 107  
 -ης, -η, -ην 267. 275  
 Θαβεννι 27  
 Θαδάμορα 263  
 θίατρον 225  
 θεοὶ ἀδελφοί 51. 79  
 θεοποιούσι 244  
 θεὸς ὕψιστος 298  
 Θήρων 91  
 θίασος 121  
 Ἱεραβῶλος 280. 312  
 Ἱεράκων νῆσος 108  
 ἱεροθύτης 107  
 ἱματιοπῶλαι 337  
 Ἱόλαος 106 f.  
 ἱππικός 284  
 Κάβειροι 37  
 Καῖσαρ 252  
 κασηφόρος 78 f.  
 Καρνάιν 269  
 καρρικῆς 335  
 καταδῶ 135 f.  
 κατ' ἄνδρα 213  
 κειράδας 7  
 κελωλ 213  
 κέρμα 339  
 Κίτιον 158  
 κλειωπηγός 72  
 κλίνη 187  
 κοινόν, τὸ 96. 354  
 κοπρία 319  
 κόπρον 25  
 Κοσγηρος 234. 305  
 Κοστατανος 234  
 κόστος 338  
 κράτιστος 340  
 Κρόνος 20 f. 350  
 κτίστης 291  
 Κυθήρια 27  
 κύνης 68  
 Κύπρις 27  
 Κύπρος 63  
 κύριος βασιλείων 38  
 λάκκος 10  
 λαμπρότατος 285. 287  
 Λαοδίκεια 46. 349 f.  
 Λάπηθος 57. 85  
 Λάρναξ 85  
 Λεάσταρτος 275  
 Λεββαῖος 145  
 λειτουργία 99  
 λέοντας, δύο 56  
 Λεύκος 128  
 Λιβανίτις 27  
 λίβανος 126  
 λιμένα 335  
 λίτρα 110  
 Λῶος 273  
 Μαιουμας 122  
 Μάκαρ 108  
 Μαλαχβήλος 104. 268.  
 301  
 Μαλίχας 239  
 μαντιάρχης 72  
 Μάρθα 278  
 Μάρνας 65. 109  
 μεγαλόδοξος 51

- μέγαρον 131  
 Μελεά 275  
 Μελεκάβρος 74  
 Μέρβαλος 109  
 μηλωτής 333  
 μηρρη 109  
 Μήτηρ, ἡ 131  
 μισθωτής 333  
 μῦα 96  
 Μυσσείας 89  
 μόδιον 338  
 Μονιμος 199  
  
 Ναβαταῖοι 216  
 Νήραβος 187  
 Νίσωβις 104  
 νόμισμα 353  
 νόμος 332  
 Νουμήμιος 63  
  
 Ξανδικός 289  
 ξίνοι 282  
 Ξέρξης 201  
  
 Ὀβόδης 244  
 ὀβολός 121  
 ὄγδοος 37  
 οἶνος 213. 305  
 ὄρια 335  
 Ὀροτάλ 222. 239  
 Ὀσίρις 61. 206  
 Οὐαβάλλαθος 291  
 Οὐρανία 27 f. 222  
  
 Πάλμυρα 263. 294. 312  
 Παναμνής 163  
 παντοπωλεῖον 337  
 παράσιτος 63  
 πάροικος 63  
 πάτωϊκοι 23  
 Παωφί 212  
 πεμφθεῖς 49  
  
 Πέρσης, ὁ 71  
 Πέτρα 215  
 πολιτευσάμενον 280  
 Ποσειδῶν 81  
 Πραξιδημος 81. 84  
 Πράξιππος 84  
 πρόεδρος 332  
 πρόπυλον 98  
 προστάτης 289  
 πρόστειον 98  
 Πυγμαλιών 56  
 Πυμάτος 56  
 πυραμίδες 214  
  
 Ῥαβασείρη 198. 334  
  
 Σαγχουινάθων 100  
 Σαλαμβέ 106  
 Σαλάμιοι 220  
 Σαμφιγέραμος 298  
 Σαραπίων 103  
 Σεβαστή 291  
 Σεβαστός 291  
 Σελαμανης 43  
 Σεληναίη 28  
 σελήνη 28  
 Σεπτίμιος 285. 291  
 Σέσματος 62. 81  
 σημείον 302  
 Σιδωνίαν 352  
 Σίλας 283  
 Σισίνης 62  
 Σπασίνου Χάραξ 272  
 στατήρ 223  
 στεφανῶσαι 96  
 στήλη 98. 102. 334  
 στοά 23  
 στρατηγοί 248. 279. 332  
 στρατιώτης 285  
 στρόβιλοι 339  
  
 συγκελητικός 285  
 σύγκλητος 116  
 Συλλαῖος 232. 245  
 συμποσίαρχος 288. 303  
 σύμφωνοι 338  
 σύνδικος 335  
 συνοδία 271  
 συνοδιάρχης 271  
 σύνδοτος 95. 102  
 συσσιτία 122  
 Σωτήρ 255  
 Σώχαρις 42  
  
 τάγμα 287  
 Ταιντίδα 132  
 τελώνης 333  
 τίμενος 50. 269  
 Τέννης 27  
 Τεός 204  
 Τιτανίδες 133  
 τοξόται 312  
 τόπος 167  
 Τύνης 128. 132  
 Τυρίων 352  
 τύχη 82. 84. 219. 245. 269  
  
 ὕδωρ 206  
 ὑπατικός 287. 290  
 Ὑπερβερεταῖος 252. 283  
  
 Φιλόπατρις 215  
  
 Χααβου 218  
 χαῖρα 203  
 χάριτας ἀξίας 99  
 χιλίαρχος 226  
 χρήματα τοῦ Θεοῦ 99  
 χρυσός 23  
 χωνευτά 108  
 χωρία 339  
 χωράρχης 84

# INDEX V

## BIBLICAL REFERENCES

Ⓢ = LXX, Ⓢ = Syriac, Ⓢ = Targum, Ⓢ Psj. = Targum Pseudo-Jonathan.

GENESIS.			28 12	75	29 f.	179	20 3	118
1 10	300		22	104	48 7	17	5	190
31	97. 125		32 3	168	50 7-13	179	24	117
2 5	126. 166		32	133	25	179	25	17
4 18	24		34 12	109	26	28	21 22	122
9 3	78		35 16	49	Exodus.			
21	8		20	60				
10 9	120		36 11. 15.		3 15	37	Ⓢ Psj. 223	
17	89		42	145	4 10	361	23 13	168
11 1	17		15 ff.	210	6 14	13	18	121
12 5	69		21	238	7 20	24	19	54
14 5	10		38	130	9 23	12	20 ff.	37
13	119		43	299	10 2	20	20. 23	304
18	101		37 4	35	11 7 Ⓢ	199	25 11 ff.	120
15 9			19	119	12 7. 22 f.	342	23 Ⓢ	226
Sam. Ⓢ	120		28	118	22	43	27	154
18 5	168		38 25 Ⓢ	210	39 Ⓢ	78	26 31 ff.	67
19 23	178		39 6 Ⓢ	126	13 19	179	36	33
26	103		14 Ⓢ	279	14 14. 25		27 8	155
27	99		40 9-11	213	Ⓢ Psj.	76	28 11	22
20 16	118		41 45	91	15 10	38	29 2	121
22 18	35		42 4 Ⓢ	311	15	49	14	119
23 9. 20	237		23	61	27 Ⓢ	198	30 8	126
19 f.	308		25 Ⓢ	274	16 5	122	13 121. 351	
24 12	24		43 9	99	15	311	13 Ⓢ	223
27	179		16 Ⓢ	212	22	96	36 Ⓢ	171
25 13	215		44 13	34	34	24	33 10	49
15	197		32	99	17 10	200. 232	14 f.	132.
28	120		45 4	20	15	7		304
26 10	170		46 21	111	18 23	128	34 1	155
29	24		26	299	25	13	5 f. 37.	106
27 19. 31	35		47 13	13	19 13	29. 120	7	190
31	8		22	198	15	55	34	126
							36 3	67



38	23	21 5	67	22	229	4	120
38 8	96	22 11	69	25 1-3	7. 122	12	29
17	23	23 40	126.358	6	24	19 4	17
39 3	75	25 13	120	26 54	122	20 20	78
37	23. 242	26 1	179	27 12	248	22 19	122
		27 2 ff.	106	31 8	201	23 14	128
LEVITICUS.		3. 25	351	28	33. 332	18. 19	68
1	120	28 f.	12	32 14	13	25 7	198
1-2	117			34-38	5.	18 2	171
1 14	120	NUMBERS.		10. 12. 13		28 4 ff.	117
2 4	121	1 10	175	33 46	14	4. 18. 51	27
4-6	121	3 24	275	'52	179	39	166
12 f.	120	50	17	34 25	298	63	198
14 ff.	121	7 9	97			32 4	175
3 3 ff.	121	13 ff.	118	DEUTERONOMY.		8	166
5 7. 11	117	13. 86	351	2 11	5	10	209
15	351	9 20	33	32	12	23	57
6 15 f.	117	11 5	166	34	12	37	110
19	117	18		36	13	33 10	117
7 8	119. 124	2 Psj.	281	3 6	12	27	13
8. 15-19.		13 10	79	10	12. 253	34 7	190
31-34	117	16 14 2	76	11	187		
10	121	34 2	311	4 3	37	JOSHUA.	
15-19	118	17 3	75	16	58	1 4. 15	49
31 f.	118	18 12	120	43	13	5 1 ⑥	350
8 15		21. 31	99	5 25	104	6 5	120
2 Psj.	280	19 5	119	6 11	17. 332	17-19	12
17	119	20 19	177	7 13	27. 117	8 1	12
10 1	126	21 2 f.	12	25	29	9 5. 14	120
11 16	108	19 f.	13	8 9	17	15	96
29	256	23	12	13 12	25	12 5	253
12 6. 8	117. 120	29	7 f.	17	117	23	38
13 2. 18.		30	8	14 9. 10 2	120	13 9	8
24 2	219	22 2	277	14	108	9. 16 f.	12
14 4	120	38	170	15 2	17	15-28	5. 10
21	117	41	13	8	119	14 7	11
16 3	7	23 5. 12.		20	226	15 19	20
12	126	16	170	17 1	29	34	72
19 6	118	24 17	359	3	165	58	175
27 f.	67	20	191	20	24	59	80
20 5	24	21 f. 2	220	18 3. 4	117	17 11	38

18 27	361	7 9	117	18 18	62	6	97
19 28	50	16	86	27	191	9 ⑥	108
38	80	8 11	183	20 1	362	24	68
46	38	20	77	19 ①	78	26	177
21 18	80	9 8	283	21 9	11	15 13	51
32	10	26	12	23 3	175	16 18	13
23 4	49	10 20 f.	69	20	11	21	27
24 11	50	13 6	237	38	274	23. 29	4
18	13	14 6	13	24 24	118	24	41
32	179	15 33	11			31	27. 54
		16 6	362	1 KINGS.		33	25
JUDGES.		23	109	1 2. 4	100	34	53
3 3	37. 54	19 10	91	26	362	18 35	176
23 ①	309	20-24	8	33	16	19 13	49
4 6 ff.	299	20 5 f.	66	3 14	24	20 1	164
10	179	22	335	4 5-7	289	1. 12. 16.	
11	229	21 10	122	7 ff.	166	33	178
15 f.	178	23 4	12	5 15	54	35	110
5 3	154	22	29	29	107	22	4
6	80. 179	24 20	99	32	19	34	178
22	168	25 24	84	6 29	22	52	9
26	169	27	179	38	32		
30	12	28 15	28	7 4 f.	153	2 KINGS.	
7 9	12	31 10	27	7	146	1 1	4. 9
8 21. 26	187			20	154	8	119
9 2	50	2 SAMUEL.		28 f.	119	3	5
5	176	1 6	119. 177	36	155	1	9
9. 13	180	26	206	37	22	4	4. 6. 14
46. 49	237	2 18	91. 362	50	43	5	4. 9
10 1	11	5 11	54. 67	8 2	66	24-27	5. 9
15 18 ⑥	76	8 2	4	8	22	25	7. 13
16 16	136	3 ff.	164	16	37	4 22	170
17 5	36	11 1	77	46	8	23	66
18 10	119	12 18	35	9 7	198	5 24	13
20 17	11	22	17	11	54	6 13	10
		13 23	37	15	17	7 1	176
1 SAMUEL.		32 ff.	169	18	263	8 13	68
2 15 f.	121	14 26	43. 192	11 5	54	18	9
18	99	15 32	121	5. 33	27	9 7 ff.	9
36	121	16 11	217	7. 33	7	37	17
4 21	29	17 13	11	14 4	170	10 6 ff.	169

7	176	9	8	43 9	218	25 23	197
11	9	10 4	21	44 19	176	30 20	86
15-16	178	23	98	45 4	98	31 27	126
11 2	169	32	121	46 1. 3	34	33 1	
18	46	11 1	165	47 11	17	© Hex. 282	
12 10	17	14	14	48 4	97	15	86
15 29	178	14 9	29	13	22	35	305
16 7	178. 183	21	130	49 2 3	128	36 10	49
8	177	15 1. 4	12	8	138	22	184
10	178	2 ff. 5 ff. 9. 12		52 8	85	37 16	153-337
17	22	5	14. 248	53 2	36	38 14	22
17 12	245	16 6	35	54 8	120	42 18	169
18	8	7. 11. 12	7	56 5	47	46 15	202
24	12	8	177	57 2	34	47 3	178
29	100	17 10	175	58 8	12	48 1 ff. 5. 10. 12	
30	101	18 7	37	10	28	3 ff.	14
31	80	20 4	177	61 7		5	248
20 20	16	21 11	12	© Hex. 282		9	120
21 7	51. 104	14	197	63 9	132. 304	18. 22	6
22 1	201	22 9. 11	16	65 10	38	19	13
12	362	15	53	66 23	86	21	12
14	256	23 11	350			22	14
23 4. 7	51	24 23	104	JEREMIAH.		23	10
5	82. 146	26 7	130	1 12	126	24	11
11	165-337	13	168	5 22	209	30	35
17	147	14. 19	29	6 21	17	31. 35 f.	7
34	362	16	210	7 30	104	46	7
24 12	77	28 15. 18	120	8 1	34	51 39	8
25 8	53	25	176	10 7	126	51	105
28	178	29 1	11	9	75	52 19	43
		30 1	13	11	26. 166.		
ISAIAH.		15	62		184	EZEKIEL.	
1 13	66	24	117	13 19	179	1 1	177
3 18	187	32 14	13	14 3	129	11	191
5 2. 17	126	33 7	11	16 5	121. 122	5 1	67
28	178	36 2	16	18 20	10	8 3. 5	58
6 4	43	37 31	36	21 10	24	9 7	176
7 3	16	38 10	33	22 14	23. 146	10 3	32
8 6	16	12	153	19	11	12 20	176
14	176	40 19	76	23	36	16 55	177
9 8	179	20	121	28 5	86	17 6	95

13	49	9	36	ZECHARIAH.	50 13	168
20 40	115	3 15	184	8 23	178	23 35
23 14	171	5 26	196	12 3	34	51 19 59
24 6	210	6 6	4	11	164	21 117
25 4	36	7	121			52 7 189
9	5. 10	8 4	261	MALACHI.	55 3	191
27 9	19	5	66	3 24	189	59 11 8
13	69	14	11			61 8 189
28 17	11			PSALMS.	64 8	189
30 13	92	JONAH.		2 2	154	66 15 126
17	91	1 3	38	7	176	68 14 23
32 25	29	7. 12	266	7 18	36	21 6
33 22	190	3 5	129	8 6	96	26 70
30	170			8	117	69 4 97
34 8	294	MICAH.		9 3	36	72 19 297
36 11	177	3 12	13	11 3	67	73 12 85
35	176	6 7	168	12 8	26	28 201
40 2	96	16	9	15 1	63	74 17 166
16	191	7 4	33	3	166	75 7 49. 178
18	154	17	176	18 3. 44.		76 4 57
26	128			49	175	8 36
43 15. 16	11	NAHUM.		4	36	78 12. 43 213
21	74	2 4	9	11	165	48 57
44 20	67	3 6	11	33	60	50 130
30	203			46	176	81 4 66. 86
45 12	192	HABAKKUK.		19 7	104. 178	85 5 85
17	198	2 13	29	12	69	88 11 30
48 21	105	3 2	110	21 5	24	89 2. 3. 38 8
		5	57	11	25	93 4 38
HOSEA.		10	9	22 3	203	96 8 99
2 13	66	11	71	25 2	136	101 5 166
6 9	354			14	77	103 4 96
9 13	121	ZEPHANIAH.		27 1	81	104 1. 2 63
12 2	97	1 11	350	28 8	81	107 30 97
		2 9	13	33 1 ③	126	113 2 297
JOEL.				37 3	97	116 1. 13. 17 22
4 14	98			41 3	25	13 7
		HAGGAI.		44 21	170	118 7 8
AMOS.		1 4	23	45 10	194	119 65 24
2 1	34	8	168	46 1	70	122 99
2	5. 11	9	78	47 10	36	131 184

123	29. 139	18 13	95	5 10. 12	183	9	340
128 3	85	16	36	7 14	259	13	219
136 18	35	19 23	218	17	33	15	339
26	45	20 8 2	203	8 17	266	16. 21	178
139 9 2	120	23	209	10 17	249	24	197
140 12	166	22 2	100	12 5	307	27	180
141 3	47	16	33			33	334
		30	29	ESTHER.		5 1	225
PROVERBS.		23 8	12	1 1	201	2 191.218	
2 22	189	24 23	9	2 3. 9.		7	336
3 4	24	26 5	30	12 6	277	10 166.176	
13	28	27 6	177	15	221	22	45
32	29	30 5	96	3 7	218	25	176
6 1	99	32 20	109	9 29	217	29	218
8 35	28	33 23	61			6 3	219.247
11 20	29	34 9	100	DANIEL.		4	76
13 21	99	38 32	82	1 10	39	9. 18	243
14 4	117	39 26	108	21	225	11 126.248	
15 14	97			2 5.8.20	209	18	266
25	166	CANTICLE.		6	170	25	206
18 24	361	1 7	39	6. 9	197	7 12	189
21 9	354	10	128	8	22	17 78.204	
24	19	2 11	184	11	209.219	24	189
22 4	69	3 4	177	12	203	8 5	120
24 13	126	7 7	206	20 171.297		9 25	128
25 24	354	12	167	23	184	10 9	104
27 22	171	8 6	57	28 248.332		12 11	46
31 1	275			30	335	12	55
		RUTH.		35	12		
JOB.		2 16	203	37	205	EZRA.	
1 9 2	275	4 5. 10	198	43	210	1 2	45. 74
3 23	33			44	204	2 48	250
6 19	197	LAMENTATIONS.		3 1	225	53	234
7 14	35	3 18	77	6	242	69	96
8 7. 11	85	45	25	8	206	3 7	170
9 4	106	5 21	86	10	338	4 5	295
32	203			12 170.210		10	12
15 2	209	QOHELETH.		23	191	10. 23	209
3	100	1 14	98	28	219	12	166
16 15	340	17	180	4 4	340	13 170.189	
22 12. 110		2 6	13	5	35	18	335

21	210	6 2	167	24 15	341	14	129
22	39	10. 15	215	22	274	34 4	299
24	248	7 50	250	23	267	21	169
5 3	170	70-72	96	26 7	361		
3-9	41	10 21	341	27 1	226	2 ESDRAS.	
4	184	11 7	248	25	167	2 12 &	289
5	209	8	201	29	38		
8	193. 334	12 7	201	28 13	67	SIRACH.	
10	209	22	71	18	22	48 17	16. 17
17	97. 206	47	216	29 7	96	50 3	10
6 1	206	13 15	34. 120	11	77		
4	212. 334	16	337	29	225	JUDITH.	
9	45	25	25			4 8	354
11	189. 243			2 CHRONICLES.			
7 16	339	1 CHRONICLES.		3 5 ff.	155	1 MACCABEES.	
17	209	1 15	89	7	22	1 11	47
18	97	30	197	4 20	67	5 25	216
23	39	2 40	62. 81	5 9	22	26 ff.	13
8 27	96	3 22	245	8 4	263	43	269
35	120	4 35	362	9 18	96	8 20	354
36	347	5 16	12	13 11	67	9 35	216
10 4. 12	97	24	19	15 8	74	10 29	338
27	283	6 9	20	16	51	11 35	338
28	291	7 2	92	16 14	34	12 3. 6	354
		6	299	17 16	108	13 14 f.	357
NEHEMIAH.		8 11	202	20 10	169	28 &	214
2 1	218	11 ff. 91.	350	24	128	14 47	354
7-9	347	26	147	21 11	7	15 1. 2	354
14	16.	9 13	67	24 4. 12	74	6. 27	353
3 4	197	27	97	6. 9	115	16 14	357
7	347	40	215	11	39		
10	245	11 31	248	12	67	2 MACCABEES.	
15. 16	16	15 13	62	26 10	17	5 8	216
17 f.	46	20	70	27 3	13	6 2	46
20	291	16 29	99	28 7 &	289	12 26	269
27	13	18 3	166	29 14	19	13 11	109
31	75	20 8	26	35	7		
4 11	34	21 25	118	30 3	62	ST. MATTHEW.	
15	12	31	180	32 2 ff.	16	6 1	197
5 4	39	22 13	118. 124	30	16. 17	9 9	333
15	118	14	67	33 7. 15	58	10 3	145

29	336	7 46 6	336	14 2 6	227	13 43.50	298
20 3 6	55	12 6	336	18 10	239	15 22	283
24 3 6	279	14 28 6	212	19 41	242	28 11-13	257
26 7 6	336	19 8	333	21 12.		2 CORINTHIANS.	
		22 30	168	15 6	194	11 32	215
ST. LUKE.		ST. JOHN.		ACTS.		APOCALYPSE.	
2 44	271	2 15 6	339	1 23	268	12 5	222
3 1 f.	84	5 4 6	335	2 7	29	15 6 6	76
12 f.	333	9 7	15	10 2. 22	298	22 15	68
31	275						

## INDEX VI

## GENERAL

Abias 253	Amathous 61	Aramaic, Bibl. 12. 26.
Abydos (Asia M.) 193	Amma 131	166. 175. 184.
(Egypt) 90	Ana 345	218 ff. 264. 334
Accounts, daily 212	'Anath 80 f.	&c.
Accus. sign 22. 170.	Anatum 80. 133	of Egypt 185. 200
279	Antigonus (the Ma-	N. Arabia 196 ff.
Aelia Capitolana 359	ced.) 250	Nabataea 215
Aesculapius 36. 38	(Mattathias) 355 f.	Nêrab & Bab.
Afel forms 189. 199	Antioch 292	185
Agbar 190	Antiochus iv 350	Old 5. 26 &c.
'Agli-bôl 269. 301 f.	xii 250	of Palmyra 264 f.
Ahab 4. 9	Antony 254	in Pers. Emp. 193.
Ahaziah 9	Aphrodite 21. 27. 270	200. 343. 347
Alexander the Gt. 47.	Apis 202	of Zenjirli 184 f.
346. 350	Apollo 57. 76. 89	Archers, Palm. 312
Jannaeus 354	Apposition 22. 118.	Ares 7. 296. 344
Severus 279	124. 337	Aretas, <i>see</i> Harethath
Zebina 353	'Aqiba, Rabbi 359	Arethusa 343
Allât 158. 222. 253	Ar 11	Ariel 11
Al-'Uzza 222	A'ra 238 f. 253. 255	Arnon 4 f.
Alphabet, old Gk. 52.	Arabia 197. 215 f. 261	'Aro'er 13
193	Arabic 5. 185. 215.	Arsinoë 51. 79
Altiburus 145	264	Artaxerxes iii 351

- As 336  
 Ashērah 50 f.  
 Ashqelon 27. 269 f.  
 'Ashtart 21. 27 f. 37 f.  
     128. 131 f. 270  
 Asia Min., Gk. in-  
     scri. 223  
 Assarius 336  
 Assyrian:—  
     *abhallu* 296  
     *Agbaru* 190  
     *andku* 6  
     *alirtu* 50 f.  
     *Atratum* 51  
     *alru* 50  
     *asumitu* 197  
     *Atar-samaim* 270  
     *Azriidu* 164  
     *Bilit* & *Gubla* 20  
     *Budu-ilu* 41  
     *Dad'idri* 164  
     *dannitu* 244  
     *Dadu* 11  
     *Du'ru* 38  
     *ērētu* 70  
     *ēra* 175  
     *garparuda* 360  
     *harimtu* 68  
     *hasnu* 71  
     *Hirummu* 54  
     *Iau-bi'di* 164  
     *igaru* 129  
     *Ilu* 361  
     *Ilu-bi'di* 164  
     *ittanabriti* 184  
     *Jaudi* 164  
     *habbaru* 48  
     *kakkubu* *Salmu* 106  
     *kaldmu* 184  
     *kalbu-sarri* 68  
     *kamdru* 187  
     *Kemoš-nadab* 7  
     *kibratu* 49. 178  
     *kimahhu* 237  
     *Kummuḥ* 179  
     *ḫadištu* 68  
     *Karti-ḫadast* 53  
     *Kauš-malaka* 219.  
         234  
     *Ḳidraai* 215  
     *mana* & *ṣarri* 192  
     *mannu* 168  
     *mansaltu* 82  
     *Marduk-sir-bāni*  
         187  
     *mātu* 167  
     *mutu* 167  
     *Nabaaiti* 215  
     *Nabu-ṣar-iddin* 288  
     *Nabu-ṣinibanni* 197  
     *niṣḫu* 235  
     *paḫḫiti* 178  
     *pulug(g)u* 46  
     *rakiḫ narkabti* 165  
     *rēmēnu laidru* 301  
     *ša* 187  
     *saknu* 100  
     *ṣalamanu* 299  
     *Ṣalm-muṣiṣib* 197  
     *ṣar kiṣṣati* 296  
     *sattuku* 198  
     *ṣeu* 176  
     *ṣmtu* 198  
     *sinibu* 176  
     *Sin-sir-ban* 187  
     *Ṣulmanu* 43  
     *ṣunūti* 36  
     *supur* 193  
     *ṣabdu* 71  
     *sukini* 53  
     'Athar-athēh 269 f.  
     Athene 81. 222. 348 f.  
     Athenians in Cyprus,  
         347 f.  
     Athirat 51  
     'Atṭārūs 10  
     Augustus 262. 290 f.  
     Aurelian 291 ff.  
     Aurelius 279  
     Auspices 120  
     'Az-ba'al 347. 350  
     Azizus 296  
     Ba'al-ḥammān 50.  
         104. 132 f. 154  
         shamem 45 f. 295  
         of Ḥarran 182  
         Lebanon 53 f.  
         Sidon 37. 99  
         Tarsus 343 ff.  
         Tyre 21  
     Ba'alath of Gebal 20 f.  
     Ba'al-milk i & ii 347 f.  
     Ba'al-ram 74  
     Ban, the 12  
     Barbarus 339  
     Barbers, temple- 67  
     Bar-rekub 182  
     Bast 69. 91  
     Beasts, taxed 337 f.  
     Bel 101. 248. 269.  
         297  
     Berber 139. 145  
     Berytus, coins of, 46.  
         350  
     Bilit 20  
     Bittir 359  
     Bod-'ashtart 41  
     Boethos, family of 341  
     Bōl 274. 280. 301 f.  
     Bosporus, Gk. inscr. 298  
     Bostra 239



- Bostra, era of 261 f.  
     coins of 219  
 Bowls, bronze 52  
 Breeders, sheep- 14  
 Brokers 61  
  
 Caesars, the three 262  
 Camels 335. 338  
 Canaan 349 f.  
 Caracalla 262  
 Caravan 258. 263.  
     271 ff.  
     god of 304  
 Carthage 115. 131-  
     136. 140. 352  
     constitution of 44.  
     115 f. 129  
     in Cyprus 53  
     people of 134  
 Cave 131. 308  
 Ceres 128  
 Chabrias 348  
 Chalkous 349 f. 352  
 Charax 271 f.  
 Chariot 73. 165. 178  
 Chief-priest 101. 129  
 Cilicia 194  
     coins of 343-347  
 Cippus, *see* Pillar  
 Cirta 137 f. 149  
 Claudius 252  
 Cleopatra 86 f.  
 Client 41. 134  
 Coelestis 27. 133. 157  
 Coinage, copper 339  
     right of 343. 353  
 Coins, re-struck 359  
     *see* Berytus, Bostra,  
         Cilicia, &c.  
 Colleagues 116. 145  
 Colonia 263. 279  
  
 Colonnades at Pal-  
     myra 275  
 Consular 264. 287.  
     290  
 Coptos, Tariff of 332 f.  
     337  
 Corrector 291  
 Cos, Gk. inscr. 41.  
     125  
 Cross 300  
 Crown, golden 98  
 Cuniculus 16  
 Curses 135 f. 223  
 Customs 264. 332 f.  
     335  
 Cyprus 53-57. 59.  
     61. 78 f. 81. 85 ff.  
     89. 347-349  
 Cyrenaic, Legion iii  
     285  
 Cyrene 148  
  
 Damascus 215 f. 251.  
     253  
     coins of 215  
 Darics 96. 155  
 Datames 344 f.  
 Date, threefold 84.  
 Decemvirs 130  
 Deification of kings  
     78. 81. 85 f. 224.  
     244  
 Deity, complex 49.  
     60 f. 104. 154  
     unnamed 21. 49.  
     218. 239. 297  
 Demeter 59. 128. 131  
 Demoniacus 349  
 Demonstr. pron. 26  
 Denarius 283. 336  
 Derceto 270  
  
 Deus aeternus 296  
 Didrachms 357  
 Dionysos 218 f. 305  
 Division of words 5  
 Dogs 67 f.  
 D'om 44. 94  
 Dor 38  
 Dots 5. 62  
 Doves 120  
 Drachmae 96. 283  
 Dreams 203  
 Dual ending 10. 12 f.  
 Dumêr 249  
 Dûshara 21. 218 f.  
     239. 245. 305  
  
 Edessa 107. 199. 296.  
     307  
 Egypt, Phoenicians in  
     27. 90 f.  
     Aramaecans in 200 f.  
     209  
     under Palmyrenes  
     290 f.  
     Persian expedition  
     against 343 f.  
 Egyptian Aram., *see*  
     Aramaic  
     funeral scenes 200.  
     205  
     measures 212 f.  
     names 91. 197.  
     200-213  
     symbols 351. 362  
     wine 213  
 El 165. 361  
 Elath 135. 158  
 El-Hejaz 214. 219  
 El-Hejra 214. 222.  
     236. 258  
 El-Mer 244

- El-'Ūlā 8. 214. 258  
 El-pa'al 350  
 El-Qanawāt 245  
 Elul 215  
 Eparchy 261  
 Erotimus 216  
 Eshmun 36 f.  
 Eshmun-'azar 27. 32 f.  
     38  
 Eshmun Merre 109  
 Ethanīm 66. 89  
 Ethiopic 13. 29. 36.  
     109. 117 f. 243  
 Et-Tayyibe, inscr. of  
     187. 296. 312  
 Exedra 309 f.  
  
 Female descent 299  
 Fem. ending=emph.  
     st. 235  
 Fem.sing in Phoen. 25  
 Figs 126  
 Fine 198. 223. 229  
 Fir-cones 340  
 Fowl, domestic 120  
 Freed-man, -woman  
     134. 249 f. 298.  
     338  
     and husband 250  
 Funeral rites 93. 201.  
     206  
  
 Gad-Tyche 245. 269  
 Gallienus 286 ff. 290  
 Garden-tombs 242 f.  
 Gaulus 105. 107  
 Gebal 19. 350. 352  
     coins of 21  
     dialect of 25  
 Gerjin 163. 183  
 Germanicus 339
- Geta 262  
 Gihon 16  
 Grave 34. 149. 198.  
     221. 307, *see*  
     Tomb, Pillar  
 Greek inscr. imitated  
     95  
 Gold-plating 76  
 Guest 63. 68. 305  
 Gurgum 178 f.  
  
 Hadad 164. 360  
 Hadrian 263. 279.  
     358 f.  
 Hafel, *see* Afel  
 Hair-offering 53 f.  
 Hairan, Sept. 264.  
     285.  
 Hammān 50. 104  
 Hammon 48. 50  
 Harehath iii 216.  
     253  
     iv 215. 246 &c.  
 Harpocrates 204. 362  
 Harran 187 f.  
 Hasmonacan coins  
     44. 352 ff.  
 Hathor 21. 28. 154  
 Hauran 222. 252 f.  
 Hauronān 14  
 Hawwath 135  
 Hebrew 5. 16. 185.  
     341 f. 352 f.  
 Heliopolis 91  
 Herakles 74. 102.  
     347 f.  
 Hermes 100  
 Herod the Gt. 245.  
     254. 356  
     Antipas 215. 246 f.  
     Agrippa 252
- Herodes 286  
 Hezekiah 16  
 Hexir 341  
 Hierapolis 270  
 Hifil in Phoen. 58  
 High-priest 354  
 Himilco 131  
 Hiram 53 f.  
 Hiyyar 78. 129  
 Holocaust 117  
 Hom̄ 281. 292  
 Honorary inscr.  
     (Palm.) 266  
 Hōshe'a 362  
 Huldu 246. 256  
 Hyrcanus i 353 f.  
     ii 254  
  
 Idalion 56. 349  
 Ilu 361  
 Impf. with waw conv.  
     5. 39. 119  
     with 5 169. 171  
 Imprecations 24. 33.  
     135. 169. 191  
 Imtān 255  
 Incense 126  
 Infin. absol. 5. 29. 191  
     with 5 121. 126.  
     169  
 Interpreter 61  
 Ishtar 12. 27 f.  
 Isis 21. 28. 68  
 Isle of Hawks 108  
  
 Jeroboam i 4  
 Jerusalem, water-sup-  
     ply of 16  
     siege of 357. 358 f.  
 Jewish and Phoen.  
     sacrifices 117

- Jewish colony at Palmyra 278.298.300  
   inscr. 341 f.  
   coins 352 ff.  
 Jol 149  
 Joppa 38  
 Judge 44. 100  
 Judices 116  
 Jugurtha 149  
 Julian calendar 250  
 Julius Philip 281  
 Jupiter Dolichenus 296  
   Capitolanus 359  
  
 Kanatha 245  
 Kanephoros 78 f. 85  
 Karhu 7  
 Kefr Bir'im 342  
 Kemosh 6 f.  
 Kemoash-nadab 7  
 Kerak 7. 14  
 Kilix 338  
 Kimon 344. 347  
 King of kings 201.  
   205. 290. 264  
 Kinsman, legal 226  
 Kition 56. 347 f. 352  
   era of 78  
 Koiḥak 213  
  
 Lambaesis, Lat. inscr.  
   of 16  
 Laodicea 46  
   of Libanus 349 f.  
 Larnax Lapēthos 80.  
   85. 349  
 Latin inscr. with Pun.  
   109, NPun. 141.  
   158, Palm. 250.  
   268. 312  
  
 pr. nn. 145. 155 f.  
   (NPun.) 279. 283.  
   285. 291 (Palm.)  
   words in Palm. 265  
 Lead 135 f.  
 Lebanon 53 f.  
   (Carth.) 128  
 Letters, forms of  
   Moabite 5  
   Hebrew 16  
   Jewish 341 f.  
     coins 353  
   Phoen. 102 f. 105.  
     111. 360  
   Punic 137  
   Neo-Punic 140. 145  
   Old Aram. 163.  
     361  
   Arabian Aram. 196.  
     199  
   Egypt. Aram. 205 f.  
   Aram. coins 344  
   Sinaitic 258  
 Liḥyan dialect 219.  
   232  
 Limassol 53  
 Lion-weights 192  
 Local ending 10  
 Luḥith 248  
 Luli 54  
 Lycia, Gk. inscr. 223  
 Lycurgos 305  
  
 Maccabees 216. 353.  
   357  
 Macedonian calendar  
   250. 267  
 Macherus 248  
 Majuma 122  
 Maktar 142. 145.  
   152 f.  
  
 Malak-bel 268 f. 301  
 Male descent 299  
 Māliku i 254. 257  
   ii 239. 246. 253  
 Malta 102 f. 107  
 Manāt 219  
 Mancipia veterana  
   336  
 Manna 311  
 Mar 65  
 Marseilles 115  
 Marzeḥ 94. 121 f.  
   303  
 Maṣṣēbah 60. 62. 64  
 Massinissa 138. 149  
 Massylii 138  
 Ma'sūb 48  
 Mazaios 42. 346 f.  
 Medeba 8 f. 247 f.  
 Meḥir 201  
 Melqarth 74. 84. 102.  
   347 f. 361  
 Member 41. 259, *see*  
   Client  
 Mesgida 238  
 Mesha' 4. 6. 9 f.  
 Metropolis 350  
 Micipsa 140. 149  
 Milk d. 49  
 Milk-offering 121  
 Milkath 135  
 Milk-yathon 59. 74.  
   348  
 Mina 192  
 Minaean 8. 45. 223  
 Miskar 42. 154  
 Mizraḥ 121. 145 f.  
   153. 155  
 Moab, Moabite 4 ff.  
 Monotheism 45.  
   296 ff.

- Moon-god 182 (Ba'al Harran). 187  
(Sin). 301 ('Aglibôl), *see* Sahar, Sin.  
goddess 28 ('Ash-tart). 222 (Allât?)  
Mosaic of Medeba 122  
Mound (Ophel), the 13  
Nabataean 215 f. 258. 304  
kings 215 f. 251  
coins 215 f. 221. 223. 246  
trade 257. 258  
Name of Ba'al 37 f.  
Nazirite vow 305  
Nebo 4. 12. 288  
Negative in Phoen. 33  
Neith 146  
Neo-Punic 140  
Nêrab 185 ff.  
Nergal 101  
New-moon 63. 66  
Nikal 188  
Nimroud, bowls 52  
seals 360  
Ningal 188  
Numerals 43 f. 55. 110. 119. 175 f. 250. 261. 275. 356  
Numidia 138 f. 140. 149. 155  
Nusku 188  
Offerings, list of 125  
Oil 121. 336  
'Omri 4. 9  
Ormuzd 345  
Osiris 90. 92. 103. 200. 203  
Ostraka 203 f.  
Pa'aloth 69  
Palm-trees 198  
Palma, Corn. 216  
Palmyra 263 f. 289. 294. 332. 337  
Palmyrene 264 f. 306 f.  
Panammu 163. 183  
Paopi 210  
Papyrus 203. 209. 213  
Parthians 263. 285  
Passive in Aram. 334  
Patronus 289  
Payments to priests 118  
Perf. with waw conv. 118 f.  
in imprecations 218  
Persephone 128. 131  
Persian 193. 200. 209. 289. 298. 347. 351  
coinage 343  
Petra 215. 218. 242. 244. 250  
Pharnabazus 343 f.  
Phoenicia, language 19. 21. 23-25. 39 f. 79. 97. 108. 117. 126. 141 &c.  
religion 20 f. 27 f. 36 f. 41. 45 f. 49 f. 56 f. 59. 63. 67 f. 74. 76. 80. 89. 99. 104. 109. 117 f. 127. 131 ff. 135. 154, *see* Ashtart &c.  
government 27. 38. 42. 44. 47  
colonies 95. 100 f. 103. 107 f.  
and Cyprus, *see* Cyprus  
and Carthage, *see* Carthage, Punic  
commerce 70 f. 95. 351  
money-standard 44  
coins 347-352  
seals 361  
and Persia 19. 347 f. 349. 350. 351  
and Egypt 21. 23. 27. 42. 64. 90 f. 154. 351  
and Ptolemies 38. 56. 78 f. 81. 85 ff. 351  
and Seleucids 27. 47. 81. 349. 350. 352  
Pillar 60. 62. 98. 103 f. 108. 299, *see* Maş-şebah  
Piraeus 95  
Plur. in *f* 165 f., *in* 183. 185, *4* (impf.) 166. 185. 189. 203  
Pompey 216  
Poor, the 117. 121  
Portae 138  
Portico 23. 48. 98. 243  
Poseidon 84  
Praxippos 81. 84  
Procurator 72. 288 f.

- Pron. 3 sing. 24  
     demonstr. 26  
     after relat. 78  
 Ptah 23  
 Ptolemy i 81  
     ii 38. 47. 78. 351  
     vii (vi) 86 f.  
     ix (vii) 86 f.  
 Publicani 333  
 Pulvinar 199  
 Pumi-yathon 55 f. 349  
 Punic, *see* Carthage,  
     Cirta  
     colonies in N. Africa  
     137 ff. 140. 145.  
     149  
 Puteoli 257  
 Pygmalion 55 f.  
  
 Qaishah 219  
 Qaryatên 307 f.  
 Qeriyioth 11  
 Qir-ḥareseth 7  
 Qiryathān 10  
 Qn'm 148  
 QOS 234  
 QRHH 7  
 QRL 163  
 Qurān 39. 72 f. 219.  
     222  
  
 Rab 42. 129. 273  
 Rabel 239. 246. 250 f.  
     255  
 Raḥām 276  
 Rammānu 145. 164  
 Ras 264. 285  
 Refl. stems in Aram.  
     334  
 Rekub-el 165  
 Relat. in Phoen. 20. 108  
     Aram. 164  
  
 Reshef 56 f. 361  
 Revolt, First 356 ff.  
     Second 358 ff.  
 Rhea 131  
 Rock, the 175  
 Rom. 1 (Palm. inscr.)  
     301 f.  
     2 (Palm. inscr.) 268  
 Romans 216. 242 f.  
     250. 263 f.  
 Rome and Carthage  
     115 f. 128. 131.  
     133. 138. 140.  
     145. 149. 153.  
     157  
     Palmyra 290 f. 292 f.  
     332. 338 f. 341  
 Rosetta Stone 23  
 Ruḏā 233. 273  
  
 Sabaeen 21. 23. 28.  
     33. 45. 102 f. 107.  
     126. 164. 168.  
     218. 220. 222 f.  
     299  
 Sacrificer 107. 146  
 Sacrifices 117. 125  
     for the dead 168  
 Šafā inscr. 11. 45. 199.  
     304  
 Sahar 187  
 Šaḥwet el-Ḥidr 242  
 Sakun 100  
 Salambo 106  
 Šalḥad 253  
 Šalm 106. 196. 199  
 Salt-tax 338  
 Sam'al 179. 182. 185  
 Sardinia 110  
 Sasom 62  
 Seals 360 ff.  
  
 Šed 91  
 Šed-taniṯ 132  
 Sela' 223  
 Seleucid era 47. 250.  
     267  
 Seleucus Nicator 47.  
     349 f.  
 Senator 264. 285  
 Septimius 285. 288.  
     291  
     Ḥairan 264  
     Severus 262  
 Serapis 103. 202  
 Shalamians 220  
 Shalman 43  
 Shamash 104. 165.  
     187. 269. 299  
 Shara 218  
 Sharon 12. 41  
 She'a-alqûm 255.  
     304 f.  
 Sheḥ Barakât inscr.  
     222  
 Shekel, sacred 351  
     First Revolt 357  
 Shuqailat 246  
 Sicily, temple of  
     Demeter 131  
 Sidon 27. 33. 54. 91.  
     99  
     era of 95  
 Sidonians 54  
     colony of 95  
     coins of 350. 352  
 Šidqi-milk 349  
 Siloam 15. 17  
 Simon Macc. 353  
     Bar-kokba 359  
 Sin 182. 187 f.  
 Sinaitic 258  
     pr. nn. 259

- Skin of sacrifices 124  
merchandise 336.  
340  
Slaves 134. 335 f. 362  
South Shields inscr.  
249 f.  
Spasinou Charax 272  
Square character 205.  
341. 353  
Stater 343 ff.  
Statilius 339  
Stratēgos 247 f. 288.  
332  
Straton 41. 352  
Subjunctive with 𐤊  
217  
Suffete 44. 110. 115 f.  
129 f. 145  
Suffix 3 sing. m.  
(Phoen.) 8. 41 f.  
64. 94. 110. 133.  
158  
f. 58. 79. 146  
3 plur. (Phoen.) 39 f.  
3 sing. m. (Aram.)  
185. 209  
3 plur. (Aram.)  
184 f. 203. 209.  
221. 253  
Sulci 158  
Sun-god 91 (Ra). 106  
(Šalm). 199 (Mo-  
nimos). 219. 222  
(Dûshara?). 280.  
299 (Yarḥi-bôl).  
268. 297. 299  
(Malak-bel). 269.  
297 (Bel), *see* Sha-  
mash.  
goddess 222 (Al-  
lât?)
- Symposia 121 f. 288.  
303  
Tabellae devotionis  
135  
Tabnith 27  
Talent 88. 193  
Tamassos 56. 58. 89.  
349  
Tanith 37. 128. 131 ff.  
Tardamu 344 f.  
Tariff, Sacrificial 115.  
123 f.  
Coptos 332 f. 337  
Palm. 306  
Zarai 332. 337  
Tarsus 343 ff.  
Taxes 333  
Ṭebeth 221  
Ṭêma 197  
Tetradrachm 357  
Thank-offering 118.  
Thiasus, *see* Marzeah  
Throne 221 f.  
Thugga 138 f.  
Tiglath-pileser 54.  
178 f.  
Tomb (Phoen.) 27 f.  
34. 60  
(Nab.) 221. 223.  
237. 241 ff.  
(Palm.) 306  
of St. James 341 f.  
Trachonitis 245. 252  
Tunis 132. 140  
Tyre 44. 54. 74  
era of 47  
coins of 44. 351 f.  
357 f.  
Umm-el-'Awâmid 45  
Umm-cr-Reṣaṣ 247
- Underworld, gods of  
135  
Uraeus 23  
Velarii 67  
Venus 21. 27  
Virgin's Spring 15 ff.  
Vologesias 271  
Votive tablets, Carth.  
132  
Wahab-allath 287.  
290 f. 292  
Water-offering 206  
Waw conv. in Phoen.  
118 f.  
Weights 192 f.  
Wells 72. 242 f. 337  
Wild animals sacri-  
ficed 117. 119  
Wine 213  
prohibited 305  
Women 221. 229. 237.  
335. 337  
Wool 336. 338  
Worod, Sept. 286 ff.  
289  
Xerxes 200 f.  
Ya'di 163 f. 183. 185  
Ya'el 106 f.  
Yahaṣ 12  
Yahweh 4. 6 f.  
Yarḥi-bôl 280  
  
Zabbai 291 f.  
Zabdâ 291  
Zarai, tariff of 332. 337  
Zenjirli 52 f. 163.  
175 f. 182. 184 f.  
Zenobia 263. 286 f.  
290 ff.



## APPENDIX

### I

#### The Phœnician Inscriptions of Bostan eah-Shêh, Sidon.

THESE inscriptions, which repeat the same text six or seven times with slight variations, were found in 1900 and 1901 at a short distance to the N. of Saida, near the Nahr el-Auwali. They are written upon the inner faces of blocks of stone which formed part of the inclosure or foundation of the temple of Eshmun; being built into the masonry, like the inscribed bricks in Assyrian buildings, they were not intended to be exposed to view. The most complete text, repeated with slight changes on the same block, is that published by Macridy-Bey and Père Lagrange in *RB* (1902) 498-526, with a facsimile. A text practically identical and almost as complete has been published, with two plates, by Berger, *Mém. sur les inscr. de fondation du temple d'Esmoun à Sidon*, 1901, from one of the stones now in the Louvre, which also possesses the fragment of another of the series (*Rép.* nos. 287. 288). The inscriptions are discussed at length by Clermont-Ganneau in *Rec.* v § 41, who has done much to clear up the difficulties which they present. The following text is based upon that of Berger:—

- 1 מלך ברעשתרת מלך צדנם בן בן
- 2 מלך אשמנעור מלך צדנם בצ
- 3 דן ים שמם רמם ארץ רשפם צד
- 4 נ משל אשבן וצדן שר אית [כל?]
- 5 הבת ז בן לאלי לאשמן שר קד
- 6 ש

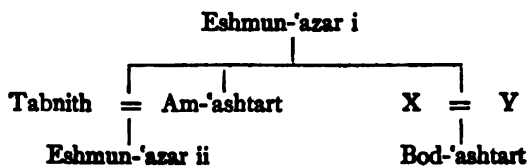
King Bod-'ashtart, king of the Sidonians, grandson <sup>2</sup> of king Eshmun-'azar, king of the Sidonians, (reigning) in Sidon by the sea, Shamim Ramim, the land of Reshafim, Sidon of Mashal, 'šBN, and Sidon on the plain—the whole (?) <sup>5</sup> of this temple built to his god, Eshmun, prince of Qadesh.



This text must be carefully compared with 4 and 5; the writing is of the same general character and period.

L. 1. מלך בדעשתרת. See 6; Bod'-ashtart was the successor of Eshmun'-azar ii (5). בן בן The father is not mentioned because he never was king; contrast 5 13 f.

L. 2. אשטער i.e. Eshmun'-azar i. Both Bod'-ashtart and Eshmun'-azar ii were grandsons of this king, the former being the son of a younger brother or sister of Tabnith (4). The genealogy will thus be as follows:—



בצרן The prep. denotes that Bod'-ashtart claimed sovereignty *in* or *over* (cf. מלך 5 9) Sidon; so Torrey *Journ. Amer. Oriental Soc.* xiii 156-173 (with facsimile). The interpretation of the following words is difficult; but Torrey and Cl.-Gan. are prob. right in regarding them as the names of various places round about Sidon. The places are enumerated *ἀστυδέρως* (cf. 149 B 15), with י before the last in the list, as sometimes (though not usually) in Hebrew, e.g. Gen. 5 32. 13 2. 14 1 &c.; Gesenius, p. 509 n.

L. 3. צדן ים *Sidon of the sea*, the maritime Sidon, as distinguished from צדן יב. שמים רמים Lit. *high heavens*. The words suggest the *Σαμνησιμύς* or *Ψευδαίμυς* of the cosmogony of San-chuniathon (Philo Bybl. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 566); so Lagrange. The expression recalls the שמים אדרם in 5 16 f.; and although 'High-heavens,' 'Glorious-heavens,' do not seem very obvious names for terrestrial localities, yet such they probably were (Cl.-Gan.). In both cases this explanation suits the context. Cl.-Gan. suggests that שמים אדרם was the name of the place where the tomb of Eshmun'-azar ii was found, S. of the Nahr el-Ḳamle, at a distance from the ancestral burying-place; this may have been the special domain of Am'-ashtart, the queen-mother and priestess of 'Ashtart (5 14 f.). ארץ רשעם For the god Reshef see 12 3 n.; like בעל he was the tutelary of several cities, and thus the plural of his name would come into use. In Phoen. the plur. of בעל is found in בעל ים 20 B 4 n., but not in the manner common in the O.T. The only other divine names found in the plur. in Phoen. are אלהים (p. 24, cf. אלהי 61 12 &c.) and אלה (p. 99).

The date of this Sidonian dynasty has been much disputed. Lagrange would assign it to the Persian period and the time of Xerxes; but against this is the title מלכא ארז 18, which belongs to the Ptolemaic, not the Persian, kings; see p. 38. Cl.-Gan. suggests ingeniously that Eshmun-'azar i is none other than the Abdalonymus of the classical historians, who was placed on the throne of his ancestors, under romantic circumstances, by Alexander the Great after the occupation of Sidon in 332 B.C. The story is told by Diod. Sic. xvii 47, but wrongly referred to Tyre. With the change of his fortunes the king may have changed his name, as was frequently done. It is probable, in any case, that the date proposed on p. 27 is substantially correct; and the epigraphical evidence agrees with this. On the other hand, this inscr. shows that Bod-'ashtart is not to be identified with Straton i 374-362 B.C., as is suggested, with hesitation, on p. 41.

## II

**Aramaic Papyrus from Elephantina.** MS. Aram. c. 1 (P)  
in the Bodleian Library.

By the courtesy of the Secretary of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, I am allowed to reprint the text of this papyrus which has been published with a translation, notes, and facsimile by Mr. A. E. Cowley, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, in the May number of the Society's *Proceedings* (vol. xxv Parts 4 and 5, pp. 202 ff., 1903). The papyrus was purchased by Prof. Sayce at Elephantina, and brought by him to the Bodleian Library in 1901. It arrived in three small rolls; these have been ingeniously pieced together, and now form a leaf  $13\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$  inches, which contains the longest and most continuous text of the kind hitherto published. The following is Mr. Cowley's text and translation:—

- 1 ..... י. בר יתמא ל... נתנת לי כסף
- 2 ..... פ... בני פתח כסף שו לו וירבה עלי כסף חלון וו
- 3 לכסף שו לירחא עד יום זי אשלמנהי ל[ך] ותהוה מרבית
- 4 כספך חלון ווו... לירח א וירחא זי לא אנתן לך בה
- 5 מרבית יהוה ראש וירבה ואשלמ[נה]י לך ירח בירח
- 6 מן פרסי זי יתנן לי מן אוצרא ותכתב לי נבו על כל
- 7 כסף ומרבי זי אהוה משלם לך והן לא שלמת לך כל
- 8 כספך ומרביתא עד ירח תחות שנת... ווו ווו יעקף כספך
- 9 ומרביתא זי ישתאר עלי ויהוה רבה עלי ירח לירח
- 10 עד יום זי אשלמנהי לך
- 11 שהדיא
- 12 עקבן בר שמשנורי
- 13 קצרי בר יההרדי
- 14 מחסיה בר ידניה
- 15 מלכיה בר זכריה
- 16 כתב ספרא גמריה בר אחיו על פם שהדיא זי על ספרא ונה

[This is the agreement between X and Y] bar Yathma. You have given me the sum of <sup>2</sup>.....PTḤ the sum of ṢZ for himself (?), for which interest shall be due from me at the rate of 2 ḤLR <sup>3</sup> per ṢZ per month, till the day on which I repay it to you. The interest of your loan (to me) shall be ... ḤLR per month. Any month in which I fail to give you <sup>5</sup> interest, it is to be (added to the) principal, and to bear interest. I agree to pay it to you month by month <sup>6</sup> out of my pay which they give me from the treasury, and you shall give me a written receipt (?) for all <sup>7</sup> money and interest which I pay to you. If I fail to repay to you the whole of <sup>8</sup> the principal, with the interest thereon, by the month of Thoth in the year [? 1]6, I am to be held liable for double(?) the principal <sup>9</sup> and interest outstanding, and to continue to pay interest (on it) month by month <sup>10</sup> till the day when I repay it to you. <sup>11</sup> Witnesses:—<sup>12</sup> 'Uqban b. Shemesh-nuri. <sup>13</sup> Qoṣri b. Yah-hadari. <sup>14</sup> Maḥaseiah b. Yadoniah. <sup>15</sup> Malkiah b. Zekariah. <sup>16</sup> The document was written by Gemariah b. Aḥio in the presence of the witnesses who(se names) are appended hereunto.

The language and writing exhibit the usual characteristics of Egyptian Aramaic (pp. 185. 200). The interest of the text lies in the fact that it is a Jewish document of early date; the witnesses and the writer bear Jewish names. These Jews were evidently engaged in business as bankers or money-lenders. They write in Aramaic, probably because it was the official language of the Persian empire. The date of the document may be placed in the Persian period, certainly not later than 300 B.C., and probably 150 years earlier (cf. 72. 76), as Mr. Cowley is inclined to believe. The legal form resembles that of the agreements written in cuneiform with Aram. seals attached, CIS ii 64-66, belonging to the 6th-5th cents. B.C.; no. 66 is dated 450 B.C. We have, then, a very early piece of evidence for a settlement of Jews in Upper Egypt; indeed, after the allusion of Jeremiah to the Jews 'dwelling in the land of Pathros,' i.e. Upper Egypt (44 i. 15; Schürer *Gesch.* iii 19 ff.), this is the earliest contemporary reference. And this document does not stand alone. Mr. Cowley is publishing in the next number of the *PSBA* 6 ostraka,

5 of which come from Elephantina and belong to the same period, and refer to the same names, probably also to the same persons, as the papyrus.

L. 1. . . . ל Mr. Cowley conjectures לאמר as on Ostrakon 1.

L. 2. . . . נני Perhaps נני . . . שן L. 3, reading certain; probably the name for a sum of money. Mr. Cowley compares the Babyl. *šoss*=60 shekels=1 maneh; Prof. Sayce thinks it is a Persian word. חלרן or חלרן Perhaps=Babyl. *ḫalluru*, a coin used in reckoning the amount of interest in cuneiform contracts (see Sayce ap. Cowley).

L. 3. מרבית *interest*; cf. Lev. 25 37; תרביח Lev. 25 36. Eze. 18 8. For ancient ideas and legislation on the subject of interest see Driver, *Deut.* 266 f.

L. 4. The numeral may have been 6 or 8. After לירח the stroke somewhat like a ? is prob. a mark of punctuation.

L. 5. ראש *principal*; cf. the usage in Lev. 5 24 ושלם אתו בראש, and Talm. B. *Sanhedr.* 3 ב ראש 'money which is not paid as capital.' ירח בירח Cf. the idiom יום ביום in B Aram. Ezer. 6 9 and late Hebr. Ezer. 3 4. 1 Chr. 12 23 &c.

L. 6. פרס In the Mishnah פרס is frequent in the sense of *salary, income*. מן אמר The debtor was apparently in a government office. חכנו after חכתב must mean a document, Mr. Cowley suggests 'receipt' and a Persian derivation.

L. 7. מרבי here without the final ת (ll. 3. 5), from a לי verb, is strictly the fem. of מרבה Barth *Nominalb.* § 248.

L. 8. תרח The first Egyptian month, Aug. 29–Sept. 27; Copt. Thōouth, Gk. Θωθ. In the space after שנת must have stood the symbol for 10 or 20; analogy suggests that the reference is to the years of a king's reign. יעק The root עקב=bend, curve, so with עלי l. 9 shall return upon me, i.e. shall be required of me. Mr. Cowley suggests shall be doubled against me; 'if the debt was not paid, or if any interest was outstanding, the debtor was to pay interest on double the accumulated sum at the rate previously settled' (l. 2).

L. 12. עקב Cf. the O. T. עקב. שמשורי Not a Jewish name; cf. the Palm. שמשורים (p. 298), עתנורי (p. 303), נורבל (p. 307).

L. 13. יהודרי i.e. *Yah is my glory*; if the reading is right the form is unusual; cf. ילעתי *El is my strength* 1 Chr. 12 5 and ילכדי in PC (Gray *Hebr. Pr. N.* 156).

L. 14. מחסיה Cf. מִחְסִיָּה Jer. 32 12. 51 59. דינה Cf. O. T.  
דנאל.

L. 15. זכריה . . מלכיה Both common in O. T.

L. 16. For נמרית cf. 2 Sam. 6 3. 4, Gray l.c. 36, Driver Sam. 204.

## ADDENDA

Page 36, line 14 below, *add* see Appendix I.

Page 123, line 3 above, *add* Plate III.

Page 147, line 1 above, *add* Plate IV.

Page 186, line 1 above, *add* Plate V.

Page 189, line 6 below, *add* Plate VI.

Page 344, line 9 above, חֶלֶץ Cf. the Assy. *ḫilakku* = Cilicia.

In Eze. 27 11 Halévy proposes to read חֶלֶץ *Cilicia*  
for חֶלֶץ.









PLATE III



PUNIC

Carthage. No. 43











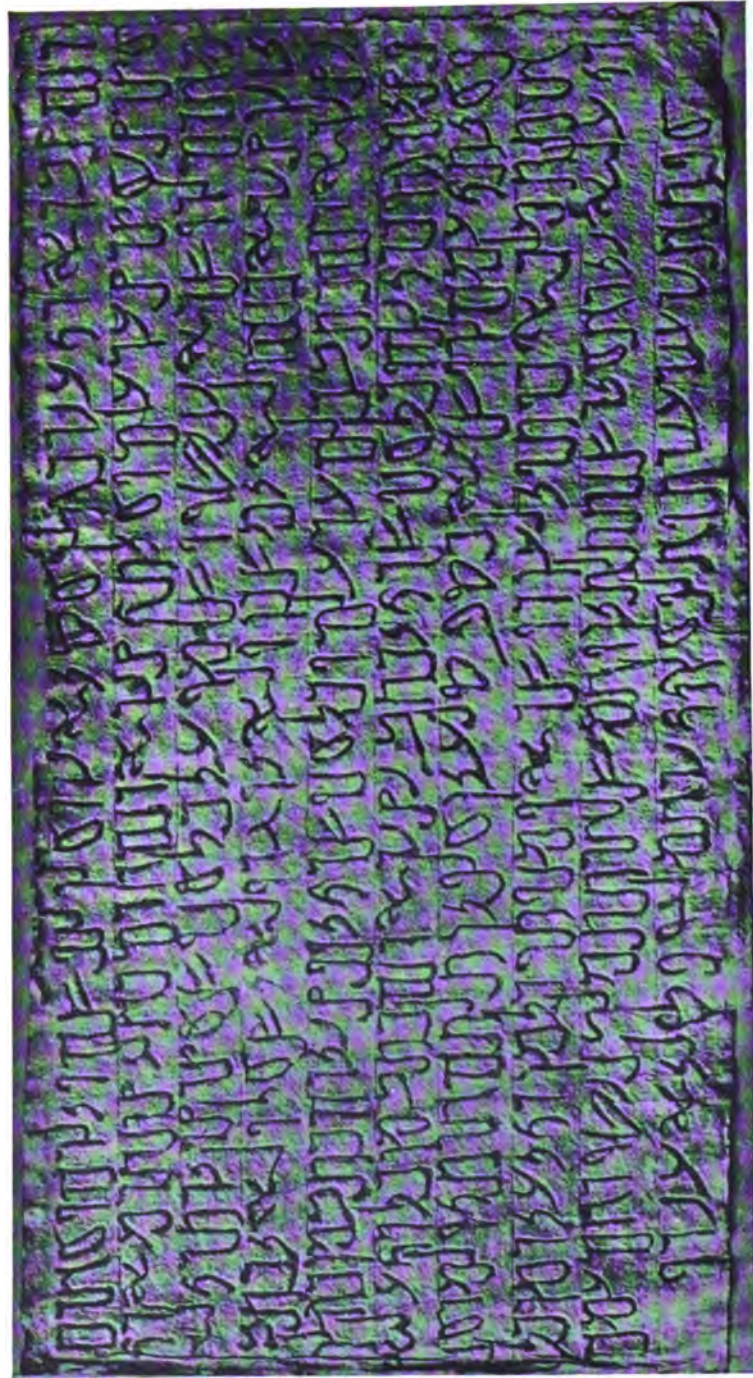


ARAMAIC

Nerab. No. 65



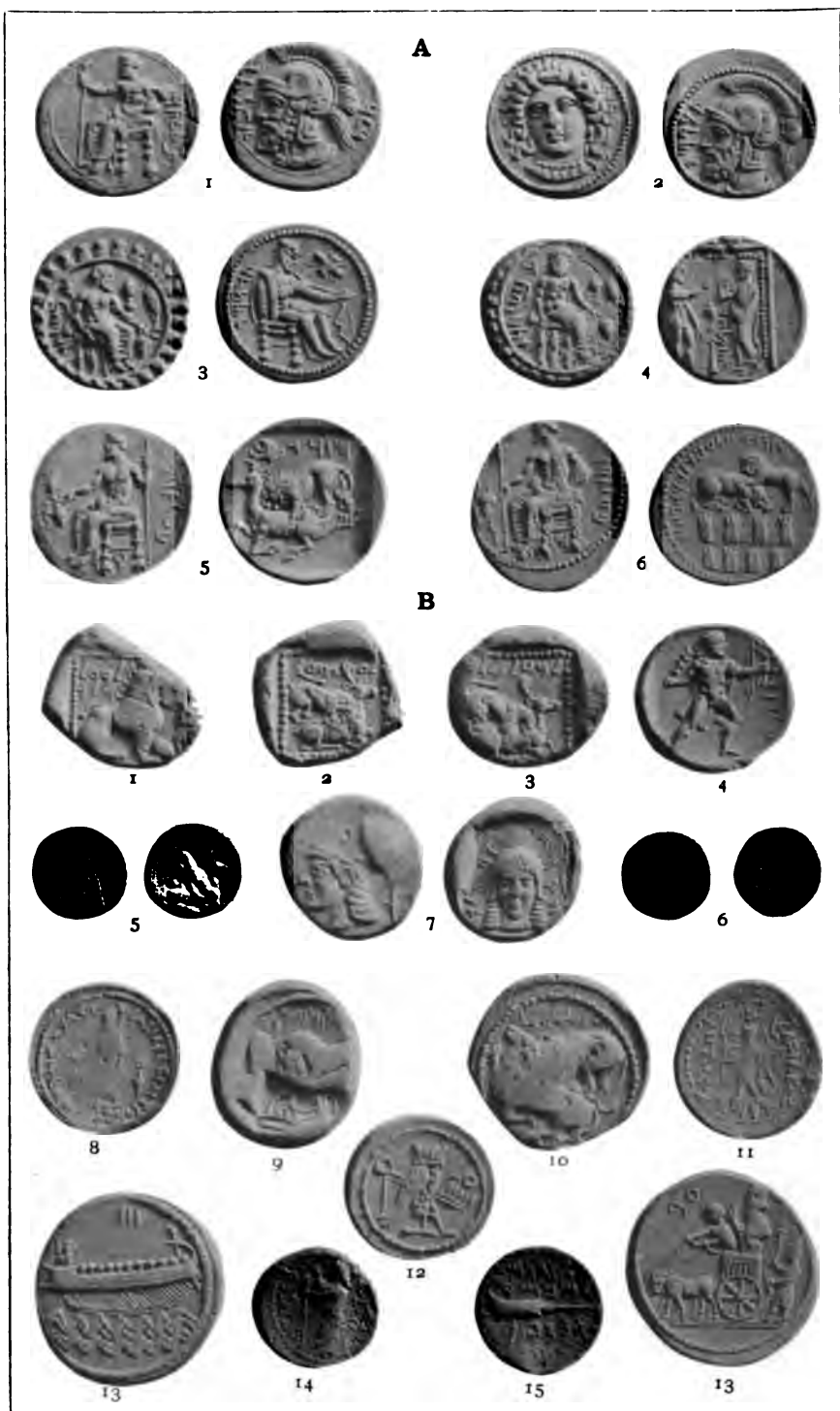
























1

2



ARAMAIC

	N Syria		Asia Minor		Arabia	Egypt			
	Zenjeri. 61-63	Nerab 64-65	Shuhla 67	Chida 64	Tajma 64-70	Mamfah 71	Mamfah 72	Carpath 75	Rogeri 77-77
α	κ	κ	κ κ κ	κ κ κ	κ κ κ	κ κ	κ κ	κ κ	κ
β	9	9	5 5	9 9 5	5	9 9	5	5 5	5
γ	Λ Λ	Λ	7	Λ Λ					7
δ	α	α	4	α α	4	α α	4	4	4
ε	α	α	7 Λ	Λ Λ Λ	α Λ Λ	7	Λ Λ	7	7
ζ	4	4	7	7 7 7	7 7	7	7	7	7
η	ζ ζ ζ	~	2 2 2	2 2 2	4			1	1 1
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ι	Θ Θ Θ	Θ		Θ	Θ	Θ			Θ Θ
κ	2	2	2	2 2	2 2	2	2	2	2
λ	γ	γ	γ γ	γ γ	γ γ γ	γ	γ	γ	γ
μ	ι	ι	ι ι	ι ι ι	ι ι	ι ι	ι ι	ι ι	ι ι
ν	γ	γ	γ γ	γ γ	γ γ	γ	γ γ γ	γ γ	γ γ
ξ	γ	γ	γ γ	γ γ	γ	γ	γ	γ	γ
ο	ξ ξ ξ	ξ ξ ξ	ξ ξ	ξ	ξ	ξ	ξ ξ	ξ ξ	ξ
π	ο	ο	ο	ο υ	4	ο	ο υ	ο ο	ο ο
ρ	γ	γ	γ	γ γ	7	7	7	7	7
σ	ρ	ρ	ρ	ρ ρ			ρ	ρ	ρ
τ	φ φ φ	φ	τ	ρ ρ	τ	φ φ	τ τ	τ	τ
υ	α	α	4 γ	4 γ	4 γ γ	4	4	4	4
φ	ω	ω	ω	ω ω	ω ω	ω	ω	ω	ω
χ	χ χ	χ	χ	χ η	χ η	χ	χ η η	χ	χ



PLATE XIV

NABATAEAN

PALMYRENE

	Hejra 73-94	Petra 98	Hauran 97-100	Hauran 99	Sinaitic 103-109	140	Tariff 147	150-151	144
א	ס ס ס פא א א א	ס ס ס	ס ס	ס ס	ס ס ס	א	א	א	א א
ב	כ כ כ כ כ כ כ	כ כ	כ	כ	כ כ כ	כ	כ	כ	כ
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ו	ו ו ו	ו ו	ו	ו	ו ו ו	ו	ו	ו	ו א
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ל	ל ל ל ל ל ל ל	ל ל	ל	ל	ל ל	ל	ל	ל	ל
ם	ם ם ם ם ם ם ם	ם ם	ם	ם	ם ם ם	ם	ם	ם	ם
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ע	ע ע ע	ע ע	ע ע	ע ע	ע ע	ע	ע		ע
פ	פ פ פ פ פ פ פ	פ פ			פ פ		פ	פ	
צ	צ צ צ	צ צ	צ צ	צ צ	צ צ		צ	צ	
ק	ק ק ק	ק ק	ק ק	ק ק	ק ק	ק	ק	ק	ק
ר	ר ר ר	ר ר	ר ר	ר ר	ר ר ר	ר	ר	ר	ר
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